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An History of the Abbey of Glaston, and of the Town of Glastonbury with
Wood Cuts and Plates

Bath 1826

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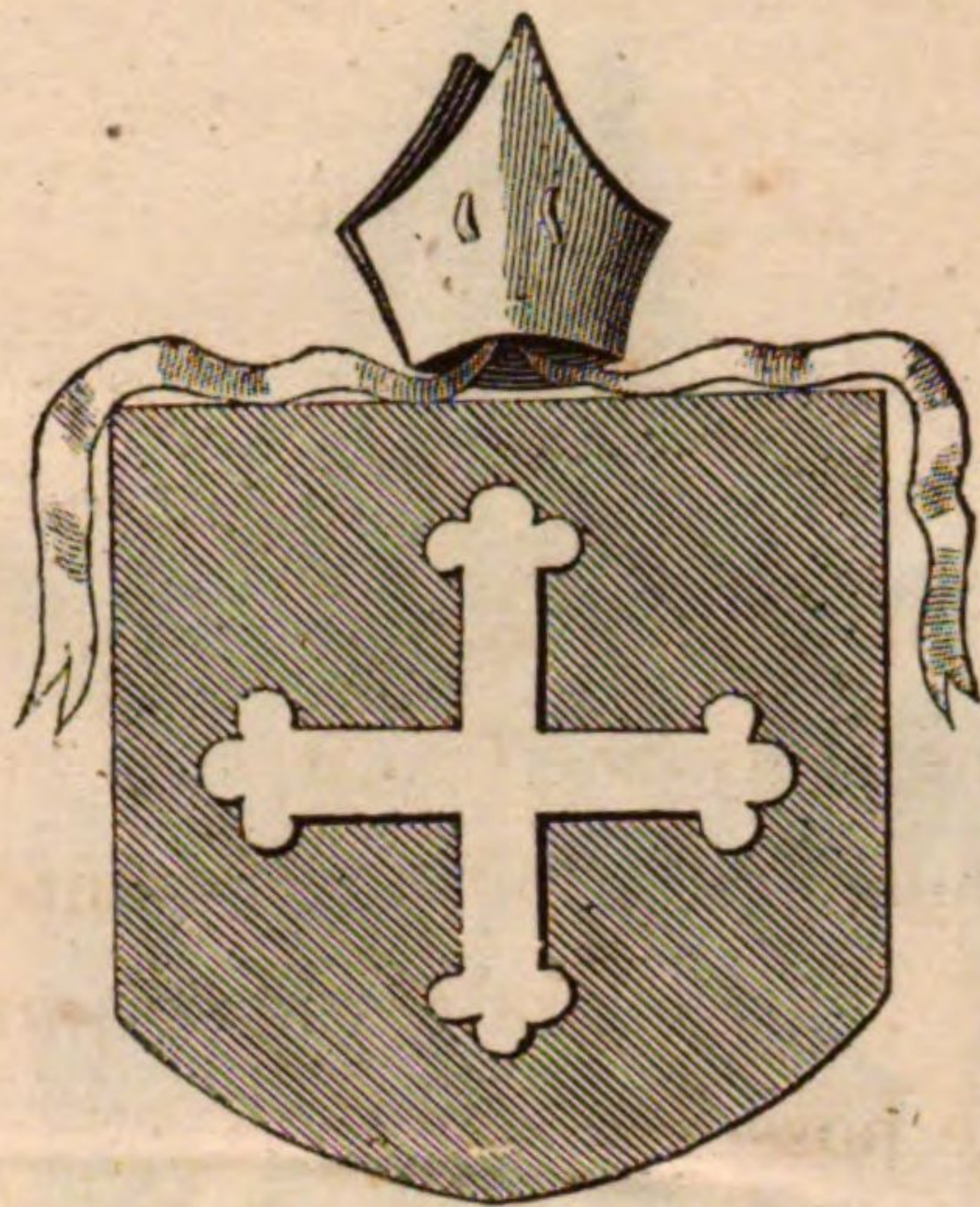
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AN

HISTORY

OF THE

Abbey of Glaston;

AND OF THE

TOWN OF GLASTONBURY.

BY THE

REV. RICHARD WARNER,

RECTOR OF GREAT CHALFIELD, WILTS; VICAR OF TIMBERSCOMBE, SOMERSET; HONORARY MEMBER
OF THE IMPERIAL CÆSAREAN SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY, MOSCOW; AND OF
THE DUTCH SOCIETY OF SCIENCES, HAARLEM.

"ROMA SECUNDA vocatur."—*Johan. Glast. p. 9.*

BATH:

PRINTED BY RICHARD CRUTTWELL, ST. JAMES'S-STREET.

MDCCCXXVI.



*A PRIVATE IMPRESSION of Two Hundred and Fifty Copies : the Plates are obliterated,
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History of Glasgow

BY RICHARD WYLLIE, ESQ.

TOWN OF GLASGOW

IN TWO VOLUMES

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BY RICHARD WYLLIE, ESQ.

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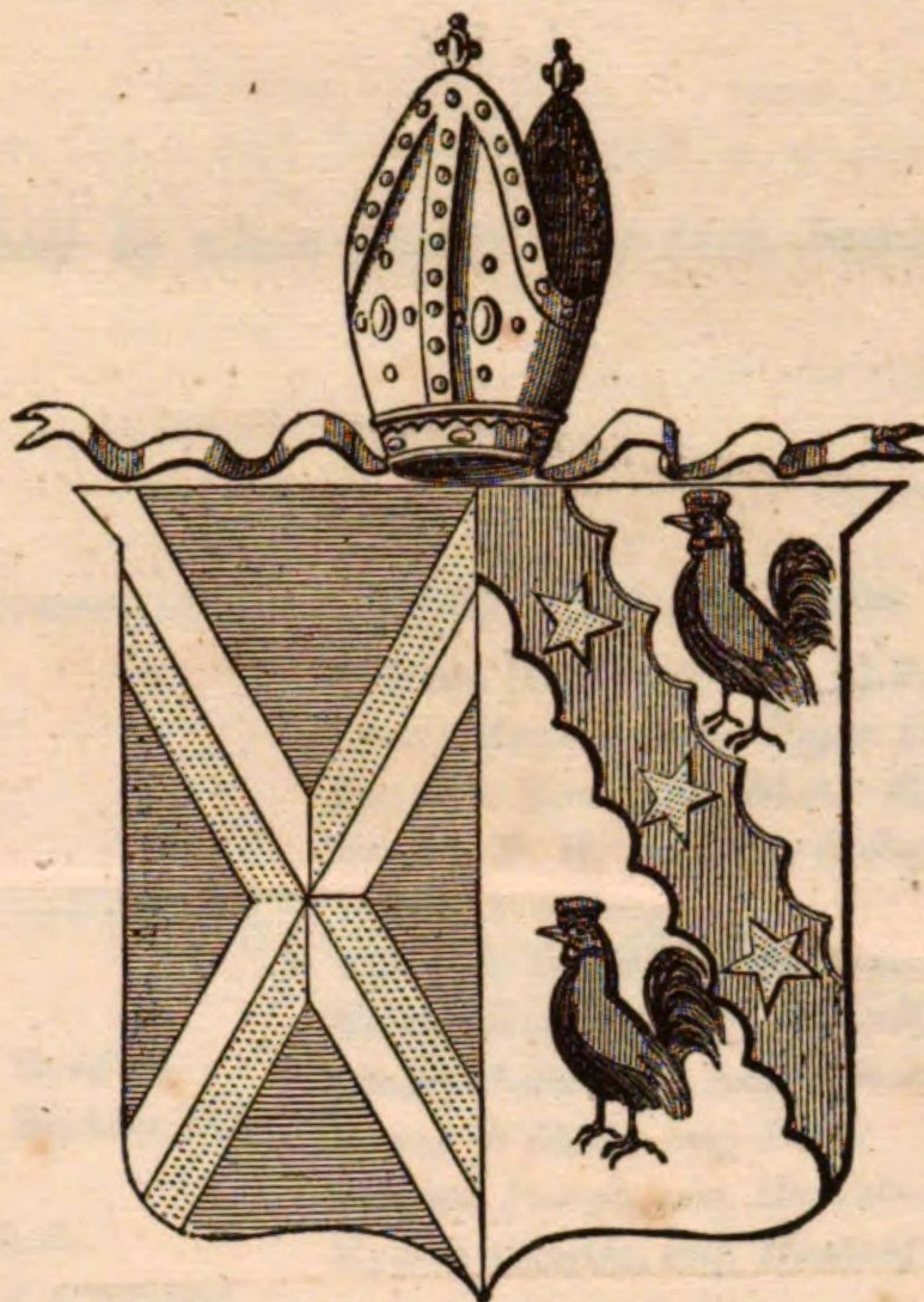
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GEORGIO HENRICO LAW, S. T. P. S. R. et A. S.

BATHON. ET WELLEN. EPISCOPO ;

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Preface. (Note,) p. 1, l. 15, for *redagi* read *redegi*.

P. lvi, l. 19, for *successor* read *predecessor*.

lxxxiii, l. 19, for *could* read *would*.

cxxiv, l. 37, insert *in*.

155, l. 5, for *huminity* read *humility*.

197, l. 12, for *a proverbial* or read *profession an*.

214, l. 25, for *sacellanas* read *sacellanus*.

By an oversight which was not detected till it was too late to rectify it, the Author's grateful acknowledgment to Sir RICHARD COLT HOARE, Bart. for his contribution of Plate 10, (the Old Market-Cross,) was omitted to be subscribed to that Plate.

Direction to the Binder.—The Plates are to be bound up at the End of the Volume.

The Preface.

THAT the ancient ABBEY of GLASTON, its contiguous Town, and immediate Neighbourhood, should, for upwards of a century past,* have been without their topographical Historian, may justly be considered as a matter of some surprise; since it would be difficult to name a spot within the kingdom, better adapted to awaken curiosity, and excite inquiry, than

“ ——— the fair Isle of AVALON;”

and the objects which it includes.

* William of Malmesbury, Adam de Domerham, John of Glaston, and Charles Eyston, esq; are, we apprehend, the only *published* writers who have treated *historically* of the Abbey of Glaston, and the town of Glastonbury; for Collinson's account of them is too short and imperfect to be noticed. William of Malmesbury flourished in the middle of the twelfth century; Mr. Eyston's "Little Monument," &c. was published by T. Hearne in 1722; and of Adam de Domerham and Johan. de Glaston, we have the following mention in Hearne's edit. præf. p. lviii: Cujus monasterii historiam ultimus scripsit Johannes monachus Glastoniensis, cujus hæc verba in præfatione MS. "Quoniam certe Willelmus Malmesburiensis monachus nostram Chronicam sive antiquitates ab adventu Sancti Joseph, sociorumque ejus usque ad tempora recondendæ memoriæ Henrici Blois Winton. episcopi & abbatis hujus loci, cujus industria beneficiorum apud nos viget in sæcula; id est, ab anno Incarn. Dñi LXIII. usque ad annum MCXXVI. descripsit. Frater quoque Adam de Domerham dicti hujus nostri cænobii monachus, a tempore prædicti Henrici et abbatis, ubi prædictus Willelmus Historiæ suæ telam succidit, viz. ab anno Domini MCXXVI. usque ad finem Domini Johannis de Tantoniam abbatis, qui fuit ab anno Domini MCCXC. Vestigia secutus est, plura, quæ Willelmus omiserat, apposui, et in rectiorem ordinem redagi. Ea vero, quæ frater Adam scripserat, prolixitatem nimiam vitans abbreviavi, atque a tempore, ubi dictus Adam omisit, hoc est, a tempore D. Johannis de Tantoniam, usque ad annum Domini millesimum circiter quadringentesimum historiam continuavi." Nota de Cænobio

The high claim, indeed, of the Abbey of GLASTON, (which we consider as resting upon strong probability,) of its being the site of the "first" Christian church, and the "fountain and origin of all" (true) "religion, in the realm of Britain,"* would seem, (independently of other considerations) to have, long ago, entitled its origin and fortunes to a deeper and more extensive research than they have hitherto obtained. But when we regard it with a reference to its ancient consequence and state; its proud rank among the monastic institutions of England; its vast revenue, and immense establishment; and compare these recollections of extinguished glory, with the melancholy particulars of its destruction, and the august vista of its existing ruins; we cannot but wonder that *feeling* and *taste* have so long delayed to rectify the omission of *cold antiquarianism*, and to furnish our topographical literature with a History of this important religious house, and its surrounding appendages.

To account for this long neglect of so interesting a topic, in an age, too, remarkable for investigations connected with the "olden time," we must conclude, that there is something in the nature of the subject more of a repelling than an inviting cast; something that checks, rather than stimulates, inquiry; something that has led to the idea of its involving a pursuit which threatened greater obstacles and difficulties in its accomplishment, than would be recompensed by the pleasure of the chase, or the value of the quarry.

This, indeed, appears to have been the fact. The very first step into the Antiquities of Glaston is a plunge into contradiction and confusion;

Glastoniensi, e Mabillonii actis Benedict. sæc. 3, vol. iii. p. 493. To which may be added, the following notes of Gerrard Langbaine. "Ex diversis libris se (Johannem) collegisse non negat, ex legendis scil. sanctorum aliqua etiam ex opusculis Geraldi Cambrensis atque Radulphi Cestrensis, quem Radulphum in Patricio plurimum exorbitare asserit, atque adeo committit quæ de Patricio habentur Polichronicæ: Lib. 5^{to}. et lib. 7^o." Hearne ut sup. lix.

* "In regno Britanniae prima (ecclesia) et fons, et origo totius religionis;" "Roma secunda;" "Ealdechirche," &c. is the language of the most ancient charters of Glaston Abbey.

and the six earliest centuries of its story may be compared to that land of gloom and shadows, where

Nox atra cavâ circumvolat umbrâ;

where no real form can be apprehended; no substantial being encountered; where the eye is cheated with vain visions, instead of beholding actual existences; and curiosity must be satisfied with legends and fables, in the room of incontrovertible certainties, or even rational probabilities.

To hesitate at adventuring upon such a theme as this, is, perhaps, only common prudence; and the writer whose taste leads him to the consideration of established facts, in preference to the analysis of legendary figments, may well stand excused, for declining to attempt the performance of a task, the praise of which, when effected, must be that of having formed ingenious conjectures, rather than elicited unquestionable truths.

There are minds, however, to whom this species of investigation is not without its charms; who love to try their strength, in sifting contradictions, reconciling discrepancies, and bringing into light, and reducing to fair proportions, events, actions, and characters, which time had long consigned to darkness and oblivion; or, which had been so distorted by ignorance, falsehood, and superstition, as to have lost entirely their original form.

It will readily be acknowledged, that, in a propensity of this kind, (combined with a wish to oblige, where gratitude was due,) the present History of Glaston had its origin; and it will further be confessed, that however the Author may have failed, in his endeavour to illustrate what was before obscure, or to reconcile what has hitherto been deemed discordant, yet, as far as his own personal gratification is concerned, he has not been disappointed, in the pleasure which he had anticipated, in undertaking a work, declined by others, from its imaginary difficulty,

or neglected by more accomplished writers, from its supposed barrenness and unimportance. He may, indeed, truly say, if he be permitted to apply the beautiful language of a great and good man, (used on a far worthier occasion,) to his own humble labours, “that could he flatter himself any one would take half the pleasure in reading the following” pages, “which he hath taken in writing” them, “he would not fear the loss of his labour. The employment detached him from the bustle and hurry of life, the din of politics, and the noise of folly; vanity and vexation flew away for a season; care and disquietude came not near his dwelling. He arose fresh as the morning to his task; the silence of the night invited him to pursue it; nor were food and rest preferred before it. Every” portion of his work “improved upon his acquaintance with it; and no one gave him uneasiness, but the last, for then he grieved that his work was done. Happier hours than those which have been” thus spent, he never expects to see in this world. Very pleasantly did they pass, and moved smoothly and swiftly along; for, when thus engaged, he counted no time. They are gone, but have left a relish and fragrance upon the mind, and the remembrance of them is sweet.”*

The only interruption to this complacency, which accompanied the Author in the execution of his task, was during those moments, when he felt himself obliged to touch upon topics of a *painful* nature, but so identified with his subject, as not to be avoided, without the sacrifice of truth and feeling—the *corruption of the Romish Church; the ambition of its hierarchy; the evil tendency of its monastic institutions; the unsoundness of its doctrines; and the grossness of its impositions*. In doing this, however, his own heart bears him witness, that he conscientiously distinguished between *things* and *persons*; and that, while he felt, and expressed, a settled disapprobation of *Popery* and its concomitants, he never mixed up with his disgust the slightest leaven of uncharitableness, towards any of the worthy members of its communion. With many of

* Horne's Commentary on the Book of Psalms, preface, page lxxv.

them, indeed, he has long been on terms of acquaintance and courtesy ; with some united by the bonds of friendship ; and, in his general intercourse with society, has full often met with a Catholic, of whom he could truly say,

Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses !

To think well of, and feel cordially towards, the *individual members* of this faith, would, in truth, be no great stretch of Christian charity, since the imperishable names of Fenelon and Pascal, and a thousand others, afford a sufficient evidence that men may be rigid devotees of the Romish Church, and yet, in other respects, deserve to be reckoned among the "excellent ones of the earth."

It will not be deemed extraordinary, however, if the intimate contact with *Papacy*, into which the Author has necessarily been brought by the subject of his History, should have confirmed the distaste that he had previously entertained of its principles and practices ; and occasioned him to look forwards, with an increased and increasing anxiety, towards the determination of that *great question* (on whose issue depend [the encouragement and growth of Popery in our country, or its confinement within the limits assigned to it by the wisdom of our forefathers])—
CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.*

That such a measure should eventually be adopted, ought not, perhaps, to be an object of dread ; for, from the *Monarch* we have the guarantee of the Coronation Oath for the preservation of the integrity of our Church and Constitution ; to the *honour* of the *Upper House*, also, we may reasonably look, for a like careful guardianship of our best religious and

* A reference to this *momentous question* cannot, it is apprehended, be considered as irrelative to the *nature* and subject of the following work. Their connection with each other will be sufficiently manifest to those who agree with us in our sentiments respecting the Catholic claims. To them who differ from us on this point, we would offer our apology for having obeyed the dictates of conscience rather than the canons of taste, in the few, but pregnant, words of an ancient father, *Liberavi animam meam.*

political blessings ; the *practical good sense* of the Commons would appear to preclude the possibility of *their* consenting to a measure of obvious national injury and danger ; and the wishes and feelings of the great majority of the country are decidedly, at this moment, adverse to the adoption of any legislative act, that might, in any degree, immediately or remotely, compromise the safety of the Established Religion, or, by any possibility, be the means of imposing upon *them*, or their posterity, a spiritual “yoke,” which *their* ancestors had indignantly thrown off, because they “were unable to bear it.” But we live in an age of grotesque speculations, and whimsical moral experiments ; and it is by no means out of the present course of things, that the same *partial, political* considerations, which can occasion popular opinion to hesitate between the propriety or inexpediency of relieving half a million of our African brethren from the horrors of *positive slavery*, may, at no distant period, delude the “fond many” into the conviction, that by emancipating the British Catholics from *imaginary burdens*, and conceding to them unimportant distinctions, which can be only *partially* enjoyed, they are merely complying with the dictates of liberality, the feelings of humanity, and the obligations of the Christian law. We would repeat, however, that nothing but *partial, political* considerations can lead to a result so inauspicious to the peace and stability of our Constitution in Church and State ; for, if the question be considered in an *abstract* and *philosophical* point of view, the conclusion seems inevitable, that the encouragement and growth of Popery, in any shape, and under any circumstances, must be deprecated, and ought to be checked, by every reasonable and legitimate means ; not only as being peculiarly inconsistent with the safety and happiness of our own empire, but as generally inimical to the well-being, temporal and eternal, of society at large. Without adopting the wild theory of the *perfectibility of human nature*, it is an enunciation which few will have the hardihood to contradict, that man is an *improveable being*, intended for, and capable of, a continual

advancement in all that is great and good, both in life, and through eternity; and that the only guides, on which he can depend with safety, in his moral progress to his eventual destination, are—the uncorrupted *Word of God*; the unbiassed suggestions of his own *conscience*; and the free and fair exercise of his *reason*, on all subjects which come within the province of human ratiocination. Admitting these propositions as undeniable, we may proceed to assert, that, if the *Book* of his faith and practice be altogether withheld from his free inspection, or presented to him in a garbled, corrupted, and perverted form; if his *conscience* be compelled to succumb to the authority of another, equally with himself the child of error;* if his *reason* is to be curbed in its search after truth and knowledge, forced to bend its free-born neck to the yoke of a despot, and ignominiously obligated *jurare in verba magistri*, instead of working out its own conclusions by the unfettered exercise of its own inherent energies—it is then morally certain, that his *capacity* of *improvement* can be of no avail to him; that *virtue*, which consists in good actions upon right motives, is unattainable by him; and that “the march of mind,” its faculty of “going on from strength to strength,” through the expanding path of light and truth, till it arrive at

“The all good, all perfect, and all fair,”

is utterly and irrevocably terminated.

Is it inconsistent with Christian charity, or contradictory to recorded and existing facts, to propound, that *Popery* has ever borne, and does at this moment bear, upon its front, these “marks of the beast,” this character of enthralling and tyrannizing over the *faith*, and *conscience*, and *reason*, of its votaries? The proofs of the allegation are as clear as the light of the sun, and innumerable as “the motes that people his gay “beam;” for how can they, who differ from us upon this point, repel the charge of the deteriorating and degrading influence of Papacy upon

* It was well said by a friend of ours, “Let the Roman Catholics emancipate their own *consciences* “from the power of their priests, and we will emancipate them from their civil burdens.”

human excellence, when the credited *infallibility* of the Tiara led away captive the *faith* and *conscience* of the pious and intellectual Archbishop of Cambray, and induced him to make a public sacrifice of his sentiments to the authority of the Holy See? Or, how can they defend the *spirit* and *substance* of the circular letter of the present Pope, which, after solemnly declaring that *out of the Roman Catholic pale there is no salvation*, prohibits to the laity the possession or perusal of the Holy Scriptures, (save of those versions authorized by the Church of Rome;) *execrates*, in the name of the same Church, the Bibles distributed by all Protestant associations; and enjoins the Priesthood to search after, and possess themselves of, all the copies of such Bibles, which any members of their respective flocks may have obtained? Or how can they deny, and if allowing, how can they vindicate, the slavery in which Popery labours to hold the *human mind*, and the restrictions which it imposes upon the investigations of *reason*, the excursions of *imagination*, and the creations of *fancy*, by its *Index Expurgatorius*, which sweeps away from the goodly field of literature some of its choicest flowers and most salutary plants; aims a death-blow at the intellectual pleasure of mankind; and, as much as in it lieth, cuts off the sources of laudable curiosity, useful information, and mental improvement? It cannot be out of their recollection, that, through fear of *the thunders of the Papal Church*, Roger Bacon concealed one of the greatest chemical discoveries ever elicited by experimental philosophy, in the garb of unintelligible cabalistic lan-

* The Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XII. to his venerable brethren the Patriarchs, &c.; to which are added, Pastoral Instructions by the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops, &c. Dublin, 1824. "Quare et profiteamur *extra ecclesiam R. C. non esse salutem*. Non vos latet V. V. F. F. Societatem quandam dictam vulgò Biblicam, per totum orbem audacter vagari, quæ spretis SS. Patrum traditionibus, et contra notissimum Tredentini Concilii decretum, in id, collatis viribus, ac modis omnibus, intendit, ut in vulgares linguas nationum omnium sacra vertantur, vel potius pervertantur, Biblia. Ex quo valde pertimescendum est, ne sicut in aliquibus jam notis, ita et in cæteris (other passages) interpretatione perversa de Evangelio Christi, hominis fiat Evangelium, aut quod pejus est, Diaboli." His Holiness then sagaciously remarks, that more evil than good is found to result from the indiscriminate perusal of the Scriptures; and that the books distributed under the name of *Bibles* are held accursed by the Catholic Church!!!

guage; that Galileo paid the forfeit of his life to the brutal bigotry of the same Church, for having unfolded to mankind some of the sublimest truths, in one of the sublimest sciences; and that, in modern times, when the Benedictines of St. Maur, in a laudable zeal for learning, applied to the Pope for permission to devote some of the many hours wasted in senseless forms and ceremonies, to the cultivation of literature, and the publication of useful works, *the application was refused.*

If, then, our reasoning have been sound, and our facts incontrovertible, the argument must be complete; and we necessarily arrive at the important corollary, that—since *Popery* is thus inimical to the *improvable capacity* of man; the diffusion of the unclouded light of Revelation; the corroboration of the genuine conscientious principle; and the free exercise of the reasoning faculty,—to “wish it good luck in the “name of the Lord,” would be little short of high treason against Heaven and human nature; and to co-operate, by any means, in its extension, or to strengthen, in any degree, its hold upon society, would be nothing less than a *misprision* of “the great offence.”

Nor can *we* think less unfavourably of Catholic Emancipation, even if we narrow the range of the question; “bring it home to our own “business and bosoms;” confine it merely to ourselves; and anticipate the injurious influence it might *possibly* exercise (to use no stronger term) on our own civil and religious liberties, if it once formed a branch of the statute law of the land. It is of the essence of Popery to be ever restless; ever aspiring; ever struggling after uncontrollable domination. Give less than *all*, and its demands are still unsatisfied. In the nervous language of the immortal Barrow,* speaking of the Pope’s supremacy,

* A Treatise on the Pope’s Supremacy, p. 228, 229. Barrow’s Theolog. Works, vol. vi. 8vo. edit. London, 1818: one of the most powerful and precious volumes in the whole compass of English literature; a work that never has been, and never will be, satisfactorily answered; which contains all the erudition and all the argument that its subject is capable of, stamped with all the characteristics of his mighty style,—the most convincing reasoning, exuberant eloquence, and profound philosophy: a work of which Tillotson has said, “he (Barrow) has exhausted the subject; insomuch that no argu-

“ it will be continually encroaching and stretching its power, till it grow
 “ enormous and boundless. It will not endure to be pinched by any
 “ restraint. It will assume all things to itself, trampling down all opposite
 “ claims of right and liberty. It will mount above all law and rule ; not
 “ only challenging to be uncontrollable and unaccountable, but not en-
 “ during any reproof of its proceedings, or contradictions of its dictates.
 “ A blind faith must be yielded to all its assertions, as infallibly true ;
 “ and a blind obedience to all its decrees, as unquestionably holy.” The
 history of our country incontrovertibly proves, that this frightful portrait
 is an exact likeness of what its hideous original was, when dominant
 among ourselves ; and the aspect of the larger portion of the modern
 Roman Catholic world as clearly evinces, that the character of Popery
 is not less formidable or repelling in other nations, and in the present
 day. Would it then be *wise* to remove those mild restraints, which alone
 prevent the *possibility* of its again swelling into the magnitude, and
 assuming the authority, that it heretofore exhibited and maintained on
 British ground ? Would it be *grateful* to the memory of our ancestors,
 who established the freedom, and reformed the religion, of our country ;
 or *just* to the claims of our posterity, who may fairly demand from us the
 transmission of the free Government and the pure Church which we our-
 selves enjoy—to break down the barrier that encircles, protects, and secures
 both ? Assuredly these are questions of no common importance, or every
 day concern ; and appear to *us* to be capable of being answered only in
 the *negative* ; for, looking back to the past, and forward to the future,
 we cannot but conclude, that to entrust the British Roman Catholics with
 a particle more of political power than they at present possess, would be
 an act involving the dereliction of *wisdom*, the violation of *gratitude*, and
 the abandonment of *justice*.

“ ment of moment, nay, hardly any consideration properly belonging to it, hath escaped his large and
 “ comprehensive mind. He hath said enough to silence the controversy for ever, and to deter all wise
 “ men, of both sides, from meddling any farther with it.”—*The Publisher to the Reader, Bar. Works,*
ut sup. p. v.

Nor let it be thought, that this view of the political measure in question implies a disregard to the sacred rights of conscience ; or a blind, bigoted, and senseless partiality to a specific form of civil government, or a particular branch of the universal Church of Christ. The right of *toleration* is, in our conception, an essential feature of that "liberty" wherewith Christ hath made us free ;" conceded to all Christians by the statute book of the Gospel ; enforced "at sundry times, and in divers manners," by the great Lawgiver himself ; and not to be infringed, without a defiance of his authority, and a certainty of his indignation.*

Our admiration, also, of the civil Constitution of our country is, we trust, a feeling equally unprejudiced, reasonable, and praiseworthy. We venerate it, because it is just, and popular, and free ; making ample

* For a luminous exposition of the meaning and extent of the term *toleration*, as applied to the British Roman Catholics, I would refer to the late comprehensive, impressive, and affecting "Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, &c. by the Right Reverend Geo. H. Law, Lord Bishop of that Diocese." London, Rodwell and Martin, p. 24, 25. I use the epithet *affecting*, as the Charge throughout addresses most forcibly the *feelings*, as well as the understanding. My recollection, indeed, does not serve me, at present, with any passage in English literary composition more strongly stamped with the character of true simple pathos, than the following extract :

"Such, then, my Reverend Brethren, are my sincere and matured opinions respecting the appropriate duties of the Clergy in this our day. Your lot is cast on times of trial. You have, however, one thing alone to look to—the straight-forward path of duty. Then, truly ennobling and godlike is the office to which you have dedicated your lives and ministry. It was the office of the great Saviour of the world. The ties which bind the Pastor to his people are of a sacred and a hallowed nature. The connexion between them begins at their birth, and ends but with their death. Before they know what is done for them, they are initiated by him into the fold of Christ ; are thus made the children of God, and may become inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. As their reason expands, his care of them grows with their growth ; instructs the child, and forms the future man. From his hands they afterwards receive the tenderest of human connexions, sanctioned by all the ceremonials of religion. Through life his precepts tell them what they should do ; whilst his example shews them how it may be done. And when at length, as all things must, their years are drawing to a close, when the soul is fleeing away to Him who gave it, then the Messenger of the Gospel attends with healing on his wings ; commemorates with them the last Supper of our Lord ; and offers up the dying prayer of penitence and hope. Nor does his mournful office end here : when earth is to be returned to earth, and dust to dust, the Minister accompanies their remains to the last receptacle of all the living, and repeats over them the sublime Service of our Church, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life."

The great name of Milton (see his *Areopagetica* in 1644, and his *Treatise on True Religion*, 1678) may be added to those who have *objected to the toleration of Popery*.

and equal provision for the well-being of all ranks and conditions of the objects of its care; and securing to them the enjoyment of this happiness, by wise, impartial, and well-administered laws. Realizing the hypothesis of the philosophical Tacitus, we see *that* political machine in action, which was contemplated by the historian merely as a *possibility*—a representative system of government, whose nicely-balanced portions, mutual dependencies, and reciprocating checks, give steadiness, regularity, and grace, to all its *motions*: a government complex and dissimilar in its parts, but simple and uniform as a whole; where the apparently incompatible interests of a Monarch, an Aristocracy, and a Commonalty, are blended together in complete amalgamation; and combine to produce that social harmony, which, if they acted independently of each other, would be perpetually interrupted, and eventually destroyed.

Neither can we admit that a bigoted devotion to the Established Church has influenced our opinion on the subject of the *Catholic Claims*. We love the Church of England, indeed, but it is with a calm and rational affection; not for aught of human which she bears about her, but, for the reflected image which she presents to us (faded, perhaps, by age, but strong in resemblance) of pure, practical, primitive Christianity; because she is “instinct” with the “spirit” of mildness, conciliation, and charity; because she draws her system of faith, and code of morals, from the uncontaminated fountain of eternal truth—the HOLY BIBLE;* and in her

* “The BIBLE, I say, the BIBLE only” (exclaims the enlightened and honest Chillingworth) “is the religion of Protestants. Whatsoever else they believe besides it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, they well may hold it as a matter of opinion; but as matter of faith and religion, neither can they, with coherence to their own grounds, believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it in others, without most high and most schismatical presumption. I am fully assured that God does not, and therefore that man ought not, to require any more of any man than this—to believe the Scripture to be God’s word; to endeavour to find the true sense of it; and to live according to it.”—*The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way to Salvation*; 271.

When Sir Henry Wotton was in Italy, “a priest invited him one evening to hear their vesper music at church. The priest seeing Sir Henry standing obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy this question, writ in a small piece of paper, *Where was your religion to be found before Luther?* To which question Sir Henry Wotton presently underwrit, *My religion was to be found THEN, where yours is not to be found NOW,—in the WRITTEN WORD OF GOD.*”—*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, Walton’s Life of Sir H. Wotton, 1651.

Articles of Church Communion rationally, soberly, and intelligibly, directs her members to the same depository of light and life, for the tenets of their belief, and the rules of their conduct: "HOLY SCRIPTURE CONTAINETH
 "ALL THINGS NECESSARY TO SALVATION, SO THAT WHATSOEVER IS NOT READ
 "THEREIN, NOR MAY BE PROVED THEREBY, IS NOT TO BE REQUIRED OF ANY MAN
 "THAT IT SHOULD BE BELIEVED AS AN ARTICLE OF THE FAITH, OR BE THOUGHT
 "REQUISITE OR NECESSARY TO SALVATION."* But, we have heretofore offered our public tribute of respect and affection for the Church to which we belong, and stated the reasons of our preference.† With a repetition of this we close our Preface.

"Viewed with a reference to her sound and long-acknowledged principles, I profess that my mind can conceive nothing more plain, sedate, and dignified; more beautiful in constitution, more venerable in external forms, more scriptural in doctrine, or more amiable in spirit, than the CHURCH OF ENGLAND: nothing which (without claiming for her ideal infallibility, or impossible perfection, the vain boast of Popery) appears to me to be so exactly adapted to promote the glory of God by her reasonable worship, and the virtue and happiness of mankind by her practical and consolatory tenets. When, like the Patriarch's dove, I venture out for a moment upon the wide and wild ocean of conflicting religious opinions, by which she is at present surrounded, like her I return with gladness to our ARK, as the only spot of safety, peace, and rest. HERE I find something intelligible, convincing, improving; something that satisfies my understanding, affects my heart, and *soothes*, while it awes, my soul; 'tries my reins;' and 'searches my spirit.' This preference may, perhaps, be *called* the *partiality* of a *son*, or the *pre-judice* of a *friend*; but, whatever it be esteemed by others, to me it is a source of joy and peace;—a feeling which I trust will continue with me, and keep me faithful to her, to the last moment of my life; and

* See 6th Article.

† Letter to the Bishop of Gloucester, &c. Bath, 1818.

“when that shall close, will dictate the same parting prayer in her behalf,
 “which the dying Father Paul breathed out for his country,

“ESTO PERPETUA!”

It now only remains to me to acknowledge my large debt of of gratitude to the accomplished characters who have assisted my late researches, and to whom the Public are indebted for much of whatever may be found either of curiosity or amusement, in “The History of the “Abbey of Glaston, and the Town of Glastonbury”—to the LORD BISHOP of BATH and WELLS, for his encouraging patronage in the commencement, and his kind aid during the progress, of my Work; for his direction of my inquiries to sources of information, and his communication of various MS. documents, of great interest in themselves, and of much importance to the volume;—to Sir RICHARD COLT HOARE, Bart. the *Atticus* of his day, the scholar and the gentleman, for the free use of his unrivalled library; the munificent contribution of four of the best plates which adorn, or at least illustrate, “The History of Glaston “Abbey;” and for an hospitality which might well be termed *elegant*, did it not deserve the more engaging epithet of *friendly*;—to the Right Honourable Lord ROLLE, for his liberal permission to Mr. R. P. Prat, to inspect, and make extracts from, the curious MS. terrier-book of Glaston Abbey, entitled *Extenta Maneriorum*, in his Lordship’s valuable library at Bicton, Devonshire;—to JOHN GOODFORD, Esq; of Chilton Cantelo, Somerset, for his zealous endeavours to give notoriety to my plan, and to procure that encouragement for its execution, which, had it been more ably performed, it would the better have deserved;—to the

Rev. WILLIAM LISLE BOWLES, Rector of Bremhill, Wilts, for the like proofs of friendship and esteem; and for his ready permission to me to enliven the following pages with a beautiful effusion of his tender, moral, and melodious muse;—to the Rev. JOHN SKINNER, Rector of Camerton, Somerset, for the use of his highly interesting MS. *Itinera*, and for those suggestions in *etymology* (bearing upon my subject), which, from his deep researches, and patient thought on this branch of curious literature, he is so competent to afford;—to THOMAS SHEW, Esq; of Bath, for several accurate and tasteful Drawings of Glastonbury, its Ruins, and various articles of Antiquity connected with them;—to Messrs. PRAT, of Glastonbury, for their large sacrifice of valuable time, in analyzing, and making extracts from, what may be strictly called the *singular* Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. John the Baptist; and for much other useful information, of a particular and general nature respecting that Town and its Neighbourhood;—to JOHN FRY REEVES, Esq; the liberal owner of the Ruins of the Abbey, for the constant access to them which he afforded to me; for his flattering attention to my suggestions for their more complete developement; and for the expense and trouble which he has imposed upon himself (and here the Public are equally his debtors with the Historian) in disencumbering and unfolding these beautiful remains of ancient Gothic Architecture, and preserving them for the inspection of the curious, and the contemplation of the thoughtful, for ages yet to come;—to Mr. JOHN BEAUCHAMP, Jun. of West-Pennard, Surveyor, (whose modest merit must eventually find its deserved level,) for what has hitherto been a desideratum in the Somersetshire Maps and Surveys, a correct Plan of that intricate and undetermined district, Glaston Twelve Hides;—to the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER, of Bath, (of deep but unassuming erudition,) for the explication of several difficulties, and the illustration of frequent obscurities, occurring in the progress of my enquiries;—and to FRANCIS DOUCE, Esq; (long known to the literary world by the published results

of his profound and comprehensive knowledge of Antiquities, both foreign and domestic,) for a like disentanglement of occasional perplexities;—to all and every of whom, collectively and individually, would I express myself as being lastingly obliged; would offer them my sincere thanks; and assure them, that their favours (in the words of an amiable Prelate) “have made a deep impression on a mind not “insensible to kindness.”*

* Charge, ut sup. p. 30.

Explanations of the Wood Cuts.

TITLE-PAGE. *The ARMS of the ABBEY of GLASTON.*

Vert, a cross botonnee *argent*. This device is found, as the arms of the Monastery, in several sculptures, in the age just previous to the Dissolution; but before this period, there had been sometimes added, in the first quarter, a little figure of the Virgin, holding the infant Christ in her dexter arm, and in her left hand a golden sceptre—a circumstance which accounts for the different bearings of the abbatial arms given by our early heralds. An instance of a shield, thus charged, may be seen in Weston-Zoyland Church, (one of the churches dependent on the Abbey,) over the window on the outside, at the end of the south transept.

DEDICATION. *The ARMS of the See of BATH and WELLS, united with those of the Family of LAW.*

See of Bath and Wells—*azure*, a saltier divided parti per cross, and saltier *or* and *argent*. Law—*argent*, on a bend engrailed between two chanticleres *gules*, three mullets *or*.

LETTER A. *A CRUCIFIED SAVIOUR, and the VIRGIN MARY with the child JESUS in her arms.*

The former is a bronze figure, five inches in length, graceful and natural in form, and respectable in execution. It was dug up many years ago, within the precincts of the great church of Glaston, and presented to the author by the Rev. John Skinner, rector of Camerton, Somerset. From the small rivets at the back of the hands and feet, it is believed to have been attached to a metal crucifix; and probably surmounted a *priez Dieu*, or little desk for solitary prayer and reading, with which every monk's sleeping-cell was provided. (Eyston, page lxxi.) It is by no means unlikely, that this elegant specimen of the metal-founder's skill might have been executed by one of the Monks of Glaston Abbey, as it made part of their employment to exercise the mechanical arts; and the extensive premises of the larger monasteries included every convenience

for carrying on the secular operations of jewellers' work, metallurgy, painting, gilding, sculpture, clock-making, &c. (Paston's Letters, ii. 30.) Dunstan himself, the abbot and patron of Glaston Abbey, had furnished the monastics with a notable example of industry and excellence, in the fabrication of metallic and other articles of ornament and use. "Ibi (at Glaston, it is Adam de Domerham who speaks) "manus" (Dunstanus) "applicabat operi : labia Psalmis : animos cœlis. Currebat per tabulam stylus, per paginam calamus; sumebat pincillum, ut pingeret; scalpellum, ut sculperet. Sunt namque in Glastonia (ut nobis traditum est) de opere ejus manuali, *cruces*, *turribula* (censers), *fialæ* (crystal vases or bottles), *casulæ* (little boxes), alia quoque vestimenta, quæ adhuc, ob ejus honorem, condigno reservantur honore." (John. Glas. p. 116.) He was also a *bell-founder*; and stimulated, by his example, other dignified monastics to exercise the same ingenious branch of manufacture. "Fecit etiam (Athelwold) duas campanas, propriis manibus, ut dicitur, quas in hac domo (Abingdon monastery) posuit, cum aliis duabus majoribus, quas etiam beatus Dunstanus propriis manibus fecisse perhibetur. Præterea fecit vir venerabilis Athelwoldus, quandam rotam tintinnabulis plenam, quam *auream* nuncupavit; propter laminas ipsius deauratas, quam in festivis diebus, ad majoris excitationem devotionis, redeundo volvi constituit." (Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 104.)

The little IMAGE of the VIRGIN and CHILD (about four inches long) is formed of a fine, hard, and weighty cement. Nothing composed of such a material can be more exquisitely or delicately finished. Its present possessor, the Rev. Richard Prat, vicar of Littleham and Exmouth, Devon, when he obligingly communicated it for the purpose of being drawn and cut in wood, remarked, that it had been found long since among the ruins of the cathedral church of Glaston. Its antiquity is probably very considerable, as it has evidently been covered with a coat of *gilding*, which the monks (having caught a better taste) ceased to use on their smaller images long previously to the æra of the Reformation. From a hole in its bottom, adapted to receive a peg or wire, it may be considered as having been placed upon the summit of a small rich shrine; or on the top of a reliquary, containing some precious remains of the Blessed Virgin. To *her* the great church was dedicated; and to *her* was directed the larger proportion of the worship performed within its walls. *Her* altar (pre-eminent in holiness as in magnitude) shone with the choicest treasures, blazed with the greatest flood of light, and rolled through the fane the richest cloud of incense. To *her* honour all the mechanical arts which the monks practised were tributary; and on *her* effigies more especially were bestowed their chief labour, skill, and cost. Numerous were the images of the Blessed Virgin, which glittered in various parts of the venerable pile. To *one*, however, a peculiar sanctity was attributed, from the circumstance of its having been the subject of a remarkable miracle. There is here (in Glaston church), says the historian, "an image of the Holy Mother of God in high estimation, and beautifully executed. A fire occurred in the part of the church wherein it was placed, which quickly consumed every thing combustible in its neighbourhood. When, however, the flame approached the hallowed spot, or niche, in which the

image stood, as if afraid of her (*ipsam quasi expavescens*), it left the place untouched; so that not even the *peplum* (or white veil), which covered her head, was polluted with the smell of smoke. The Virgin's *face*, notwithstanding, did not fare quite so well; having slight *blisters* (*vesicæ*) raised upon it (as on a living subject) by the intensity of the heat; which continued for some time to manifest, to the gazing votaries, the miracle which she had wrought, for the preservation of her *dress*, if not of her *beauty*. In process of time, Abbot John Chynnok clothed the Virgin anew, adorning her with gold, silver, and precious stones; placing in the shrine beneath her a large stock of relics, which, together with the image and shrine itself, were accustomed to be carried in procession on certain of the most solemn annual festivals." (Johan. Glast. 46.)

LETTER B. *The INSCRIPTION ON ARTHUR'S COFFIN.*

The inquiry into the *reality* of such a personage as King Arthur, and the account of his connection with the Abbey of Glaston, will be discussed in another part of this work; but it may not be out of place to say a few words here, on the subject of the singular example of monkish imposition furnished by the article now before us. Camden makes the following mention of Arthur's tomb, and the leaden tablet that bore the inscription in question, the latter of which, it seems, he had himself seen.* "Before I leave this place," says he, "I shall recite in brief what Giraldus Cambrensis, who was an eye-witness, relates at large of Arthur's tomb in this churchyard. Henry the Second, king of England, being informed by the songs of the British bards that Arthur, the great hero of Britain, who so often checked the ravages of the Saxons, was buried at Glastonbury, between two pyramids, ordered search to be made for his body. They had scarcely dug to the depth of seven feet, when they struck upon a block of stone, in whose under surface was fixed a *broadish leaden plate*, in form of a cross; which, being taken out, was found to have an inscription on it; and under it, at the depth of about nine feet, was discovered a coffin, made of the trunk of an oak, hollowed, in which, were lodged the bones of this famous champion. I have thought proper to add the inscription, formerly copied from the original in Glastonbury Abbey, for the antiquity of the characters. They have a barbarous and gothic appearance, and plainly shew the barbarism of the age; which was involved in such fatal darkness, that there was not one person capable of committing the actions of Arthur to writing. The subject was certainly worthy the genius of some learned man, who, by celebrating such a prince, would have immortalized his own fame. It seems to have been the misfortune of this gallant defender of the British empire, that he could find

* Leland, also, had the pleasure of contemplating this precious relic, which he did with all the ecstasy of a thorough-bred antiquary. "*Quam ego curiosissimis contemplatus cum oculis, et sollicitis contrectavi articulis, motus et antiquitate rei et dignitate.*"—*Assertio Arthuri.*

no panegyrist of his virtues. The annexed plate (the wood cut) represents the cross and inscription." (Cam. Brit. in Somerset.)

Mr. Gough, in his additions to this work, under the same county, gives us, from Leland, the following particulars. "In the middle (of the presbytery) lay Arthur, with this simple epitaph,

*Hic jacet Arturus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores, probitas, commendant, laude perenni.*

At the head of Arthur's tomb lay "Henricus, abbas, (Henry de Blois,) and a crucifix. At the feet, the figure of Arthur; a cross on the tomb; and two lions* at the head, and two at the feet, reaching to the ground. At his feet, his Queen (Guinever), with this epitaph,

*Arturi jacet hic conjux tumultata secunda,
Quæ meruit cælos, virtutum prole fecunda.*

"By this description," says Mr. Gough, "both should seem to have been altar tombs. Giraldus says, that Guinever's bones lay at the lower end of the tomb, two thirds of which were occupied by her husband's bones. The account given by Giraldus of the finding of Arthur's body is in his *Speculum Ecclesiasticum*, where he adds, that the bones were of gigantic proportion; the tibia being three fingers longer than that of the then abbot, the space between the eyes and forehead a hand's breadth†; and in his head were ten wounds, one, his death wound, larger than the rest. The leaden cross (which Mr. Camden has engraved, I know not from what drawing) was let into the stone; the letters next the stone, as both Giraldus and the Anonymous Monk of Glastonbury, cited by Leland, (Ass. Arthur, p. 50, 51,) assert. The Monk adds, that in the tomb of his queen, opened at the same time, 1189, was found her fair yellow hair, nicely braided, which fell to pieces on touching. It seems to be a mistake that these corpses were found between the *pyramids*,‡ (see Eyston's Abstract of Life of King Arthur, Append. ii.)

* It is a circumstance worth mentioning, that during Mr. Reeves's late excavations in the crypt of St. Joseph's chapel, a piece of sculpture, in freestone, representing the forepart of a *lion couchant*, half as large as life, was dug up. As it is not likely that such an ornament would be introduced into monastic structures, unless for some particular reason, is it not probable that this fragment is part of one of the *lions* alluded to in the text?

† Higden, with great seriousness, corroborates this account of Arthur's "giant mould." "Also have mynde that Arthures chynbone" (shin-bone) "that was thenne shewed, was lenger (longer) by thre inches than the legge and the knee of the lengest man that was thenne found. Also the face of his fore-hede betweene hys two eyen was a spanne brode."—Trevisa's Translation fol. 290, rec.

‡ Of these pyramids, William of Malmesbury says, that they stood in the Abbey church-yard, about the sarcophagus of King Arthur. The tallest, and that which stood nearest to the church, was twenty-six feet in height, and consisted of five courses or stories, having some unintelligible names on it. The

which would probably have mentioned them ; but this does not appear to have been the case ; though it must be confessed that they are not very intelligibly copied by Malmesbury, and are probably Saxon, commemorating some of the early abbots. Matthew Paris says, these pyramids stood about the sarcophagus ; and that Arthur's body was found in digging to bury a monk, who had a particular desire to lie there. He gives the inscription, *Hic jacet inclytus Britonum rex, &c.* John of Glastonbury says, Arthur rested in the monks' cemetery 640 years, before he was removed into the great church." (Gough's edit. of Camden : Additions to Somerset.)

It is impossible to determine the antiquity of the plate from the shape of its letters, as they tally with the characters which were in use for some centuries, during the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and old English ages. We can only decidedly pronounce that they are *not* of the period to which the Monkish writers attribute them. If, indeed, the recital of the discovery of remains supposed to be Arthur's, given to us by Giraldus Cambrensis, be true, (and we can hardly doubt the solemn assertion of a writer who professes himself to have been *an eye-witness* of the fact which he relates,) it then seems not to be improbable, that the plate in question was (to use a well-known modern phrase) *got up* by the monks at the time, for the purpose of *identifying the bones*, and convincing the royal visitor, Henry II., of the verity of their monastic legends, or rather local histories. The two circumstances—of their fixing so readily on the exact spot in which the body was interred ; and of the stone and plate being only seven feet under ground, whereas the corpse itself was nine feet deeper—seem to imply, not only a previous knowledge of an ancient grave being on the spot, but also that the *less deep* excavation had been posterior to the one of sixteen feet ; and as no other occasion for such a disturbance of the earth appears to have previously occurred, it is more than hypothetical, that it took place just before the arrival of Henry at Glaston, when the inscription was introduced by the monks, to authenticate their own annals, and to convey to the king's mind the persuasion that he actually beheld the august remains of the origin and flower of British chivalry.

The fate of the plate is unknown. It has, probably, long since been destroyed ; though it was clearly extant in Camden's time, who saw, (as Leland had done,) and copied it. It was the suggestion of Mr. Douce, that, at the Reformation, several articles were taken from the dissolved monastery of Glaston, and carried to Naworth Castle in Cumberland ; and, among the rest, the plate, and stone on which it was fastened ; and that, in all likelihood, Camden took a copy of the former at *that place*, as he was well acquainted with Lord William Howard, the celebrated possessor of Naworth in the sixteenth century. This hint induced us to apply for information on the subject to a friend in Northumberland ; who obtained, from an estimable clergyman in the neighbourhood of Naworth Castle, the following communication ; which, though unsatisfactory as far as regards the

other pyramid was eighteen feet high, and consisted of four stories, whereon three other names were inscribed in large characters. They commemorated, probably, as Mr. Gough suggests, some of the earliest presidents of the monastic institution at Glaston.

stone and plate, affords some interesting particulars respecting a large *wooden book*, which is still preserved in the original library of the ancient residence of Lord William Howard, and which was conveyed thither from the dissolved Abbey of Glaston.

“ In consequence of your request to search for, and explore, the records, &c. at Naward, I have spent a little time in that business; but have not been able to discover the grave-stone you mentioned, nor the smallest trace of it.

“ I have found, however, a large book *with wooden leaves*, on which are fixed vellum sheets, written in an ancient character.

“ The MS., according to my decyphering, has the following heads of the chapters which it contains :

“ 1st. Incipit narration. de Sancto Joseph. ab Arimathea : narratq. de libro quodā quē invenit Theodosius imperator in Jerusalem scrip. Sacr. Pilati.

“ 2d. Incipit quumōdo duodecim discipuli sanctorum Philippi & Jacobi Apostolorum ecclesiam Glast. fundaverunt.

“ 3d. De sanctis ibidem requiescentibus.

“ 4th. De translatione Sancti Dunstani a Cantuario ad Glastoniam.

“ 5th. De dignitate et sanctitate vetuste ecclesie beate Marie Glastonie ac ejusdem Sancti Cimeterii.

“ 6th. Nomina sanctorum in ecclesia Glastoniensi requiescentium sub brevitate collecta.

“ 7th. Indulgentie multor. pontificum legatorum archiepiscoporum ecclesie Glastō concesse.

“ There are more heads, and a great deal of matter contained under each ; but I have deemed the above sufficient to transcribe for your information.

“ I have not found any other book or document at Naward relating to the Abbey of Glaston.”*

From the above account it should seem that this curious relic was either transcribed from William of Malmesbury, or that its writer gathered some of his materials from this monkish author's work. It is particularly interesting, as it affords a specimen of those *wooden books*, which were sometimes found in monastic libraries. (Decem Scriptores, p. 2435.) There can be no doubt of its great antiquity. Dr. Stukely had seen it, as appears from his *Iter. Boreal.* p. 58. “ We visited Knaworth Castle—a library once stored with learned books and MSS. Here is the famous Glastonbury Abbey book, or rather skreen, for it is big enough : an account of the Saints buried in that place.” Aand in a tour made by the Author through the North of England, about twenty-five years ago, he also had the pleasure of turning over its ponderous leaves. “ Lord William's library is contained in a small and gloomy room, at the top of a turret. “ We were told that the contents of this apartment were in precisely the same order as

* We have great pleasure in acknowledging it was by the obliging permission of Lord Morpeth, that this search was made at the ancient mansion, of which his Lordship is the possessor.

"he had left them, nearly three centuries ago." (Warner's "Northern Tour," vol. ii. page 71.)

LETTER C. *GLASTONBURY TOR.*

The situation of this interesting structure of "the olden time" is surprisingly fine, commanding

"A goodly prospect stretch'd immense around,"

whose circumferential line would probably exceed one hundred and forty miles. Its steep *acclivity* determines the use to which it was applied in ages far anterior to the times of early Christian devotion, or those more recent ones, the days of Papal superstition; exhibiting evident vestiges either of Celtic castrametation, or Belgic defence against the warlike operations of the Romans, of which its neighbourhood was the busy scene, in the first century of the Christian era. As its *sides* were thus strengthened with the rude military works of the early British ages, so its guarded *summit* (like one of the "high places" of Jewish idolatry) was, in all likelihood, devoted originally to the purposes of Pagan worship, and occasionally blazed far and near with the *Bel-tin*, or enormous fire consecrated to Bel, Baal, Apollo, or the Sun.* Nor did this its sacred adaptation terminate with the downfall of Druidism. Early in the Christian times, many of the converted heathen, influenced either by the prejudices of education and habit, or by the ennobling expansion of mind and sublimity of thought which such lofty situations are naturally calculated to inspire, retired to these high places of their ancestral religion, and there erected oratories or churches, (according to the number and means of the worshippers,) to the honour of the one true God. The *place* of worship was the same as before, but the *object* of it—a Being of infinite love and mercy, in the room of imaginary personifications of vice and horror; and its *ritual*—the sober and decent services of a religion of the heart, instead of the gross and detestable practices of a vicious idolatry. Such, seemingly, was the case with Glastonbury Tor; and, without adverting to the absurd legends of the monkish writers, we may fairly believe, that, early in the conversion of the Britons of this part of England, the sacred hill would be occupied by some of the more earnest of the new believers, and furnished with one of the small and humble churches of the times, for the purposes of their public and social worship. The practice of dedicating these holy structures to aught but the supreme Majesty of Heaven, or the universal Saviour of mankind, was a growth of after times. As soon, however, as it was adopted, St. Michael appears to have been chosen as the patron saint of all such places of Christian worship as were situated on lofty and commanding eminences. The faithful recognised *him* as the head of the hierarchy of heaven, the combatant and conqueror of the great dragon; and thought that the sense of his dignity, and of the value

* In many parts of Scotland the *Bel-tin* is regularly lighted every May-day.

of his high achievements, would be best expressed, by consecrating to his celebrated name, those ecclesiastical edifices which, from the loftiness of their scite, would be visible at the greatest distance. Hence we may infer that the first structure on Glastonbury Tor would, after a time, be dedicated to St. Michael; and upon the same principle it was, that the Church, of which only the tower now remains, bore the name of the same saint in former times, and continues to be called St. Michael's Tor or Tower at the present day. When the Church itself was built, of which the tower is the only remnant, cannot be accurately ascertained; but the style of the architecture of the latter, as well as the records of history, combine to assure us, that its erection must have been subsequently to 1275, when a mighty earthquake laid the chapel of St. Michael of the Tor in ruins.* If, therefore, we attribute to it an antiquity as far back as the latter part of the reign of Edward the First, we shall not be very wide of the period of its being built. An opinion of its age, however, as far as its architecture is concerned, can be formed only from the western front, and northern and southern sides of the remaining tower; for the *eastern end* of it (having lost the nave probably soon after the dissolution) ran into dilapidation; and having been re-erected in haste and carelessness many years ago, retains none of its original characteristic features. The fabric is strengthened by buttresses; and entered by a portal of elegant pattern, over which are two pannels of singular sculptures, the one representing the archangel Michael holding in his hand a pair of scales, and weighing the Bible against Satan, while another devil vainly strives to make Satan's scale preponderate; the other tablet appears to be charged with a spread-eagle. The effigies, which occupied the seven niches above the entrance, have all disappeared, save one, which is too much mutilated to be intelligible.

It appears to be highly probable, that the area of Tor Hill was formerly inhabited, not only by a party of the Monks who performed the services of its church or chapel, but also by many who followed secular employments on its summit; since a *fair*, of two days continuance on this spot, had been granted, long previously to the reign of Henry I., to the *Chantry* of the Abbey of Glastonbury, a grant which obviously implies a *lay population* at the place where it should be held. This privilege was extended by Henry I. from *two* to *six* days.† *Charta Henrici Regis de Feria Sancti Michaelis de la Torre. Mon. Ang. nov. edit. Append. No. lxxiii.*

In addition to the reasons above advanced, for attributing an antiquity of upwards of five hundred years to this ecclesiastic edifice, we should adduce the additional one, arising from the date of the following charters of indulgencies, which were dispersed to those who had contributed to the erection of the new church, after the demolition of the

* Hoc tempore, A. D. 1275, tercio idus Septembris *capella* Sancti Michaelis de Torre, cecidit per Terræmotum, John. Glas. p. 245.

† A fair is still held at the declivity of the *Tor*, at a spot called the *Fair-Field*, (being a part of the hill,) on the 19th of September: it continues only for one day.

old one by the earthquake. They were granted in the time of Abbot John de Taunton, who died in 1290, and consequently the church must have been built, or building, at the period of his decease.

Cartæ de indulgentiis dat. ad ecclesiam de la Torre.

Gervasius Menevensis episcopus xx dies.

Radulfus Kildarensis episcopus xv dies.

R. Launiensis episcopus xx dies.

G. Dulkendensis episcopus xiii dies.

Willelmus Exoniensis episcopus xl dies ii paria.

Elyas Landavensis episcopus xiii dies.

E. Landavensis episcopus xl dies.

Item E. Landavensis episcopus xv dies.

R. Waterfordensis episcopus xiii dies.

Walterus Waterfordensis episcopus xiii dies.

Stephanus Waterfordensis xx dies ii paria.

Summa cc xviii dies.*

The Tor Hill is by no means uninteresting as an object of natural curiosity, its upper portion being a huge mass of the inferior oolite (resting on a bed of calcareous sand), extremely rich in the fossils which characterise this formation; while from its roots gushes out that copious spring of mineral water, which, seventy years ago, was celebrated through the kingdom as one of the most efficacious chalybeates in the country. Directing its course to the west, it fills the baths constructed at the south-east of the town, runs through Chinkwell street, crosses the Abbey close, proceeds to Chain-gate† at the entrance of St. Magdalene

* As the nature of these indulgences is not generally understood, we subjoin an explanation of it given to us by a learned Roman Catholic Clergyman. "An indulgence is simply a remission of the temporal punishment due to sin, after the sin is forgiven. This temporal punishment, in the first ages of the Church, was inflicted in the form of canonical penances, lasting for various periods, according to the circumstances of the case; in some instances for years, months, or days: a penance of forty days is frequently mentioned in the history of the Church. An indulgence, therefore, of forty days, or of any given time, is altogether a spiritual benefit, consisting in the remission of that temporal punishment which corresponds with that proportion of canonical penance, were such penances still in force. An indulgence must be given by proper authority, and with a view to excite christian penitents to the performance of good works. The power of granting indulgences is claimed by the Popes, as successors of St. Peter, to whom our Redeemer said, *Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.*" (Matt. xvi. 19.)

Such might be the harmless or unmeaning character of indulgences, at their origin; but it is notorious, from the writings both of Papists and Protestants, that they soon assumed a very different one, and were for ages made subservient to the worst purposes of superstition, to the destruction of public morals, the degradation of the laity, the aggrandizement of the clergy, and the inordinately ambitious views of the sovereign Pontiff. "For who would not adore *him*," says Barrow, "that could loose his bands, and free his soul from long and grievous pains." Barrow's Works, vol. vi. p. 311.

† So called from the *chained* gated, an arched passage anciently thus secured, which stood at the entrance of this street, but was taken down many years ago.

street, where it supplies the Old Bath, and from thence runs through the valley, till it mingles its waters with the river Brent. Its analysis, according to Dr. Wilkinson, (whose scientific acquirements stamp all the results of his chemical manipulations with the highest authority,) is as follows:

"The Tor-Hill Spring contains carbonic acid gas, carbonate of iron and soda, and sulphate of soda: its temperature is generally 55° Fahren. In its progress through the Abbey inclosure to Chain-gate, it deposits the carbonate of iron in a state of oxyde; and becomes, consequently, better adapted for, and is more used by, scrofulous patients, than it is nearer its source. The *Park-Farm* Spring contains carbonic acid gas, carbonate of iron, seven grains in a gallon, carbonate of lime, sulphate of magnesia, muriate of ditto, and sulphuretted hydrogen. Under particular circumstances of the atmosphere, greater or less quantities of the gas are evolved."

LETTER D. *The GREAT ENTRANCE into the Abbey Inclosure.*

The sketch of this wood cut was made by an artist about twenty-five years ago, and represents the then state of this venerable portal. It is much to be regretted that private convenience suggested its destruction, as a mean house but badly supplies the place of an august building, which gave both dignity and picturesque effect to the side of the street on which it stood. The wood cut shews that it had a machicolation above the gate,* and battlements on its front; there was also a groined ceiling over the arch. The smaller arched and groined entrance, for people on foot, on the left hand, still remains, serving now as a passage to the small alms-houses and chapel for women, founded by Richard Beere, the immediate predecessor of the last Abbot. An ancient portal leads to these eleemosynary buildings, the arch of which is surmounted by the sculpture of a full-blown rose, having above it a close or covered crown. The supporters appear to have been intended for winged greyhounds. A scroll that accompanies it bears the date 1512, notifying the period of its erection. Over the remaining foot-passage, is a small room bearing the name of the *Stone Chamber*, probably from its stone floor. The old bow-windowed house, now the Red Lion Inn, adjoining to the passage, was the ancient Porter's Lodge. Further down the same street was another arched gateway, leading to the Abbot's Kitchen, but of more recent date than the one mentioned above. This, together with a considerable length of the old boundary wall of the Abbey, were taken down in the year 1808, an iron railing substituted in their place, and a fine view of the kitchen and ruins opened to the public. Mr. Collinson has recorded a curious instance of good fortune which attended the owner of the house that now occupies the space of the great gateway, which was formerly the Porter's Lodge, in the seventeenth

* The *machicolation* is that member of a tower or gateway which projected from the summit of the building from eighteen inches to two feet in breadth, and was intended for the last defence of the portal below. Its interior was hollowed into several funnels or openings, through which were poured down, upon the assailants beneath, various destructive substances, such as boiling lead, boiling pitch, scalding water, stones, &c.

century. "He pulled down an old mantle-piece, and placed it in the street, where it lay for several years. He was once offered three shillings for it, but would not sell it under three shillings and four-pence. At length his daughter, going to build a small chamber, got a workman to saw it out to make stairs; when in a private hole, which had been purposely made in it, the mason found near a hundred pieces of gold, of the time of Richard II. and Edward III. and of the value of about eleven shillings each." (Hist. Som. vol. ii. p. 263.

LETTER E. *An Ancient CHIMNEY-PIECE.*

This curious relict of old English sculpture in stone is in one of the first-floor bed-chambers of a house in the south side of High-street, (called, also, in the Churchwardens' accounts, "Great-street,") in the occupation of Mr. William Stricker. It contains, in three compartments, representations of as many old English sports. On the left hand, *dancing*; in the middle compartment, *archery*, or shooting at the butts; on the right hand, *wrestling*. The execution is rude, but the subjects interesting, as they illustrate the popular pastimes of the time of Edward the Fourth, the costume of the figures fixing its date to that period. (See the plates of the fifteenth century in Strutt's *Horda Angel Cynnan*.) It is well worthy remark, that the performers in the compartment on the left hand are exercising their skill on instruments precisely the same as those used by the Italian *pifirari* of the present day. During the week preceding the festival of Christmas, it is customary for the shepherds of the Campagna di Roma to visit the city in pairs, the one playing on a sort of hautboy, exactly resembling the pipe in the sculpture; and the other on a *bagpipe*, the bellows of which is made of a goat's skin, and, contrary to the Scotch practice, is *inflated by the mouth*. Their performance is confined to the shops of tradesmen, in front of which the image of the Madonna is suspended, with a lamp burning before it. The *Carpenter*, however, has the larger portion of their attention, in compliment to Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary. The idea entertained of this ceremony, or at least the pretence for it, is, that the music soothes the parturition pains of the Virgin, which she is supposed annually to undergo. However ridiculous the ceremony, and monstrous the notions connected with it, may be, the wary and acute observer, to whom I am indebted for the facts, is a sufficient authority for the reality of both.

A ceiling, in another chamber of Mr. Stricker's house, is of singular pattern, and coeval with the sculpture. The divisions of its square compartments, its mouldings, and cornice, evince fancy, cost, and elaboration.

LETTER F.

Two Ancient CORBELS, on which rest the perpendicular supporters of the roofs above.

The costume of the figures indicates that both are the work of the fifteenth century. The wood cut on the left occurs in the front of a house at the eastern point of junction

between High-street and Northload-street, and represents one of the seven sacraments of the Romish Church—that of *marriage*. The other (which may be seen in the front of an antique mansion on the eastern side of Magdalene-street) exhibits the favourite old English sport—a *wrestling match*.

LETTER G. *An Ancient Tomb, the Sepulchre of one Camel, the Purse-Bearer of the contemporaneous Abbot of Glastonbury.*

The body of the monument is of Doultling stone; the slab, which it supports, of *gypsum*, commonly called alabaster. The front face of the former is divided into eight compartments, containing, alternately, the figures of an angel and a camel. The eastern end, also, exhibits similar representations. A scroll waves round each camel, inscribed with old English letters, now unintelligible. Sixty or seventy years ago, however, they were far less obliterated; and the grandfather of the present Messrs. Prat, of Glastonbury, then curate of that place, and resident in the house called the *Tribunal*, rescued the following imperfect lines from oblivion:

*He quia morosus queras tantum generosus
Ita divina munus scutum mihi pertinet armis
He omne saxum figit nomen trahit ex cameli
Et ex more meo genibus curbare magistro
Sic plus brutis pedibus sumt. currere mutis.*

We must candidly confess, that the lines here given, are not quite intelligible to ourselves, and therefore "*tu tibi lector Œdipus esto.*"

Each angel supports a shield charged with the *cross botonnee*, the Abbey arms, which shews the connection of the deceased with the monastery. These, and the figures, according to the vicious taste of the epoch of the monument, (the latter end of the fifteenth century,) were all originally *painted*, and have not yet lost their various tints. The superincumbent gypsum slab exhibits an ecclesiastic lying on his back, with short hair, and in long robes, having a purse suspended at his girdle, and his feet resting on the back of an animal. The tradition is, that the monument was brought from the Abbey Church, at the time of the dissolution, or shortly after. Be this as it may, the tomb affords a good specimen of the *sepulchral rebus*, so much in vogue among us three hundred years ago. *Wit* in rude ages is always of a *practical nature*. The times must be highly refined, before Johnson's definition can be applied to it—"the action of a vigorous fancy upon comprehensive knowledge;" and hence we find, that its early efforts are evidenced rather in visible representations, than in emanations of intellect. The product of this poverty of thought would naturally be such *palpable puns* as that under consideration. We recollect a similar one in the ancient church of Christchurch Twyneham, in Hampshire. The person commemo-

rated is Robert Harys, the date 1525. In one of the spandrils of this table monument, is seen a *hare* in a cumbent posture, with a label or scroll in its mouth, inscribed with the letters *ps*, evidently intended as a *rebus*, or pun, upon the name of the deceased. Other examples to the same effect are not wanting. ISLIP abbot of Westminster has sculptured for his arms, in the church, a man (the portrait of the abbot) *slipping* from a tree. BOLTON, prior of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, arms sculptured in the church, a *bolt*, or arrow, passing through a *ton*. ROSE KNOTWING, arms, in a painting on glass, in an old house at Islington, a *rose*, a *knot* or twisted cord, and a *wing*, (Gent. Mag. vol. lxxiv. p. 329 ;) and several sculptures of Abbot Richard Beere's arms are to be found in and near Glastonbury, charged with the cross bottonnée, and a *beer-flaggon* (allusive to his name) in the different chiefs and bases. Indeed, it was not an uncommon thing for those who had no ancestral coat of armour, to form one for themselves, of emblems dictated by the fancy, or suggested by the family name, or circumstances of profession and situation in life.

LETTER H. The MODEL of a CHAPEL.

The subject of this wood cut is so well illustrated by George Bennett, esq; of Banwell, Somerset, that we think it quite superfluous to make any additions to his observations, except the single remark, that we should incline to consider this beautiful piece of sculpture, as the model rather of some *foreign* chapel, than of any one within the cathedral church of Glaston Abbey. Mr. Bennett's antiquarian taste and knowledge are already known to the public through the medium of the Gentleman's Magazine; and it is to be hoped, that he will not long withhold from their notice his copious collections towards the History of the ancient, curious, and interesting parish of Banwell, in Somerset, the place of his residence.*

* There is a tradition which connects this very picturesque village in some degree with Glaston Abbey. The magnificent *wooden rood-loft* in its church (without dispute one of the handsomest country churches in the kingdom) is said to have been brought to Banwell from Bruton Monastery, but to have originally formed a part of the splendid decorations of the interior of Glaston cathedral church. In truth it was well worthy of that gorgeous edifice—from its unusually large dimensions, the taste of its gothic pattern, and the delicacy and elaboration of its workmanship. The use of the rood-loft was simply this: in the centre of it was placed the *rood*, or image of the Saviour on the *cross*, and on each side of this image those of the Virgin and St. John, its vacant space being occasionally filled with vocal and instrumental performers. The *pulpit*, also, and *font*, of Banwell Church, (both ancient, and of *stone*,) are singularly beautiful: the former consisting of a body, and pedestal on which it stands; the latter of a basin-formed lavatory, and wooden cover, all richly patterned and finely executed. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the venerable Vicar, and his estimable perpetual churchwarden, George Emery, esq; for their zeal, trouble, and cost in restoring Banwell Church to its pristine elegance, and preserving it in its present state of beauty and neatness. This village, however, may anticipate much more notoriety than even its picturesque beauties and unrivalled church could possibly obtain for it, from the extraordinary *caverns* discovered last year in its immediate neighbourhood; which have been explored, under

“DEAR SIR,—It would have given me great pleasure had it been in my power, to have sent you the model of the Abbey Church of Glastonbury which you enquire after; but, alas! I verily believe there is no such thing now extant. What you allude to, I apprehend, must be the model (or carving in stone) of a chapel, dug out of the ruins of the Abbey thirty or forty years ago, and which has for that length of time been standing as an ornament over the parlour mantle-piece of Mr. John Gallopp at Axbridge. Above, you have a representation of it, which, I flatter myself, will be found tolerably, if not perfectly, correct. This drawing shews the whole of the carving, except the right-hand gable, but the part not shewn is in every respect like the left-hand gable. The back part is merely the rough unpolished stone, which leads me to think that it was formerly a part of some highly ornamented sepulchral monument. This little antique is about twelve inches in height, and eight inches long at the base, and of a dirty red colour: it is sculptured from a block of friable freestone, found in abundance in the neighbourhood of the Tor. Some of the angles and more prominent parts of the model are now in so decayed a state, as to soil the fingers, in the manner of chalk, on being handled. Upon the whole, however, it is in tolerably good preservation, in consequence of the care taken of it since its restoration from ‘durance vile.’ It is evident that the octagon turret in the centre of the roof was once considerably higher, (probably a spire ornamented at its top,) but a part has been broken off and lost, and nothing now appears but what is delineated in the drawing. Dr. Stukeley observes, that the stones forming the roof of the Abbot’s Kitchen are all cut slanting, with the same bevils to throw off the rain, and the stones of the roof of this model somewhat resemble those on the Kitchen, except that those on the model are rounded at the bottom, somewhat in the shape of shells, whilst those on the Kitchen, if I mistake not, end downwards in a square form; but, upon the whole, I think there can be no doubt that the carving of the model was long prior to the erection of the Kitchen.

“This model is a most tasteful and scientific piece of architectural sculpture, and were an architect at a loss for the elevation of a chapel, I think he could not select a more proper one, than the chaste and simply elegant specimen here given; for my own part, I should prefer it to any one I ever saw. It was pronounced by the late John Lovell, esq; of Axbridge, to be the representation of a Confessionary Chapel, which once stood within the precincts of the Monastery; and when the model was first shewn to him, he placed his forefinger on the knocker of the chapel door, and exclaimed, with all the enthusiasm and delight of a genuine antiquary, ‘That knocker is worth five hundred pounds.’”

“Whether any chapel, for the purposes of confession, of the form here represented, ever contributed a part towards the grand whole of Glaston’s gorgeous, far-famed, and ever the auspices of the munificent Prelate of Bath and Wells, (lord of the manor of Banwell,) and are now the subject of earnest and laborious investigation. Both the abysses are very interesting *natural* curiosities; but the smaller one, which contains an enormous collection of the bones of various animals, carnivorous and graminivorous, awakens the most impressive train of thought, as it carries the mind into the ages anterior to the *Flood*, and presents to the eye a visible proof of the verity of the Mosaical account of this stupendous universal visitation.

“to be lamented, Abbey, I am unable to decide, and therefore leave the question to those more
 “intimately acquainted with the history of the place, and more deeply read in antiquarian lore,
 “than myself. I suppose you are by this time tired with my antiquarian gossip, but permit
 “me, however, to observe, that, many years ago, a respectable Lady, of Weare, near Axbridge,
 “informed me, a relation of her’s at Wells, of the name of Pearse, formerly possessed several
 “pieces of the Glastonbury conventual plate; and among others, a superb silver salt-cellar,
 “which, before the dissolution, was used daily at the Abbot’s table. My informant had often
 “seen it, and it was said to have been a complete model of the Abbey Church (which I am
 “inclined to think very much resembled in exterior appearance the present cathedral at
 “Salisbury, though of somewhat larger dimensions); it was sold to a silversmith for eight or
 “ten pounds, the value of the metal only; and therefore there is every reason to suppose this
 “precious relic, which now would be of inestimable value, has long since been given to the
 “annihilating jaws of the devouring crucible.

“I am heartily glad to find that the sacred remains of the blessed Mary’s holy fane, are at
 “length rescued from the hand of the Goth and the destroyer; and shall therefore, for the
 “time to come, rest satisfied that no further demolition will be permitted, but that all due
 “care will be taken of them.—I am, dear Sir, your’s very truly,

“Banwell, June 29th, 1825.

GEO. BENNETT.”

LETTER I. *An Ancient TABLE MONUMENT.*

LETTER K. A DITTO.

The former of these stands to the left of the communion-table, on the north side of the chancel, and covers the remains of John Atwell, who died in the year 1472. Eyston says he was a great benefactor to the town of Glastonbury. Collinson adds, that he contributed to the repair of the church, and gave thereto several buildings in the High-street: vol. ii. p. 263. It has on its south front three *quatre foils*, inclosing *shields* and *pleureurs* in the niches between them. There was formerly a brass plate carried round the slab, charged with an inscription: it has long since been torn away. The other tomb (letter K.) stands on the opposite side of the chancel, and was raised to the memory of Joanna, the wife of John Atwell.

LETTER L.

An Ancient Tomb, standing in the Church-Yard of St. John the Baptist, at the Eastern End.

This is of too elegant a pattern, and too nice workmanship, to be exposed, as it now is, to the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the rage of the elements. It seems to be of the age of Charles the First, when the classical forms had triumphed over the Gothic ones, and congruity of style began to be an object with the architect and sculptor. Old English characters ran round the edge of the slab: they have been long obliterated, but the name of Thomas Alleyn, the person buried, might be distinguished till within these few years.

LETTER M. *The SEAL of the CHURCHWARDENS, &c.*

It is presumed that the seal represented by this wood cut has all the value and curiosity of an *unique*; as we are not aware, that Churchwardens incorporated, and having a *seal* to authenticate their acts, exist any where in the kingdom, except at Glastonbury.* Remarks on the ancient *accounts* of St. John's parish will be found among the "Observations on the different articles in the Appendix." We would therefore confine ourselves at present to the original seal only. Its composition is a mixed metal, formerly called *latyn*, a species of bronze. It is of the size of the wood cut, flat in form, nearly a quarter of an inch in thickness, and having on its plain uncut side, near the verge, a perforated knob, for the purpose of suspending it to the girdle of the officer to whom it was entrusted. Its antiquity cannot be less than five hundred years, since it is expressly *alluded* to in the oldest parish original lease, bearing date 1325. In all the *original* leases we find a reference to it, either as the Sigill' comūne ecclie p'dicte, or Sigill' comunitatis sancte Johis Baptē Glaston, or Sigill' comunitatis pōchie s'ti Bapt. Glaston., or Sigill' cv'itatis villa Glaston., or Sigill' usuale ecclie p'dicte. The earliest original lease to which its impression is appended bears date, Die s'ti Bartholomei anno regni Regis Henrici Quinti post conquestū p'mo; that is, in 1412. In a compotus, or account, of 1421, it occurs in the inventory of the goods of the church and parish of St. John the Baptist, then in the custody of the Churchwardens, in the following words, j sigillo s'ti Johis, de latyn; and mention is again made of it in the compotus for 1428. This curious article is in perfect preservation, and held by Messrs. Prat, solicitors for St. John's parish; who still affix it to all leases granted by the Churchwardens of the property of the parish. By whose authority the Wardens were thus originally incorporated, and by whom the seal was conferred, it is now, perhaps, impossible to say. Highly privileged, however, as the Monastery of Glaston appears to have been, numbering that vill amongst its possessions, and having paramount rule over it, we are authorized to conclude it was through the *influence* at least of the Abbey, that these peculiar rights attached to the parish of St. John's.†

The seal has this inscription round its verge: *Sigilum commune Baptiste Glastoniensis.*

LETTER N. *Ancient SCULPTURED ARMS.*

They occur in the walls of the chapel, &c. at Sharpham House. One of the shields gives an example of the *armorial rebus*, explained above—a cross and two *beer-flaggons*, allusive to the name of Abbot Richard Beere, the builder of the chapel.

* In some instances in London the Ministers and Wardens are, by the custom of the city, a corporation to hold lands; but whether with a corporate seal or not, we are unable to say.

† It appears from several accounts, that a chief, reserved, or ground rent, was paid to the Prepositus, or bailiff, of the Lord Abbot, for certain tenements in the town.

LETTER O. *A FAC-SIMILE of HENRY VIIIth's HAND-WRITING.**From Mon. Ang. Nov. Edit. Append.*

The awkwardness of these royal characters will be a subject of surprise to those who are unacquainted with the want of skill in the art of writing, common with the highest born of our ancestors, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It must be recollected, however, that, until the introduction of learning into our country in the former age, the faculty of writing the name was by no means an usual acquirement; and no one appears to have been ashamed of the deficiency, in the Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman periods. Kings, and princes, and prelates, could only make the sign of the cross, their names being suffixed to these emblems by the *scriptores* who wrote the deeds; for writing was then a *mystery*, and exercised exclusively by a class of persons who were expressly educated for that profession. To *them* the art was confined for ages; and hence it happens, that all our ancient charters are remarkable both for calligraphy and uniformity of character. The earlier their date, indeed, the more beautiful their appearance; because the *mystery* being in fewer hands, there was less danger of carelessness or irregularity in its exercise. When the spirit of *personal* improvement, however, was at length awakened, by the gradual diffusion of learning and knowledge, individuals began to attempt to do that for *themselves*, which professional persons had heretofore done for them, and writing became an object of more common acquirement. But a difficult and delicate art is not soon brought to perfection; and an age elapsed, before *popular writing* was little better than so many examples of almost unintelligible *scrawling*. The consequence of which is, (as they well know, who are acquainted with our charters, MSS. &c. from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries inclusive,) that the difficulty of decyphering the writing of the times of Henry VIIIth and Elizabeth is much greater, than that of reading charters written seven hundred years before their reigns. The letters on the wood cut are Henricus, and the monogram, Rex.

LETTER P. *The SIGNATURE of Abbot WHITING,*

Subscribed to the acknowledgement of the supremacy of Henry VIIIth. Obliging-ly communicated by John Caley, esq; keeper of records in the Augmentation Office.

LETTER Q. *The EFFIGY of an ABBOT in full Costume, inserted in the East Wall of the Abbey Kitchen.*

It was found in 1793, near the north-east pier of the central tower of the Abbey church, whilst the workmen were rooting up the area of the building, for the unholy purpose of selling the fallen sculptured materials of the fabric, for the repair and formation of roads in

the neighbourhood. As it is not likely that so elaborate a piece of imagery was intended to be hidden in the earth, we may suppose that it originally covered a table monument in the interior of the Abbey church. The figure and its decorations, as well as the form of the arch under which it stands, accord with similar specimens of sculpture of the fourteenth century; we may therefore attribute it to that age.

LETTER R. *Append.*

This is an imaginary representation, by Sammes, of an ancient British Church, modelled according to the description of Bede, and other early writers. A specimen of this primitive and simple ecclesiastical architecture was in existence forty or fifty years ago, and may possibly be still preserved. It was not, indeed, built in the *British times*, but in the early Anglo-Saxon age. As its plan, however, agrees exactly with the accounts which we have of the British churches, it may be received as a sufficient example of the nature of such structures. The nave, or body, of this church, (Greensted, Essex,) which renders it so remarkable, is entirely composed of the trunks of large oaks, split, and roughly hewed on both sides. They are set upright, and close to each other, being let into a sill at the bottom, and a plate at the top, where they are fastened with wooden pins. This was the whole of the original fabric; which yet remains entire, though much worn and corroded by time. It is twenty-nine feet nine inches long, fourteen feet wide, and five feet six inches high on the sides which supported the primitive roof. (Works of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. ii. page 7.)

Explanations of the Plates.

PLATE I. GLASTON TWELVE HIDES.

No problem connected with the early history of the Abbey of Glaston is more difficult of solution, than the *occasion* of the *name* of the district thus called, and the *time* when it came into the possession of the Abbey. The Monkish explanation of the one, and account of the other, will of course be received with a smile; but, however reasonably we may object, we are not always able to substitute; and it must be candidly confessed, that, after no ordinary pains to determine these points satisfactorily, we are quite unable to ascertain the origin of the appellation, as applied to the extensive tract of land in question, or the period when it was bestowed on the religious recluses of Glaston.*

* Collinson has given the boundaries of the Twelve Hides, and enumerated the islands, villages, &c. which they included, with sufficient accuracy from John of Glast., but refers us to the Monkish writers for their early history. "Glaston Twelve Hides," says he, "is a long narrow tract of land lying between the "hundreds of Wells-Forum to the northeast, and Witney to the southwest. The river Brew traverses it "lengthwise from Baltonsbury to its junction with the Yeo, and thence falls into the Parret near Burnham, "commixing soon after with the channel. The soil is fenny, having formerly been overflowed by the waters of "the sea, which retiring, and being excluded by sluices and sea walls, the marshes have from time to time by "much industry been drained and reduced to profit.

"The boundaries of these Twelve Hides were anciently distinguished in the following manner:—They "begin at *Brutasche*, at *Strete* bridge, on the south side of the said bridge, and proceed eastward, in the south "part of the marsh, to the south head of *Baltenesberge* bridge; and from *Baltenesberge* on the north part from "the house of *Wlgar cum barba*, who was the constructor of that bridge in the time of St. Dunstan, abbot "of Glastonbury; and so above the causey to the further side of *Pinnelake*, by the middle of the marsh to the "house of *Norman* at *Baltenesberge* mill. And so up the road which comes from that church into *Reholte* as "far as *la Lupiwite* in the eastern part of the house of *Osgar Attaholte*. And thence into the road which leads "through the middle of that *Holte* directly to *Keneward* bridge over St. Dunstan's dike. And so into the "rivulet coming from *Coleburi*. And so up against the water-course to the house of *Osward de la Burne*. "And thence over-against the *Burne* to the court-house of *Ailmer*, steward at *Bradelee*. And so up from that "Burne into the road which lies before his house. And so on the south side of that church, eastward as "far as *Stoke*, into the high road. And so athwart the road over-against *Withelee* hill into that path which "lies on the south side of *Chulebury*. Then into a certain path as far as *Windeiete*, into the bounds of *Bikenham* "and *Ferlege*. And so downwards through the middle of *Pilton* park to the further side of the way which goes

"* *Johannis Glastoniensis Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus*, tom. i. p. 13."

In this absence of all proof and certainty, therefore, we may be permitted to have recourse to rational conjecture; and the following remarks, though they will not throw a clear light on the history of the Twelve Hides, may perhaps be thought to lessen, in some degree, the total darkness in which it has hitherto been involved.

“across the stone bridge into the road leading to *Wottone*, and so along a path to *Fulebroc*. And thence in the south part of that church to a rivulet, and as far as *Loffellegethe*. And so down into the moor as far as *Hocchye*, and thence through the middle of the moor to *Sowye*, and into the dike bounds on the north side of *Bachinwere*. And so by the bank, and along an old water-course to *Bledeney* bridge, and so by the middle of that bridge to *Litlenie*, which is the bounds of *Martenesei*. And so about that island as far as *Sadlby*, and thence by the bank, and along a water-course to the dike which lies between the moor of *Stoke* and *Withrichesham*; and so in the *Wynerdlake*. And thence by the bounds of *Andredesei* island, and from *Draicote* up over against the hill to *Horestone*. Then in the *Wyarepathe*, and so down as far as *Upper Batecumbe*. And so by the bounds of *Ceddre* to *Greneballe*. And so to *Littellakwey*, thence to *Laymerwinel*. Thence directly through the middle of an alder-grove to *Horewythege*, and so as far as *Munekenelegh*. Thence to a certain trench called *Bitwynevorde*, and so to *Scearpehorde*. Thence to *Notepulle*, and so along *Ylake* down to *Ywere*. And from *Ywere* along *Abedesdiche*, up to *Langby*, thence into the great water-course, and along it eastward into the bounds of *Wethemore*, and from *Northilade* as far as *Tunsingwere*. Thence to *Kinpingmere*, thence to *Middlemede*; thence beyond the hill to *Cumesham*. Thence into *Lithlake*, and through the middle of the moor, as far as the bounds of *Mere* and *Pouldone*. And so by those bounds eastward, in the south part of the moor till underneath *Scherpham*. And so thence under *Hundewode* eastward to *Brutasche*, where the bounds began.

“Within this district were contained the following places, viz. The island of *Glaston*, with the fields, woods, meadows, and moors, belonging thereto; the island of *Heorti*, with a fine and extensive grove of alders, meadows, and fruitful pastures. After this a great part of *Piltone* park; then *Beckenham* and *Stikelingh*. After these *Withele* and *Colnburi*, with all *Westpennard*, fields, meadows, and pastures thereto belonging. Then the *Burne* and *Kyneard*, with their fields and meadows. After, great part of *Baltenesbergh*, with its fields, meadows, large pastures, and with all the alder groves, and moors westward, on the north side of *Buddelee*, as far as *Brutasche* on the south side of *Strete* bridge. Then *Edgarleigh*, with its fields and meadows. Then the island of *Beokery*, with its appurtenances; and from *Brutasche* above mentioned, the whole of the marsh westward, which lies on the north side of *Hundeswode* and *Scherpham*, as far as the bounds of *Pouldon* and *Mere* into *Lichelake*. The island also of *Mere* and *Westhey*, with their fields, meadows, woods, and spacious moors; the island of *Godeney*, with its lands and very large moors; the island of *Padenebeorge* and *Northilade*, with arable lands, meadows, pastures, moors, and ample woods; the island of *Andredesei*, excelling all the rest in pleasantness of situation, with its lands, woods, meadows, and large moors; and the island of *Martineshey*, with the lands, meadows, and pastures appertaining thereto. And near *Meindepe* hill is *Batecumb*, with all its lands and pastures upon the hill thereto belonging. All these places, (continues my author,) contained within the bounds of the twelve hides, and belonging to *Glastonbury*, enjoyed all the immunities of regal dignity, from ancient times, and from the first establishment of Christianity in this land; and they were confirmed to the church of *Glastonbury* as well by the British as the English and Norman kings.* Of the immunities and powers which appertained to that church, one was very particular; which was, that by the grant of King Canute, no subject could enter this district without the leave and permission of the Lord Abbot of *Glastonbury*. It now includes the following parishes:—*Glastonbury* St. Benedict, *Glastonbury* St. John, *Baltonsbury*, *Bradley*, *Mere*, *West-Pennard*, and *North-Wotton*.”

* Johannes Glaston. *De locis principalibus infra duodecim hidas.*

1st. As the term Hide was in common use with the Anglo-Saxons (if not of Saxon etymology),* and as a tract of land denominated the Twelve Hides made, unquestionably, a part of the property of Glaston Abbey in very remote times, we may date its possession of a district so called as far back as the Anglo-Saxon period, perhaps as early as the reign of Ina.

2dly. As the term Twelve Hides, however, among our Saxon ancestors, though by no means precise in its signification,† could never imply a surface of forty or fifty thousand acres, (the present extent of this tract,) we must suppose that, when first imposed, it indicated only twelve hides of the measure customary in the age wherein they were granted, amounting together to something between fifteen hundred and two thousand acres.

3dly. In that authentic document, Domesday Book, the very first item of the possessions of the Church of St. Mary of Glastonbury is as follows: "Ecclesia Glastonberiensis habet in ipsa villa xii hid. quæ nunc geldaver." that is, the Church of Glastonbury has in that vill (implying the town, and its surrounding demesne lands) twelve hides, which have never paid Danegeld; or, in other words, have never been assessed to the land-tax of the time.‡ After having made this particular mention of the twelve hides, and recorded them as having *always been exempted from Danegeld*, the survey goes on to specify the other possessions of the Church, enumerating, among various manors, villages, &c. *most of the places which are included within the district now called the Twelve Hides*; and describing many of them as *having been gelded in the time of Edward the Confessor*. Now the inferences from such an apparent contradiction are clearly these, that, at the period of the Domesday survey, no such a district was recognized, as the *present* Glaston Twelve Hides; that the tract then known by this name was a definite admeasurement of land immediately surround-

* The Rev. John Skinner (whose etymological labours will not, we trust, be lost to the public) seeks for a derivation of the word *hide* in ages far anterior to the Anglo-Saxon times; though he concludes, that, according to the course of language, the meaning of the term would become gradually more limited and defined. "The *hide*," he observes, "like the *acre*, was, originally, an inclosure of land, with this distinction, "that as the *acre* was bounded by a *bank*, so the *hyde* would be by a *rivulet* or *ditch*; *hy* (the *y* in the aspirate) implying *water*, and *ed* a *seat* or *residence*; e. g. the *Y* river in Holland; the *Wye* in England and Wales; *Hyde* Abbey, near Winchester; the *ryns*, or ditches, in the lower parts of Somersetshire; *Hythe*, near Southampton, and in Sussex; *Hyde*, in Hampshire, &c.; *Hydr*, water. The *Hydra* vanquished by Hercules was no other than a strong hold, encompassed by moats filled with *water*, which one of the *Ericuli*, or pirates, captured after a long siege, by drawing around it successive circumgyrations. The Saxon *īȝ*, or *ey*, signifies *water*; and the *eyghts*, or *īȝed*, (the islands on the Thames more especially,) are "*hydes* or *yets*, places inclosed with water."

† The probability is, that the Saxon hide expressed, generally, a measurement of an hundred and twenty acres; for the Black Book, in the Chapter-House at Westminster, particularly says, "*Hyda* a primitiva "institutione ex centum acris constat." (Lib. Nig. in cap. penult. lib. i.) And an hundred Norman acres (the measurement here spoken of) were equal to an hundred and twenty Saxon ones. (See Glossary to Warner's "Hampshire, extracted from Domesday Book," in verb.)

‡ See a succinct account of this assessment in "Remarks on the various articles of our Appendix, No. 6."

ing the village ; and that, between the period of William the Conqueror's general survey and the reign of Henry II. (when the Twelve Hides, according to their present boundaries, appear to have been first formally recognised), the adroit monks of Glastonbury had, by a sort of *geographical catachresis*, extended the name and privileges of the original Saxon twelve hides, from their ancient limitations to the wide surface which they now cover.

The *islands* which the present Twelve Hides are said formerly to have included, are all, save one, sufficiently identified by their existing appellations. The exception is *Heorti*, a word with which no modern name at all accords. But as there is a beautiful and extensive eminence within the boundary of the present Twelve Hides, known by the name of *Nyland*, (evidently a corruption of *island*,) it seems reasonable to attribute to it the description given of *Heorti*, in the old perambulation, of an island "with a fine and "extensive grove of alders, meadows, and fruitful pastures."

The Twelve Hides form one of the hundreds of Somersetshire.

PLATE II. *View of GLASTONBURY from the WEST.*

This view, from a correct drawing by Thomas Shew, esq; of Bath, was taken from the declivity of Wearyall Hill, on the south-west of Glastonbury. It embraces the Town and its interesting adjuncts, the Ruins, the Tor Hill, &c. The boundary line to the east describes a part of the Mendip Hills. No other liberty is taken with nature or reality in this etching, than that of expanding the water, in the front of the view, to a breadth which it assumes only after heavy rains ; and making the ground descend into it rather more rapidly than is actually the case.

PLATE III. *NORTH PORTAL of St. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.*

Nothing in freestone masonry can be more highly sculptured than this rich portal must have been when it was originally executed. For reasons which we have explained elsewhere, we attribute the building of the fabrick, to which it pertains, to the abbacy of Herlewinus ; the portal, consequently, would be erected between the years 1102 and 1120. It formed the great northern entrance into what has long been known by the name of St. Joseph's chapel ; and, from its gorgeous finishing, was an appropriate introduction to the architectural beauties of the interior of that building. Like most of the considerable portals of the age to which it is attributed, it consists of semicircular arches, (four in number,) receding gently in succession into the body of the wall, and diminishing in size as they recede, the exterior arch being twelve feet eight inches in height, and eleven feet eight inches in breadth ; and the interior one nine feet nine inches, by six feet eight inches. Each of these arches rested on four slender pillars, the bases and pilasters of which were of blue lias, two on each side. Their four *fasciæ* are thickly covered with a profusion of sculptural representations ; the work of which cannot be exceeded in delicacy and spirit.

That these numerous and diversified ornaments had (at least most of them) a specific meaning, and were not the mere creations of the taste or fancy of the sculptor, was sufficiently obvious to us on our first visit to Glaston Abbey, many years ago; but we have only been lately indebted to the Rev. John Skinner for the idea that an *historical character* may be attributed to them; and that they may be considered as sculptural commemorations of the royal, and noble, and holy personages, who were founders, builders, or benefactors of the monastery, and its sacred adjuncts, or whose remains were interred within its consecrated walls. A more detailed description of the ornaments will be found to corroborate the probability of this notion. Little can be made out from the highest or outermost *fascia*; which exhibits an elegant running pattern of tendrils and leaves, interspersed with figures of men and animals. Towards the centre the sculpture is much mutilated: we may trace, however, the effigy of a person in long robes, seized on the shoulder by some ferocious animal. Beyond him are the indistinct remains of three or four upright figures. A continuation of the foliage fills up the remainder of this *fascia*.

The second *fascia* comprises eighteen separate parts or ovals, each containing its distinct subject: they may be individually described as follows. No. 1, defaced. No. 2, ditto. No. 3, a person kneeling, as may be conjectured from the position of the legs, the only remains of the effigy. No. 4, a female, with a high head-dress, sitting on a couch. No. 5, a female on horseback, riding *astride*. No. 6, a man on horseback, with *stirrups* to his saddle. No. 7, a crowned personage on horseback, with a large saddle, and stirrups to it. No. 8, the body of a deceased person, stretched on a couch, with a canopy over it; the corpse covered, and the head resting on a pillow. No. 9, ditto. No. 10, ditto. No. 11, a knight in a coat of chain armour, with a pointed shield, charged with a cross, indicative of a crusader. No. 12, a regal personage, with a flowing beard, and in long robes, crowned, and sitting on a throne. No. 13, a knight in chain armour, with a pointed shield charged with a cross, and falling from his horse, as if mortally wounded in battle. No. 14, a figure armed like the former one, his right arm stretched out, and holding a sword, which impales an infant. No. 15, the upright figure of a female with a veil, apparently in male costume. No. 16, a deceased person stretched out on a couch, as before. No. 17, unintelligible. No. 18, the figure of a pilgrim, with his usual accompaniments—the *bourdon* or staff; the leathern scrip or *mantica* over his shoulder; and the *sclavina*, or long and coarse pilgrim's robe. The intervals between these ovals exhibit tasteful patterns of foliage, worked by a master hand.

These subjects all indicate that something of *real action* was connected with them; the royal personages being, probably, effigies of those monarchs who had endowed the monastery with its numerous and high privileges; the recumbent figures commemorating such of its benefactors as had died peacefully in their beds; and the warlike ones, those who were desirous of commuting the punishment due to violent and atrocious actions, for those blessings hereafter, which, in the middle ages, were taught and believed to be the certain portion of all benefactors to the church.

The fourth *fascia*, the lowest in the series, is also much mutilated, but has doubtless a reference to some act of munificence bestowed upon the monastery, from the canopied couch it displays with a figure recumbent upon it; and the representations of several angels, which seem to be guarding or attending it.

But whether or not the above interpretation of the sculpture of this magnificent portal be considered as carrying any probability with it, the figures themselves are, notwithstanding, very interesting, not only from their correct execution, but because they furnish satisfactory evidence for determining the æra of the erection of St. Joseph's Chapel. The portal is evidently identified with the fabric, and formed a part of its original plan. The ornaments, therefore, would be coeval with its structure; and, as they point to the costume, and manners, and history of the latter end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, it is perfectly allowable to adduce this sculptural masonry as an additional proof to what will be urged, hereafter, of the erection of Joseph's chapel, about the period of Herlewin's abbacy, which extended from 1101 to 1120.

PLATE IV. *SOUTH PORTAL of St. Joseph's Chapel.*

This portal, which formed the southern entrance into the chapel, was constructed on a similar plan with the other, except that it has five instead of four *fasciæ*. Of these the first, second, and fifth, (taking them in a descending series,) are covered with a graceful pattern of finely-chiselled *feuillage*, the third is plain, and the fourth one only partially worked. It was obviously intended to complete this *fascia* in a series of oval compartments, similar to the second *fascia* of the northern portal. Only two of these ovals, however, have been executed, at the lower extremity of the western side; the under one representing the creation of man, the other, the eating of "the fruit

"Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste

"Brought death into the world, and all our woe."

In the former is seen an upright figure, with a *nimbus* or glory round his head, designating the Almighty in the act of calling man into being, and at his feet man himself, the product of his fiat; and in the latter, the sculptor has represented the fatal tree, Satan behind it, and Adam and Eve satiating themselves with the interdicted apples. Had the design been completed, it is clear that the whole of this, and probably of the third, *fascia* would have been occupied with a regular chronological series of scriptural histories. Why the work should have proceeded no further it is impossible to say: perhaps the death of the munificent builder of the chapel (Herlewinus) intervened, and his successor had no funds, or no inclination, to finish the structure at the expense, or to the extent, which Herlewinus had contemplated. We may, however, infer from this unfinished part of the portal, that it was the practice of the extraordinary architectural workmen of these times, (whoever they were,) to execute all their finer sculpture *after* the substantial masonry had been

finished. Near this portal, to the right, are deeply cut into the flat surface of the wall, in fine Gothic characters, the words *Iesvs Maria*.

PLATE V. *South-East View of St. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.*

This is, perhaps, the most striking point of view which the august Ruins of Glaston Abbey afford. The recesses of the chapel, seen only partially through the opening of a splendid arch, throw a character of mystery and solemnity over the scene, fixing the gaze by its singularity, deeply affecting the mind, and powerfully acting on the imaginative faculty. The receding semicircular windows and intersecting arches of its northern side, and the beautiful triarial and mullioned window at its western extremity, all elaborately wrought and richly ornamented, present one of the finest specimens extant of what may be properly termed the Anglo-Norman architecture; a style which did not preserve its purity beyond the middle of the twelfth century, when the Gothic began to mingle its more airy graces with the sober features of our earlier ecclesiastical structures; and in a short time led captive the public taste to its gayer, but less solid and simpler, charms. But the thinking faculty is not less interested than the eye, at this glance into the interior of Joseph's Chapel. It contemplates the *Golgotha* of distant ages,—the silent and desolated spot, where kings, proud in territory and power; warriors, mighty in strength and valour; ecclesiastics, high in dignity and influence; terminated their violent, or sanguinary, or ambitious careers, in one common grave; serving only as a practical comment on the poet's moral stanza,—

“ A little rule, a little sway,
 “ A sunshine in a winter's day,
 “ Are all the great and mighty have
 “ Between the cradle and the grave.”

Fancy, too, will awaken the forms and objects which once peopled this hallowed spot—the vested abbot, and his attendant monks; the prince and chieftain, humbled for a moment, weeping in contrition, or prostrate in prayer; the wandering palmer, offering his thanksgivings, or pouring out his vows; the credulous devotee, seeking soundness and health at its miraculous water; the long imposing processions; the daily ritual; the midnight mass; the smoking incense; and the stupendous altar, which sparkled with “ the wealth of Ormus, and of Ind,” “ vessels of gold, and vessels of silver,” gems, relics, embroidery, and brocade. Nor will her vision fail of its improving effect, if Fancy will always listen, as in the case of a modern popular Bard, to the comparison that reason suggests between this gaudy picture of Papal superstition, and the sober character of the Reformed system of faith and worship.

Glastonbury Abbey, and Wells Cathedral:

[Written after viewing the *RUINS* of the one, and hearing the *CHURCH SERVICE* in the other,
June 18th, 1825.]

GLORY and boast of AVALON's fair vale,*
How beautiful thy ancient turrets rose!
Fancy yet sees them in the sunshine pale
Gleaming, or more majestic in repose,—
When, west-away, the crimson landscape glows,—
Casting their shadow on the waters† wide.
How sweet the sounds, that, at still day-light's close,
Came blended with the airs of eventide,
When thro' the glimmering aisle faint "MISERERES" died!
But all is silent now!—silent the bell,
That, heard from yonder ivied turret high,
Warn'd the cowl'd brother from his midnight cell;—
Silent the vesper chaunt—the Litany
Responsive to the organ!—scatter'd lie
The wrecks of the proud Pile, 'mid arches grey,—
Whilst hollow winds through mantling ivy sigh,
And e'en the mould'ring shrine is rent away,
Where, in his warrior weeds, the BRITISH ARTHUR lay.

Now look upon the sister Fane of WELLS!—
It lifts its forehead in the lucid air,—
Sweet o'er the champain sound its Sabbath bells,—
Its roof rolls back the chaunt, or voice of prayer.
Anxious we ask, "Will Heav'n that temple spare?
"Or mortal tempest sweep it from its state?
"Oh! say, shall time revere that fabric fair,
"Or shall it meet, in distant years, thy fate,
"Shatter'd, PROUD PILE, like thee, and left as desolate?"

* Glastonbury Abbey.

† The Vale of Avalon was surrounded by waters at the time. King Arthur is described as buried in the *Island* of Avalon. Part of a sculptured Lion remains; and it may be observed, that Leland, in his *Itinerary*, speaks of "*Duo LEONES sub pedibus Arthuri.*" The masonry over the sacred Well, discovered by Mr. Warner, is eminently beautiful.

NO! to subdue or elevate the soul,
 Our best, our purest, feelings to refine,
 Still, shall the solemn Diapasons roll
 Through that high Fane! still hues reflected shine,
 From the tall windows, on the sculptur'd shrine,
 Tinging the pavement! for HE shall afford—
 He who directs the storm—his aid divine,
 Because its SION has not left THY WORD,*
 Nor sought for other guide than Thee, ALMIGHTY LORD?

W. L. BOWLES.

* However disposed to consider with the utmost latitude of charity the religious opinions of all who profess a belief different from our own, this observation must be made:—If DIVINE REVELATION be submitted to HUMAN interpretation, and INFALLIBILITY claimed for THIS interpretation, then revelation is no longer *divine* but *human*! This is the nucleus of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Question. The Church of England maintains, that there is nothing INFALLIBLE but the WORD OF GOD: upon "THIS" "Rock" her bulwarks are founded. It is a singular fact, that the last meeting of the BIBLE SOCIETY was held amidst the august desolation of Glastonbury Abbey.

PLATE VI. *A GENERAL VIEW of the RUINS from the EAST.*

This view carries the eye through the choir of the Abbey Church, and the space occupied by its gigantic nave, to the arch that formed the eastern termination of what is usually called St. Joseph's Chapel; through which it catches a glance of the interior of this fabric, and sees above it the westernmost of its two remaining turrets. The vast masses of masonry which rise in the centre of the picture, are the remains of two of the four main piers, on which rested the tower of the church, crowning originally the four magnificent arches, that connected, on the east and west, the chancel and the body of the church; and on the two opposite points, the north and south transepts. Attached to the north-eastern pier, and running at right angles with it, are seen the remains of two chapels, said to be those of St. Edgar and St. Mary; and to the left or south-west of the fabric, at the distance of fifty or sixty yards, the Abbot's kitchen,

"Which long has stood the rage of conq'ring years,
 "Inviolatè,"

presents itself in its primæval form, and almost pristine integrity.

If the spectator move a few feet to the left hand of the spot from whence the drawing was made, he has the whole range of Ruins immediately before his eye, and looks through a range of arches, columns, detached masses, and better-preserved walls and turrets, for a length of five hundred feet—a *coup d'œil* not, perhaps, to be equalled in extent and magnificence by any ruins of a similar description in Europe. But he will be surprised by an incongruity in the objects, while he is struck with their general effect; for, singular to say, the architects of Glaston Abbey Church, in their successive additions to St. Joseph's Chapel, did not observe a direct longitudinal line from the central point of its western

terminating wall to the same spot at the eastern end ; so that, in order to obtain a view of the triarial window at the end of St. Joseph's Chapel, from the two great piers at the eastern extremity of the nave, it is necessary to quit the middle point between them, and approach nearer, by some feet, to the northern than the southern pier. The scite of the Gothic residence which Mr. Reeves, the purchaser of the Abbey inclosure, is about to erect to the eastward of the Ruins, (after the fine designs of Mr. Buckler, of Spa-road, Bermondsey,) will command the whole of the superb range ; and give to the mansion a view, which (when the judicious plantations now in progress shall have excluded all inharmonious features from it) will be one of equal rarity and beauty.

It must be confessed, however, that impressive as these Ruins now are, they have been deprived, in no small degree, of their interest, within these few years, by an injudicious, and almost total, destruction of the rich mantle of ivy, which overspread their features before the year 1807.* It was "in evil hour," that the Society of Antiquaries sent down an architectural draughtsman to take admeasurements, and make drawings, of the Glaston Abbey Ruins. He executed his commission with sufficient accuracy and skill ; but he inflicted an injury upon his subject, which it will require time and taste entirely to repair. The exuberant evergreen had, indeed, enveloped many of the architectural beauties of the fabrick, and in some spots, had insinuated its growing branches so intimately among the tracery, as to endanger this ornamental part of the masonry. *Here*, then, the pruning hook might have been properly applied ; luxuriances might have been pared away ; openings made sufficiently spacious to give the character of the feature which had been obscured ; and ramifications cut off, whose increasing bulk would, in time, have torn off the fillagreed sculpture. But, instead of this allowable *decimation*, an order was issued for a *general massacre*, and fire and sword were let loose upon the whole venerable mass ; part of it was burned, and the rest otherwise destroyed. Nothing could be more *out of taste* than such a proceeding. To ruins of every description, and more especially to ecclesiastical ones, the accompaniment of *ivy* is essential, for the production of that impression on the mind, which these remains are so well calculated to make. The very contrast which it affords to the grey surface of the time-worn walls, is in itself agreeable ; and the associations identified with it, classical and domestic, awaken trains of thought, both in the scholar and the man of plainer feelings and calmer contemplation, which may be numbered among the best enjoyments of the reflecting faculty. No one art should be suffered to infringe upon the rights of another ; nor can the architectural draughtsman stand excused, if, in his zeal to display some of the minuter wonders of the *chisel*, he violates the charms of the *picturesque*, and robs both the eye and the mind of more pleasing effects, and higher enjoyments, than all his fancied improvements can offer as their recompense.

* When we were at Glastonbury, a few years previously to this act of havock, we remarked that the immense mass of ivy, which clothed St. Joseph's Chapel, was thrown over the building chiefly from a cluster of stems, attached to the north-west turret, (the offspring of one root,) measuring in diameter full two and twenty inches.

The care and attention, however, of Mr. Reeves in the restoration of the ivy covering, will, we doubt not, in the course of three or four years, cast another beautiful and less overwhelming mantle of this plant over the ruins of Glaston Abbey.

PLATE VII. *The ABBEY KITCHEN.**

This building is formed entirely of stone. Mr. Grose preserves a tradition, which, while it attributes its erection to the time of Henry VIII., gives a reason for the exclusive use of this material in its construction. "Tradition says, that Henry VIII. having some disputes with one of the Abbots, threatened to burn his kitchen, thereby insinuating a reproach for his gluttony and luxurious manner of living; to which the Abbot haughtily answered, that he would build such an one, that all the wood in the royal forests should not suffice to accomplish that threat, and forthwith erected the present edifice."† Mr. Grose adds, "that it might be true of some former king, but the building seems rather older than the time of Henry VIII." This, indeed, is the fact, for though we nowhere find the exact time of its erection, it is clear, from a hint in John of Glastonbury, that it was standing in the time of Abbot Nicholas Frome, who died in 1456.‡ Dr. Stukeley has given a pretty accurate description of this singular building; but no *verbal account can convey a complete idea* of its admirable plan, and ingenious contrivance, by an apparatus of double tunnels, to rid the apartment below both of smoke and steam. To be understood and properly appreciated, it must be seen and examined. "'Tis formed," remarks Stukeley, "from an octagon included in a square: four fire-places fill the four angles, having chimnies over them: in the flat part of the roof, between these, rises the arched octagonal pyramid, crowned with a double lanthorn, one within another. There are eight curved ribs within, which support this vault, and eight funnels for letting out the steam through windows, within which, in a lesser pyramid, hung the bell to call the poor people to the adjacent almshouse, whose ruins are on the north side of the kitchen. The stones of the pyramidal roof are all cut slanting, with the same bevils, to throw off the rain.§"

The officers connected with this branch of the monastic establishment at Glaston, were very numerous; for the kitchen supplied, not only the conventual family, but provided, also, for a large company of guests, who were perpetually sharing the hospitality of the Monks, and a crowd of indigent beggars, who daily surrounded their gates. The chief of these

* Some have supposed that this fabric was not for the exclusive use of the Abbot, but served the purposes both of the convent and himself; led to this opinion by the marks of a separating barrier, which divided two of the chimnies from the others. But whatever this appearance may mean, it is clear, from an ancient inventory of the buildings of the monastery, given in a subsequent article, that there were *two kitchens*, one for the convent, and another for the abbot. The one which now engages our attention was probably the latter, as tradition has always declared it to have been.

† Antiq. vol. v. p. 30.

‡ John Glast, 280.

§ It. Curios. it. vi. p. 144.

officers was the *magister coquinæ*, or *kitchener*, a situation of ample power and privilege. Without his permission, the Abbot could not contract any of the manors assigned to the use of the kitchen. When he happened to dine at the table with the servants, his presence was presumed to give such respectability to the company, that it was not beneath the dignity of any stranger abbot to take his meal at the same board. To him, also, a *solatium* was allowed, a friend or companion, who lived with him on terms of intimacy, and *consoled* him with his constant society. He had, further, the privilege of a horse, and was permitted to make purchases for the convent at distant markets. Under him were the *coquinarii*, or cooks, the chief of whom was always chosen for his superior skill in the culinary art.* A long train of inferior domestics filled the subordinate offices of this department of the Monastery. To provide for the large and constant expenses of the kitchen, an ample proportion of the monastic property was permanently assigned by every religious house. In Domesday Book, we meet with many instances of estates given *ad cibum et ad victum monachorum*: and, in John of Glastonbury, we have an instance of an assignment by Abbot John of Breynton, in the middle of the fourteenth century, who gave eight marks annually, from a place called Monk's-Croft in Northlode, to the use of the kitchen.†

Thus amply provided with the means and facilities of good living, as the Monks appear to have been, it was out of nature to expect that they should have resisted a temptation so alluringly and constantly spread before them. The monotonous tenor of their lives rendered the stimulus of the carousal essentially necessary to them. Man, if he has nothing praiseworthy to do, will always be doing something that is wrong; and the mind in cloistered life, dead to that activity which the bustle and intercourse of general society can best excite, soon sinks into irremediable dulness, unless it be kept awake, by the anticipation, or actual enjoyment, of some sensual indulgence. A proneness to luxurious living, therefore, and a fondness for good cheer, may be expected, and are found, in the character of the monastics of old times; and, doubtless, those of Glastonbury shared in the common failings of their contemporaries: a weakness, or a vice, (according to its degree,) of which the poets and satirists of the day did not fail to remind them.

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. 6. Andrews's Great Brit. vol. i. p. 2. In the escheat rolls of the 1st of Edward I. William Pasturell is mentioned as holding twelve oxgangs in Glastonbury of the Abbot thereof, by the service of finding a cook in the kitchen of the said Abbot, and a baker in the bake-house. We may fairly suppose, however, that this singular tenure referred only to one of the inferior *coquinarii*: the Abbot and his Monks would never have left the choice of the *principal* one to so unskilful a gastronomist as a tiller of oxgangs.

† P. 269. "Notwithstanding the appointments made for the support of the Kitchen of Glaston Abbey, its expenses sometimes outran its income. Abbot Adam de Sodbury, about 1330, relieved it from "an embarrassment of this kind by presenting to it one hundred marks. *Ad relevacionem coquinæ Conventus, ære alieno oppressæ ultra centum sexaginta libras, quas coquinarii solent annuatim de baronia percipere, gratis contulit centum marcas.*"—P. 268. "The manor of Up-Lyme, Dorset, was one of several others, the "profits of which were given, from very ancient times, to the kitchen of the Monastery." John Glas. p. 200.

In the time of the early Anglo-Norman kings, probably soon after the Conquest, a satirical Bard exercised his wit (in a poem preserved by Hickes) on this popular subject, and lashed the luxury of the Monks, under the idea of a monastery constructed of various kinds of delicious viands, in the following humorous lines :

" Ther is a wel fair abbei"
 (There is a beautiful abbey)
 " Of white monkes and of grei,"
 (Of grey and white clad monks,)
 " Ther beth boures and halles,"
 (There are chambers and halls,)
 " All of pasteus beth the walles,"
 (The walls are made of pasties,)
 " Of fleis of fisse, and a rich met,"
 (Of shoals of fish, and all or every rich meat.)
 " Fluren cakes beth the schingles alle,"
 (All the tiles are cakes of flour,)
 " Of church, cloister, bours (chambers), and halle,
 " The pinnies beth fat podinges,
 (The pinnacles are formed of fat puddings,)
 " Rich met (meat, food) to princes and to kings—
 " Yite I do you mo to witte"
 (I would yet have you further to know)
 " The gees irosted on the spitte,"
 (The geese which have been roasted on the spit)
 " Fleey to that abbai, God hit wot,"
 (Fly to that abbey, G—d knows !)
 " And greedeth, gees all hote, all hote."*
 (And cry out, ' Geese all hot, all hot.')

And a Poet of a subsequent age has added a more odious feature than even excessive sensual indulgence, to the character of the generality of the Monks, by assuring us, that they persecuted such of their brethren as would not imitate their own inordinances :

" And if that one lived well and virtuously,
 " In way of grace, like as he ought to go,
 " The remenent assaile him with envy,
 " And him oppresse with grievous payne and woe,
 " Until he followe like as the other do."†

Nor did the prose writers of the period neglect to vituperate these cloistered revellers, for their dainty and extravagant diet. Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote in the reign of

* Warton's Hist. Eng. Poetry, vol. i. page 10, edit. 1824. † Barclay's Ship of Fools, 256, b.

Henry II. speaks thus of the conventual luxury of Canterbury and Winchester.* “ Their table (that of the Canterbury Monks) consisted regularly of sixteen covers, or more, of the most costly dainties, dressed with the most exquisite cookery, to provoke the appetite and please the taste. They had an excessive abundance of wine, particularly claret, of mulberry wine, of mead, and other strong liquors, the variety of which was so great in these respects, that no place could be found for ale, though the best was made in England, and particularly in Kent.” And of the Prior and Monks of St. Swithin, he says, “ they threw themselves prostrate at the feet of King Henry II. and with many tears complained to him, that the Bishop of that diocese, to whom they were subject, as their abbot, had withdrawn from them three of the usual number of their dishes. Henry enquired of them how many there still remained, and being informed they had ten, he said that he himself was contented with three ; and imprecated a curse on the Bishop, if he did not reduce them to that number.”

It was in allusion to this characteristic feature of the conventual life, that some wit, of modern days, inscribed, on a pane of glass in one of the windows of the White Hart Inn, Glastonbury, the following distich, on the present state of its *Abbey Kitchen* :

“ *Templa ruunt, sacræque domus, sed tuta, palati*
“ *Tanta fuit monachis cura, Culina manet.*”

Which may be thus Englished,—

While sinks the sacred pile by ruffian hands,
A type of gluttony, the *Kitchen* stands.

The entrance into the Kitchen is on the south side, through a large door-way ; near which the remains of an oven may be distinguished, its mouth opening into the south-east fire-place. The west and north sides have large windows. Another door opened to the east, which has been some time walled up, and the figure of an abbot inserted in the masonry, which was found in excavating the area, near the north-east pier of the nave of the Abbey Church, in 1793.

The dimensions of this singularly curious building are these : it formed an exact square below the chimney-heads, and an exact octagon above them.

	Feet.	Inches.
Length of each side of the square, externally	40	
Breadth of the area, from the head of one of the chimnies to another	33	11
Height of the structure to the top of the lanthorn	74	
Ditto to the top of the square from which the octagonal roof springs	28	
Ditto from the ground to the foot of the lower lanthorn	43	

* Grose's Preface to his Antiquities, p. 60, note (b.)

The massiveness and stability with which this and other parts of the monastic buildings were constructed, may be estimated from a fragment of the *almery*, very near to the kitchen, on its northern side. At the base of this ruin may be seen an arch, which leads to the remains of a staircase, contrived in the thickness of the wall, over which a rude mass of stonework beetles for several feet, supported in this projecting state entirely by the unconquerable firmness of the mortar. This tenacity in the cement, indeed, is very common to all ancient structures, and is supposed to be produced by a *crystallization* of the constituent parts of the mortar; which, by this natural process, becomes harder than the materials of which the edifice is formed.

PLATE VIII. *The ABBEY BARN.*

As our monastic houses received a great proportion of their rents in kind, it was necessary for them to have, on all their estates, secure depositories for the reception and preservation of the different species of agricultural produce. Hence, on every manor, a *barn* made a part of the conventual buildings, which was large or otherwise, according to the extent of the property whose grain was to be stowed within it. One of the largest buildings of this description in England was the barn belonging to the Abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, called St. Leonard's, (from being dedicated to that saint,) which measured 226 feet in length, 77 in breadth, and 60 feet in height. Its gavel ends, and ruined walls, include, at present, a considerable modern barn within them, which appears quite diminutive in the spacious area.*

The Barn of Glaston Abbey (situated at the eastern end of the town) is by no means on this extensive scale, measuring only 90 feet in length, and 60 feet in width from door to door; but nothing of the kind excels it in solidity and elegance of architecture. Its squared firm masonry, and well-finished roof, have preserved it unimpaired for upwards of three centuries, and bid fair to secure its integrity through an equal lapse of years; and its more delicate ornaments,—its effigies, figures, and highly-sculptured pannels, though much effaced by the hand of time, still evince the labour and art which were bestowed originally on the structure, and prove the importance which the Monks attached to these appendages of their possessions. On the apex of one of the gable ends stands the time-worn statue of a male figure, clad in robes (probably of the abbot who built it); and, on the opposite, that of a female, in like decay, with equal likelihood, the image of the Virgin Mary; for the Monks were accustomed, and it was sagaciously done, to call in the influence of the "*religio loci*," to protect their property; and guarded the depôt of their grain, by consecrating it to their patron saint, as their prototypes, the mythologists of Rome, had done before them, in shielding their fields by the effigies of Silvanus, and their gardens by the representations of a less seemly deity.†

* Warner's Topog. Remarks on the South-West part of Hampshire, vol. i. p. 334.

† Hor. Sat. viii. lib. 1. D°. Epod. od. ii. Virg. Ec. vii. Geor. iv. 110.

PLATE IX. *The ABBEY CLOCK.*

The art of measuring time by the mechanism of *clock-work*, strictly so called, is, comparatively, a modern invention. The ancients effected it, though in a very imperfect manner, by their *clepsydra*, which, as the name imports, was a *water* apparatus: and Alfred was content to ascertain the periods of time which he devoted to his various successive duties, by the assistance of waxen tapers, or lighted lanthorns. It is a curious circumstance, however, (which shews how much forwarder the East was in scientific discovery than the nations of Europe,) that, at this very period, the Persians had made an approach to modern horological mechanism, by blending together the principles of the *clepsydra* and the clock of more recent days. "They imported a machine into Europe," says the learned Author of the History of English Poetry, "which presented the first rudiments of a striking clock. "It was brought as a present to Charlemagne, from Abdalla, king of Persia, by two Monks of "Jerusalem, in the year 800." "Among other presents," says Eginhart, "was an *horologe* "of brass, wonderfully constructed by some mechanical artifice, in which the course of the "twelve hours, (*ad celsydrum vertebatur*,) with as many little brazen balls, which, at the "close of each hour, droppeth down on a sort of bells underneath, and sounded the end of "the hour. There were, also, twelve figures of horsemen, who, when the twelve hours "were completed, issued out at twelve windows, which till then stood open, and returning "again shut the windows after them." He adds, "that there were many other curiosities in this instrument, which it would be tedious to recount."* It should seem that this piece of mechanism was the original model of that complicated system of whimsical ornament, which was adopted in aftertimes in the horological art; and which we find, in the subject of the present plate, so ably represented by the masterly pencil of Mr. Buckler. This curious timepiece was executed by Peter Lightfoot, a monk of Glastonbury, but at the expense of Adam de Sodbury, who was promoted to the abbacy in 1322.† It appears to have been originally placed (if we clearly comprehend William of Worcester)‡ in the south transept of Glaston Abbey Church, where it continued till the dissolution; when, tradition says, it was carried to Wells, and placed in the north transept of the Cathedral, with all its appendages, the figure which strikes the quarters with his feet on two little bells within the church, and the two knights who perform the same office with their battle-axes, on the outside.

* Eginhart Car. Mag. p. 108. Hist. Eng. Poets, vol. i. p. 125, edit. 1824.

† Magnum Horologium processionibus, et spectaculis insignitum construxit. John. Glas. 263.

‡ Longitudo brachiorum (the transepts) juxta chorum a boriâ in meridiem versus *le orlage* (the horologium, or clock) ninety-six gressus. Will. Wor. p. 393.

The *horologe* itself is of very curious construction. Its diameter is about six feet six inches; and its dial, divided into twenty-four hours, shews the solar motions, and age and phases of the moon. Above the dial-plate is an apparatus, consisting of two pieces of curved wood, which bear four figures, (two on each piece,) equipped for the tournament, and so contrived, by the connection of a wheel with the clock, as to continue crossing each other with great rapidity, as if running at the ring, at the striking of every hour. The interior works of the clock are of metal; not differing in principle from the mechanism of the present clock, except that the apparatus for the movements of the dial-plate are somewhat complicated.

In the central part of this face are two circles, each having its inscription, allusive to the different operations of the machine. That of SEMPER PERAGRAT PHOEBE crowns a female figure in one of these compartments. The other, which exhibits a moon waxing towards the full, is surrounded by an inscription far less intelligible. The following few and imperfect words are made out, by the help of conjectural additions, from a fac-simile very kindly transmitted to us by P. Davis Sherston, esq; of Stoberry Park: AB HINC MONSTRAT MICRO.....ERICUS ARCHERYPUNG. The meaning of the legend seems to be, that in this *microcosm* are shewn all the wonders of the vast sidereal hemisphere. The conclusion may be a proper name connected with the construction of the machine.

A dial of the kind we have been describing is alluded to in a general way by Shakespeare;

“He'll sleep the *horologe* a double set;”

And Chaucer, two centuries before him, in his animated portrait of the “cock, highte “chaunticlere,” makes more specific mention of it:

“Well sikerer (surer) was his crowing in his loge (pen)

“Than is a klok, or any *abbey orloge*.”

PLATE X. *The Old MARKET-CROSS.*

This structure, which stood at the divarication of the streets at the bottom of the town, was taken down in 1808, in furtherance of a judicious plan for the general improvement of Glastonbury. It seems to have been built late in the sixteenth, or early in the seventeenth century, and was occasionally used as a market-house. The plate shews the plan of its structure—a roof supported by nine pointed arches, and a large central pillar. A rude stone figure stood on its apex.

PLATE XI. *The CHURCH of ST. JOHN the BAPTIST, and two FRAGMENTS of
SCULPTURE.*

It has been frequently remarked, and with great truth, that no county in England can boast so many splendid or curious parish churches as that of Somerset. The singularity in pattern which appears in many of the larger ones, or, at least, the general resemblance of their magnificent towers to each other, has been accounted for, by supposing, that the loyal adherence of the county to the cause of Lancaster had conciliated the favour of the princes of that line, who had evinced their gratitude, either by rebuilding a considerable number of the churches altogether, or adding, to the bodies of these fabrics, the lofty and highly ornamented towers by which they are characterized.* But allowing, for a moment, this improbable supposition to be true, we still have to account for the architectural beauties and internal curiosities of the smaller churches in Somersetshire; most of which bear evident marks of an antiquity far anterior to the struggles between the two hostile Roses.

The churches dependent on, or connected with, the Abbey of Glaston,—the Pennards, Mere, Weston-Zoyland, Pilton, Ditchat, Ashcot, Shepton-Mallet, &c. and those stretching from Long-Ashton to Weston-super-Mare, and from thence, bordering upon the south shore of the Severn, quite to the western extremity of Somersetshire, contain such a collection of marvellously-carved oaken roofs, rich rood-lofts, beautiful stone pulpits, ancient baptisteria, confessionals, &c. as are not to be paralleled in any like extent of country; which manifest not only a deep antiquity, and a great original cost bestowed upon them, but also that they have had the good fortune to preserve their primæval interior features, secure from the shocks and casualties which have robbed the larger proportion of English churches of all their similar ancient internal ornaments. The problem, however, of their original decorations, and subsequent preservation, is easy of solution. Most of the smaller churches were either built by, or dependent on, some of the rich religious houses which crowded the county of Somerset; and as the abbots and priors of these establishments were sufficiently liberal in the erection, and laudably careful in the decoration, of the distant places of worship under their patronage, so no cost or labour was spared, in the first instance, to furnish them with those accommodations or ornamented adjuncts, which the ritual of the times required; and no zeal wanting to preserve them in a perfect state, so long as the

* “Most of the churches in Somersetshire (which are remarkably elegant) are in the style of the *florid gothic*. The reason is this: Somersetshire, in the civil wars between York and Lancaster, was strongly and entirely attached to the Lancastrian party. In reward for this service, Henry VII. when he came to the crown, rebuilt their churches. The tower of Gloucester cathedral, and the towers of the churches of Taunton and Glastonbury, and of a parochial church at Wells, are conspicuous examples of that fashion. Most of the churches of this reign are known, besides other distinctions, by latticed battlements, and broad open windows.”—*Warton, Spenser's Fairy Queen*, vol. ii. p. 259.

monastic supervision continued. The other part of the problem is as readily explained, by the secluded or remote situation in which most of these churches are placed ; which kept them far aloof from the ravages of foreign war, or the more destructive devastation of civil contention ; and preserved them, consequently, from havoc, spoil, and desecration.

The striking resemblance in the plans of the larger Somersetshire churches, more especially in the patterns of their quadrilateral *towers*, is a circumstance less easily to be accounted for. That they are not all of the same age, and consequently could not have been built under the same patron, or by the same architect, is evident to any one at all versed in ancient ecclesiastical architecture. The gorgeous tower of Taunton, indeed, may have been built by the grateful Henry VII. at a time when the simpler beauties of the pure Gothic had been entirely superseded by the unmeaning meretricious ornaments of the florid style ; but, that the sober graces of St. John the Baptist's tower at Glaston should have been the production of the same era, is an hypothesis which cannot possibly be granted. Perhaps, after all, it may be admitted as reasonable to suppose, that, early in the fifteenth century, (for to that hundred years we would attribute most of the towers, if not the churches, in question,) some gifted architect arose, who, by an happy effort of skill, constructed one of these admirable fabrics. The model would soon surprise by its grandeur, or captivate with its beauty ; and imitations of it be adopted in other places, which, as time rolled on, and taste became more luxuriant, would depart more and more from the simple elegance of the first pattern, till the copy reached the acme of the rich Gothic, in the celebrated tower of Taunton church. If the reasonableness of such an hypothesis be allowed, it will not be out of probability to believe, that the tower of St. John the Baptist's church at Glastonbury (considering the style of its architecture) may claim the honour of having been the model, after which all the other magnificent ones of Somerset were built.

But be this as it may, it cannot be questioned, that a more ancient ecclesiastic fabric stood on the spot which is now covered by the church in question ; for it is a matter of record, that, about the year 1200, one Ralph, who was a chaplain in the Monastery, and *rector of the church of St. John* in Glastonbury, "procured, at his own cost and pains," the appropriation of the same church to the Abbey of that place, converting it, by this measure, from a rectory into a vicarage.* *When* this ancient edifice was taken down, and the present more recent church erected, or whether any parts of the original one remain, it is impossible to say ; though a few data, afforded by the curious accounts of the churchwardens of the parish, seem to indicate that its re-edification took place in the commencement of the fifteenth century. In the compotus (or account) of Walter Poole and Walter Willcokes, *custodum bonorum ecclesie beati Johannis Baptiste*, A. D. 1428, is the following entry : *In diversis expensis factis circa reparacionem NOVE ECCLESIE cum Porchia ut in liberis petris tritandis et frangendis apud Doultyng* (in quarrying, &c. freestone at Doulting, the quarries from which the Abbey itself was built) *cum expensis pro eisdem*

* John. Glast. p. 200.

deinde apud Glastoniam cariandis ; walston (wall-stone) tritandis et fragendis apud Strete cum eisdem domum cariandis ; xxix quarteris vj bz (bushels) calcis emptis, uno novo ostio ecclesie facto (the southern porch) diversis ferramentis & clavibus emptis pro eodem ostio, & stipendiis diversorum latomorum & cementariorum (tilers and plasterers) per ebdomadas, ut patet per cedula coram parochianis monstratam xli. xvis. vd. But the proof of the date of St. John the Baptist's church does not rest on this extract alone. Among the same documents is an account without date, headed thus: *Compotus Thome Colbrook super visoris fabrice ecclesie Sancti Johannis ibidem.* In this we find the following entries: *Et de xiiid. de tabulo vendito J. Morthfield et Ricardo Attwelle, et de xxiiiil. xiiis. iiiid. receptis de Thoma Dunster, de bonis ecclesie de remanentibus ;* together with various receipts of sums, arising from the sale of old materials, amounting together to between £40 and £50, as well as charges for building materials and workmen, to the extent of £117 : 4s. 11½d. Now it appears from other churchwardens' accounts, that John Dunster was warden in the year 1418, and John Morthfield, in 1421, and it follows, in consequence, that the re-structure of the church must have been between those years, or at least about that period. The sum expended, also, a very large one in those times, shews a work commensurate to the re-edification of the church and aisles, the only parts spoken of in the compotus of Colebrooke.*

The tower, perhaps, had been but recently built, and did not, therefore, require renovation ; for it was very customary to add that member, and the Lady's chapel, to the bodies of the original churches ; but its beautiful upper features were certainly re-edified, after the great church, probably about the year 1450 ; for in a compotus without date, headed thus, *Expense facte circa re-edificacionem ecclesie et sedilium infra ecclesiam per ruinam ecclesie deesse,* the following entry occurs, *Solutum Johanni Deverell carpentario conducto (brought from another place) pro quinque diebus ad deponendum mearenum & plumbum navis ecclesie defracte per cesum et ruinam pinaculorum turris & cooperiendum eandem cum tabulis et aliis pro tempore, &c. ;* a minute, from which we may infer, that, in consequence of some terrible tempest, the upper works of the tower had been blown down, and fallen on the roof of the nave ; a casualty that required the reparation of both, when the latticed battlements of the former were added to its original plan ; and the obtuse windows on the heads of the lower pointed arches constructed in the latter.

The various lines and different elevations of the several parts of its exterior produce, to a striking degree, that *intricacy* and *variety* which constitute the *picturesque* ; and the original view of its interior, when entered by the western door, must have been equally impressive. The sensible and uniform plan, indeed, on which most of the larger Somersetshire churches were built, was admirably calculated, in the days of yore, to solemnize the mind of the worshipper. Entering through the western portal, the first step he took was

* The finances of St. John's Church must have been at a very low ebb previously to 1377 ; for we find it had been necessary for the Churchwardens to pawn one of the *psalters* for fifteen pence, to some one at Wells.—*Church Accounts, Appendix xxi.*

into a lofty arched space, (the bottom part of the tower,) in most instances beautifully groined, and adorned with diversified corbels and bosses, and having a circular aperture in its ceiling, for the admission of bells into the belfry. A magnificent arch connected this propylæum with the nave of the church, through which his eye caught, in succession, the elaborately-carved oaken roof; the retiring arches, and diminishing windows of the upper and the lower tiers; the rich rood-loft, with its decorated images; the penetralia of the Lady's Chapel; the vested priests at the altar; the altar itself, blazing with light, and involved in a cloud of incense; till it rested, at length, on the great eastern

“ Storied window richly dight

“ Casting a dim religious light;

and finished its gaze, in a vision of prophets, saints, and angels, and sometimes of Deity itself!

It is much to the credit of the inhabitants of Glastonbury, that they spare neither thought nor cost in preserving the beauty, and maintaining the pre-eminence, of this elegant structure; and it is merely an act of common justice to observe, that the additions to its interior, executed, a few years ago, by Mr. Hutchings, of Bridgewater, are at once proofs of the good taste and good sense of this able architect, and of the judgment of those who, for this laudable purpose, put his talents into requisition. Nor should it be forgotten, among the many claims of the church of St. John the Baptist to celebrity, that its *service*, at present, has an advantage, which, though necessarily only temporary in its nature, yet still, while it continues, must be regarded as a very important one, as it renders that interesting branch of church worship, its *psalmody*, affecting, devotional, and improving. The choir consists, for the most part, of gratuitous performers, gentlemen of the town, who not only volunteer their services in the gallery on the Sunday, but meet frequently on the evenings of other days, for the purpose of practising what they mean to perform on the Sabbath. It is unnecessary to say, that the harmony is excellent, and that these gentlemen have their reward, not merely in the gratitude, but also in the edification, of their townsmen.

The plans of the tower and church, of which we are speaking, cannot be more clearly and neatly described than they are by the little local publication, the *Avalonian Guide*.

On the north side of the High-street stands St. John's Church, a fine Gothic structure, comprising a western tower, a nave, and side aisles, with a south porch, two transepts, a cancel, and a vestry-room. The great east window is replete with elaborate tracery, of elegant design.

The tower is one hundred and forty feet high, in three stories, richly ornamented with canopied niches, &c. and strengthened with corner buttresses, from the sides of which spring slender pinnacles, terminating in clustered foliage. The spaces between the buttresses, unoccupied by windows and niches, are divided into compartments filled with tracery. The whole is surmounted by a parapet of open stone-work, and eight lofty pinnacles, four

of which terminate in iron cross-bars. The upper story contains six full-toned bells, on which the chimes of the tower clock play, at the hours of four, eight, and twelve.

There is another small bell, in a turret at the west end of the chancel. The pinnacle in which it formerly hung, was of a most elegant design in stone-work; but being much decayed, was taken down in 1805, and its place supplied with the present turret of brick-work.*

Modern alterations and improvements (which are, at Glastonbury, synonymous terms) have removed the unsightly houses that intervened between the church and the street, and opened to the admiration of the passing traveller, the southern side, and eastern and western ends, of an ecclesiastical structure, unquestionably one of our best examples of the close of what may be called the *middle Gothic stile*.

The other Church of Glastonbury (for there are only two) stands on the south side of St. Benedict-street. It seems originally to have been dedicated to St. Benignus, the successor of St. Patrick, with whose name that of St. Benedict was associated, probably by St. Dunstan, in the tenth century, who first reduced the Monks of Glastonbury to the Benedictine order. Its stile is that of the plain, solid, early Gothic; its members, a western tower, nave, north aisle and porch, chancel, and vestry. The ceilings are of oak, of handsome pattern: the timbers supporting them rest on corbels, of various devices, bearing shields and the arms of Glaston. As the initials of Richard Bere [R. B.], the immediate successor of the last abbot, Richard Whiting, occur over the porch, it seems to follow, that the church was indebted to him for some considerable repairs or additions. The stone pulpit, and octagonal font for total immersion, within the church, those certain marks of an early age, are proofs that the body of it was built long anterior to the period in which Richard Bere lived.

The family of *Gold*, of Sharpham Park, near Glastonbury, has a pew in St. Benedict's Church, within which lies a flat stone with this inscription:

En depositas, lector, sub hoc marmore reliquias integerrimi viri Henrici Gold, de villa Sharphamiensi equitis aurati, Banci Reginensis Justiciarii prudentissimi; cujus anima corporis domicilio soluta ad Deum Creatorem remigravit Martii die xxvi, anno Annæ Reginae ix, ætatis suæ lxxvii, redemptionis nostræ MDCCX.

The memorandum of a great local disaster was preserved in St. Benet's Church, on the north side of the great arch, which divides the nave from the chancel, "the breach of the sea flood was January 20th, 1606." It commemorated a terrible inundation of the Severn, in consequence of a breach in the embankments, which threw its waters over the whole of the flat country; and carried them, according to tradition, as high into the town as the foot of St. Benet's tower.

The two FRAGMENTS of SCULPTURE on this plate are beautiful specimens of art. They were found among the earth and rubbish of the crypt, and belonged to figures of from

* At the west end of the church is an organ, the gift of J. Yeoman, esq; erected A.D. 1818, by Mr. Ball, organ-builder, London. Its style of architecture accords with that of the church. P. 43.

fifteen to eighteen inches in length. Mr. Reeves preserves them. The FEMALE HEAD is quite classical in the general design, the character of the hair, the pattern of the fillet, and the disposition of the veil. The TORSO of a holy personage, apparently kneeling on one knee, is very masterly in the grace and freedom of the drapery. Another interesting relic of antiquity was found, some years ago, on the same spot with these fragments, and presented by Mrs. Hood, of Wotton House, to Colonel Woodforde, of Galhampton House, Somerset; in whose possession it now is. It is the head, or rather upper part, of a small iron hammer, rather more than six inches long, having lost its wooden handle, and formed with considerable trouble and ornament. It passes, popularly, for St. Dunstan's hammer; but though it never had the honour of being handled by that canonized mechanic, yet it may fairly lay claim to an high antiquity.

PLATE XII. *The GEORGE, or PILGRIM'S INN.*

The hospitality of the religious houses was proverbial. Their ample possessions and large accommodations enabled them not only to receive within their establishments, as permanent residents, a considerable number of the children of the noble and the wealthy, for the purpose of imparting to them that education, which, for some centuries, the monasteries only could afford; but also to entertain numerous occasional visitors, drawn to these sacred seclusions, either by courtesy, piety, or superstition; to pay their compliments to the superior, or visit their relations the monks; to offer up their vows at some favourite shrine; or to experience the miraculous and sanative powers of some holy well, gifted relics, or consecrated bones. When the latter attractions were many, or of high character, the crowd of visitors was very considerable; and though the rule, which allowed each individual to remain as a guest *only for two days and two nights*, gave the opportunity of a constant succession of strangers, yet, such numbers would frequently arrive together, as rendered it impossible to provide accommodation for all of them within the purlieus of the monastic walls. To remedy this inconvenience, which must have been felt very early at Glaston Abbey, in consequence of the paramount sanctity of the spot, and its consequent popularity, the monastery erected an inn, in immediate contact with the wall of the inclosure, and appointed it for the reception of those guests, who would have been lodged within the Abbey quarters, had not these been already occupied by prior visitors. It should seem, however, that the character of this *Hospitium* was of the same liberal cast with the interior receptacle for guests; the Abbot paid all expenses, and the visiter was free from any charge. But, in process of time, even this noble addition to the hospitable arrangements of the Abbey was insufficient for the reception and accommodation of the arrivals at Glastonbury; and some time before the close of the fifteenth century, another *inn* was erected in the town, which, upon the same *principles* as modern ones, (though upon some,

that different *terms*,) received the pilgrims, and palmers,* and votaries, who flocked for healing, or devotion, to the fane of the blessed Virgin. This inn was the *George*, or *Pilgrims' Inn*, the subject of the present plate.

Before we speak, however, more particularly of this, it is necessary to say a few words more on the earlier inn. This was generally and appropriately called the *Abbot's Inn*, and stood on the site of the present White Hart, the garden of which made a part of the Abbey inclosure. The æra of its erection is unknown; but that of its demolition has not faded away from the recollection of some of the oldest inhabitants of the place, as it occurred not more than seventy years ago. An aged man, one John Lawrence, remembers well its *front*; which he describes as very *ancient*, but not so *fine* as that of the *George*. It would appear from an anecdote, the truth of which is unquestioned, that its renovation did not take place before it was imperatively called for. An auctioneer and his numerous attendants had assembled in the large upper room of the White Hart, at the disposal of some property by public sale. The man of the hammer had exhausted all his eloquence and arguments, to prove that the article was worth a vast deal more than the price offered by the last bidder. No one, however, advanced a shilling. The threatening words, "a-going, a-going," had been so repeatedly urged, as to have lost their stimulating effect; and nothing remained for the auctioneer, but to "knock down" the *great bargain* to the fortunate purchaser. "Gone," said he, while the hammer echoed his intonation on the desk. At the same moment the floor gave way; a tremendous crash was heard; and the auctioneer, his rostrum, clerk, and auditors, were suddenly precipitated on the heads of those who were sitting in the apartment underneath. The circumstance may be told ludicrously, for, providentially, no serious accident happened. Like *Apollo*, in the farce of *Midas*, some might say they were "sorely peppered," but all might gratefully add, "no bones broken."

The inn that remains, the *George*, or *Pilgrims' Inn*, is a very interesting structure; the most complete, perhaps, of the kind in the kingdom. It is entirely of freestone, and of excellent masonry. Two octagonal turrets rise over the eastern and western boundaries of its front. To the left of its gateway is a projection, containing three bow-windows, and a ponderous ogee corbelled pillar, for the support of the sign. The parapet is an embattled one; said to have been furnished anciently with the figures of the twelve Cæsars, though more probably of the twelve Apostles: a mutilated one may still be seen. The remainder of the front is filled with mullioned windows, niches, tracery, and a central gateway; over which, within a moulding, are three compartments, two having armorial bearings, one of the Abbey, and another of Edward IV.; the third compartment had a shield, whose arms have been *carefully obliterated by the chissel*; a circumstance that seems to imply some political motive for

* "The *pilgrim* and the *palmer* were different characters. The former had a fixed residence, the latter none. A pilgrim went to a certain and prefixed place; the palmer to all, and none in particular. The pilgrim travelled at his own expense; the palmer professed voluntary poverty. A pilgrim could renounce his profession, a palmer never."—*Fosbrooke's Brit. Mon.* p. 457.

the abrasion. A curious cellar is among the singularities of this building : it is descended into by a flight of steps, at the bottom of which, on the left hand, is a large recess furnished with a stone seat, and watered by a perennial spring. The tradition associated with this gloomy hole, (for every cellar, and crypt, and passage, connected with our ancient religious houses, has its peculiar tradition,) is, that, within its chilling inclosure, penitents of a certain class were doomed to sit, for a longer or shorter period of time, up to their knees in water ; the appropriate punishment for the indulgence of too warm an imagination, or too ardent passions. The cellar itself is vaulted and groined, for the length of twelve or fifteen feet ; when a wall of ruder masonry, and later date, opposes all further progress, except it be attempted on the hands and knees. Mr. Collinson has combined a "strange tale" with this subterraneous chamber, upon what authority we know not, but its truth must be regarded as more than doubtful, when we recollect, that the main sewer of the town passes at right angles with the shore in question, and consequently would prevent its stretching beyond the drain, in its original direction. "Underneath this house," says he, "is a vault which comes out "quite under the town, and leads to the Abbey, so low that a man must crawl on his knees "to pass it ; but there are benches, or little narrow places, to rest the elbows on, in order "to ease the knees. It comes out into a large vaulted place, used for a cellar, and after "about five or six paces turns aside to the right into another passage, high enough for a man "to walk upright ; this passage is about five or six paces long, and leads to a flight of steps "which conducted privately to the abbot's chamber, wherein was a large handsome bedstead, "on which King Henry VIII. once lay."

The antiquity of the George Inn cannot be exactly pointed out. In the churchwardens' compotus for 1489, it is mentioned as paying a reserved rent of twenty pence to the parish of St. John the Baptist, and as having been *formerly* in the possession of — Newe, and *afterwards* of John Stowell ; and, from John of Glaston, we find, that John Selwode (who became abbot in 1457) gave it, together with two closes on the north side thereof, to the then chamberlain of the abbey, in aid of his impoverished office, in the year 1493* (p. 282). If, therefore, we place the building of it about the year 1475, we shall not, probably, be far from the truth.†

* The settlement of the *precise* date of its erection is further frustrated, by a seeming *contradiction* between the churchwardens' accounts, and the author of the last pages of John of Glaston. The former, in 1489, speak of the George Inn as *quondam*, and *postea*, in the occupation of two several successive tenants; the latter mentions it as *Novum Hospicium*, in the year 1493.

† The above conjecture respecting the period when the George was built, if it be not erroneous, would, we think, explain the obliteration of the insignia on the third shield. The inn would, in that case, have been erected during the reign of Edward the Fourth; and the *white rose* of that dynasty might have filled the blank compartment, distinguished, probably, by some specific form, from the *red rose* of Lancaster. Now, by the death of Richard the Third, in 1485, the York family was subverted, and the Lancaster line became predominant, which would naturally suggest to the people of Glastonbury the propriety of obliterating the memorial of the fallen line, as an *ornament* to a *public* edifice.

But whatsoever antiquity may be assigned to the George Inn, it certainly constitutes the most curious and characteristic feature of the modern town of Glastonbury; and, when caught in the perspective with the house called the *Tribunal*, and other vestiges of remote architecture in its neighbourhood, hurries back the fancy to the manners and usages with which it was more peculiarly connected in its primæval days. "The mind's eye" embodies, for a moment, the various characters (long obsolete on English ground) which anciently rang at its portal, and lodged within its walls; the motley group, (now existing only in the vivid descriptions of Chancer,) which either journeyed together, for mutual protection, to the object of their pilgrimage, or met by accident at the Glastonbury "Tabarde;"—"the knight" of noble bearing, and squire "of high degree;" the learned "clerke of Oxenforde," and the hospitable, but luxurious, "frankelein;" the mincing, fastidious "prioress," and the jolly, licentious, "monke;" the astronomical "doctour of phisicke, and the voluptuous "sompnour" of unfortunate offenders into the Archdeacon's Court; the active and thrifty "wife of Bath;" and the self-important "serjeant of lawe," than whom

"So besy a man as he there 'nas (was not),

"And yet he *seemed* besier than he was;"

the cunning "frere" (friar); the "wanton and the mery;" and the worthy "parsoune," or parish priest, the beautiful contrast, to all his cotemporary clerical brethren, in sanctity and sincerity, practical piety and child-like simplicity. Nor will busy thought finish the picture, till she has marshalled the guests at the table of the George Inn; sketched the "mery miller" chuckling over the good things which it displays; and introduced the worthy "hoste," closing the honours of the repast, and promoting harmony and mirth by his own good sense and good-humour;

"Who served all with vitaille of the beste;

"Strong was his win (wine), and well to drink them leste (they liked):

"A semely man, their hoste, withalle

"For to han (have) been a marshal in a halle.

"A large man he was, with eyen stepe (deep-sunk eyes);

"A fairer burgeis is there none in Chepe (Cheapside);

"Bold of his speech, and wise and wel y taught,

"And of manhood him lacked rightè naught;

"Eke (also) thereto was he right a mery man."*

* A more recent, but less good-natured, poet than Chancer, has ridiculed, or rather lashed, in verse as rugged as his own mind, the practice of these pilgrimages to images and shrines; the impiety of the Papal clergy in encouraging, and the folly of the people in performing, them.

"In pilgrimage from town town,

"With offering and adoration,

"To them aye babbling on our beads,

"That they may help us in our needs.

We have hinted, that the inducements to a pilgrimage to Glastonbury were, principally, four: the *shrine* of the Blessed Virgin; the mirific *well* of St. Joseph; the rich store of

“What differs this, declare to me,
 “From the Gentiles’ idolatrie?
 “If this be true that thou reports,
 “It goes right near the self-same sorts;
 “But we, by *counsel of clergy*,
 “Have licence to make imagery,
 “Which of unlearned been (are) the books:
 “‘For, when the laics on them looks,
 “‘It brings them to remembrance
 “‘Of sainte’s lives the circumstance;
 “‘How the faith for to fortify,
 “‘They suffered pain right patiently.
 “‘Seeing the Image on the Rood,
 “‘Men should remember on the blood,
 “‘Which Christ into his passion
 “‘Did shed for our salvation;
 “‘Or when thou seest the portraiture
 “‘Of blessed Mary, virgin pure,
 “‘A pleasant babe upon her knee,
 “‘Then in thy mind remember thee
 “‘The word which the Prophet said,
 “‘How she should be both mother and maid.’ ”
 “But who that sitteth on their knees,
 “Praying to many imageries,
 “With orations and offerands,
 “Kneeling with cup into their hands;
 “No difference been, I say to thee,
 “From the Gentiles’ idolatrie.”

Sir D. Lindsay Mon. book ii. p. 64, 12mo. It appears, from the above quotation, and other sources, that it required a *licence* to make and sell these objects of superstitious worship. The most esteemed were those made at, and brought from, Jerusalem. Mat. Paris, p. 176; see, also, Ducange, voc. *Anthropoformitæ*. The images were frequently called *picturæ*, from their being usually *painted*. Fragments of images, of this description, have been dug up at Glaston Abbey, and are in Mr. Reeves’s possession. Much gilding was also wasted upon them. The profusion, indeed, with which this ornament was employed in the Great Church at Glastonbury is quite surprising: masses of freestone have been found richly gilt, not only on the sculptured side, but on the plain surface at the back of the stone.

The Friars, between whom and the Monks there was eternal enmity, and never-ceasing hostility, endeavoured to excite the popular odium against these pilgrimages, by holding them out, in their sermons, as highly promotive of *female frailty*. “Friar Donald preached, at St. Paul’s Crosse, that our Lady was a virgin; and “yet, at her pilgrimages, there was made many a foul meeting: and loud cried out, Ye men of London, gang “on yourselves with your wives to Wilsdon, in the divel’s name, or else keep them at home with you, with a “sorrow.” Camden’s Remains, p. 281.

wonder-working *relics*, and the sanctified *remains* of the holy Dunstan. On the two former, we shall find another opportunity of delivering a few remarks: the remaining two will here claim a little attention.

To give a regular list of the *relics*, which have long since been consigned to that *limbo*,

“ Where ye may see
 “ Cows, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, tost
 “ And flutter'd into rags; and reliques, beads,
 “ Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
 “ The sport of winds;”

would be equally tiresome and unprofitable. It may suffice, therefore, to enumerate the following; which will afford a clear idea of the nature and value of the whole collection.

Relics referring to the Old Testament:—Portions of the sepulchre of Rachel; ditto of the altar of Moses; ditto of the rods of Moses and Aaron; of the manna in the Wilderness; of the sepulchre of Isaiah; of the remains of Daniel; of the dust of the three children cast into the fiery furnace, and one bone of one of the three, &c. &c.

Relics referring to the New Testament:—Fragments of the stable in which Christ was born, of the manger in which he was laid, and of the mantle in which he was swathed; part of the gold offered to him by the Magi; one of the water-pots of the marriage in Cana; some hair of our blessed Lord; part of the hem of his garment, and of his coat without seam; ditto of the table on which he ate his last supper; ditto of the column at which he was scourged, and of the scourge itself; ditto of his purple vestment, and cross, and of the sponge which was offered to him at his crucifixion; ditto of the holy sepulchre; ditto of Mount Calvary; of the rock on which he was crucified; one of the nails of his cross; one of the thorns of his crown; and some of the stones on which he stood, when he ascended into heaven, &c. &c.

Fragments of the vestments of the blessed Virgin; some of her milk, and hair; part of her sepulchre in the valley of Jehosophat; a thread of her garment; and a crystal cross which she gave to King Arthur, &c. &c.

The middle bone of one of the fore-fingers of John the Baptist; part of his skull; and a fragment of his garments. Of St. Peter: two teeth, a large bone, and part of the beard. Of St. Paul: one tooth, part of the beard, some bones, and blood. Of St. Andrew: five small bones, two of his teeth, and portions of his cross, &c. &c. Of the relics of holy martyrs, confessors, and sainted virgins, also, there was an incredible quantity; of which the panegyrist says, “*horum igitur sanctorum, et multorum aliorum, quorum nomina, propter scripturæ defectum, ignoramus, apud nos reliquiæ, reconduntur:*” and then adds, either with marvellous simplicity, or in right solemn waggery, “*sed quamvis apud nos non sit earum cognicio, cognicione tamen divina, et contemplacione plenius perfruuntur.*” John. Glast. p. 29.

But, however we may pity, or deride, the monks of Glastonbury, for their collection and veneration of this vast mass of trumpery, or palliate their exhibition of it for the purposes of superstition, in an age of general intellectual darkness ; yet, there was one allure-ment which they held out to the simple devotee, as a magnet to their Abbey, that involves them in a charge of trickery, fraud, and lying delusion, of too dark a nature to admit either of a smile or a sigh : this was the *feretrum*, coffer, or shrine, of the celebrated St. Dunstan. The holy man had been buried at Canterbury. The Historian of Glastonbury gives this account of the means by which his own monastery became possessed of the canonized remains. During the devastations which the Danes were committing in England, at the beginning of the eleventh century, it happened that King Edmund visited Glaston Abbey, and while there, related to Abbot Brithred, and his brethren, the calamities of the kingdom, and the burning of Canterbury. They immediately intreated permission to *translate* the bones of the saint, from so insecure a spot, to the place of his early education, and abbatial rule. Their request was granted ; and a committee of monks deputed to fulfil the holy errand. They found the place itself laid waste ; but soon discovered, among its smoking ruins, the treasure of which they were in quest—the bones of Dunstan, spread on gold and tapestry, together with his sacred ring. Returning with these without delay towards Glastonbury, they approached its Abbey within a mile, and halted at a place then called La Hawte, during the supper hour of the monks. They sent forward no *avant courier* to apprise the brethren of their success ; but their arrival in the neighbourhood could not be concealed : the bells of the refectory burst suddenly, and automatically, into an harmonious peal, and the larger ones of the cathedral added their sonorous intonations. The abbot and monks instantaneously understood, and obeyed, the miraculous intimation ; went forth to meet the saint's remains ; and conducted them with all due honour to the church. Fearing, however, that they might be reclaimed hereafter by their original possessors (the monks of Canterbury) it was determined, that two faithful brothers should be appointed to inter St. Dunstan's remains in a spot known *only to themselves*, and keep the secret till the hour of their death ; when it was to be communicated to another faithful monk, who, on his departure, should follow their example ; and thus preserve the recollection of the burial-place till the end of time. The two brethren fulfilled their trust ; and placing the bones in a wooden coffin, inscribed with the letters S°. D°, laid them within the earth, near the holy water, at the right hand of one of the entrances into the church. Here they remained for an hundred and seventy-two years ; the secret of this mysterious sepulture being known only to one monk, to whom it was imparted, in succession, during this long period. (John Glast. 143, et infra.) At length, however, the secret was discovered, or rather elicited, from the monk who exclusively possessed it : another search was made ; and the remains, once more brought to light, and identified by irrefragable proofs, were put into a splendid coffer, ornamented with gold and silver, and ever afterwards publicly exhibited

for the edification of the worshipper, the healing of the diseased, and, as it should seem, for the benevolent restoration of the indisposed dumb animal.*

It is a painful task to attack the credibility of so interesting and well-arranged a story as this of the *translation* of St. Dunstan's bones to Glaston Abbey, confirmed, too, by an annual celebration of the day on which it was said to have taken place : but the historian's duty is a merciless one ; and he must sacrifice, without compunction, the most ingeniously devised and best constructed narration, if he find it to be in variance with the "plain tale" of *truth*. That the circumstantial recital of the Monk of Glaston is in direct opposition to the real fact, is sufficiently obvious from what the unceremonious Fuller tells us, in his "Church History," under anno 987.

The Monks of Glaston "*pretended*," says he, "Dunstan's buriall at their church, and built him a shrine. Men and money met at Glassenbury on this mistake ; and their convent got more by this eight foot length of ground, (the supposed tomb of Dunstan,) than eight hundred of the best acres of land they possessed elsewhere.

"William Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury, to trie the truth, and to prevent further fraud herein, caused a solemn search to be made, in the cathedral of Canterbury, after Dunstan's corpse, in the place tradition reported him to be interred." The scrutiny was made on the 22d April, 1508, and Dunstan's coffin and remains found. "Upon which the Archbishop sent his mandate to the Abbat and Convent of Glaston henceforth to desist from any jactitation of Dunstan's corpse, and abusing people with such pretences, — *a fault most frequent in that convent* ; challenging almost the monopolie of all English saints, witnesse that impudent lie of the rythming monk, writing thus of Glassenbury :

"*Hic tumulus sanctis, hic scala Poli celebratur :*

"*Vix luit inferni pœnas, hic qui tumulatur :*

"But who is rather to be believed ? St. Peter, that saith, 'the righteous shall scarcely be saved ?' or this monk, affirming that whoso is buried at Glassenbury shall scarcely be damned ?"†

* "Gaudeat ergo Glastoniensis ecclesia, tanti patroni munita presencia, per cujus intercessionem, et merita, Deus ibidem sua non cessat operari magnalia, infirmis omnimodis sanitatem creberrime restituendo, frequenter eciam *brutis* in plurimis periculis subveniundo."—*John Glast.* 182.

† The *Anglia Sacra, pars secunda*, is Fuller's authority ; where may be found an exceedingly severe letter from Eadmer (written about 1124) to the Monks of Glaston, convicting them fully of the most atrocious falsehood in their assertion respecting the translation of the bones of Dunstan. Wareham's scrutiny is also given ; and his inhibition to the Abbot of Glaston (Richard Bere) to continue the imposture. This is followed by a letter of evasion and excuse from the Abbot to the Archbishop ; who closes the correspondence with a solemn declaration, that, unless the Abbey produced authority and evidence, to support their claim to the Saint's bones, before the next All Saints' Day, he would issue letters of excommunication, against all those who should hereafter venerate them as true relics. Page 222, et infra.

The reverence in which the *feretrum*, or shrine, of Dunstan was held at Glaston, appears from a letter to

As there was much similarity in the general plans, appropriations of particular parts, interior arrangements, ornamental contrivances, and dispositions of decorations, of all the greater conventual churches, it is probable that this *feretrum*, or shrine, of St. Dunstan, in Glaston church, would occupy the same situation, and present the same appearance, with that of the favourite Saint Cuthbert, in the cathedral of Durham. "A goodly, fair, and sumptuous shrine, about three yards from the ground, on the back side of the great or high altar, which was at the east end of the quire; where his body was solemnly placed, in an iron chest, within the said shrine." (Davies's Ancient Rites, &c. of Durham, 1672, p. 115.) In another place he gives these further particulars of this superb shrine: "It was exalted with most curious workmanship of fine and costly green marble, all lined and gilt with gold; having four seats, or places convenient, underneath the shrine, for the pilgrims, or lame men, sitting on their knees, to lean or rest on, in the time of their devout offerings and fervent prayers to God, and holy St. Cuthbert, for his miraculous relief and succour; which being never wanting, made the shrine to be so richly invested, that it was esteemed one of the most sumptuous monuments in all England, so great were the offerings of jewels bestowed upon it." (P. 6.)

PLATE XIII. *Two Fragments of Ancient Sculpture.*

It is not within the compass of human art to produce a more exquisite piece of *stone engraving*, (for it cannot be called *chiselling*,) than the originals are from which this plate was executed.* The grace of the design, the richness and complexity of the pattern, the accuracy and sharpness of the lines, on these stones, are all equally surprising; nor is our wonder lessened, when we recollect that this marvellous tracery is worked upon a substance of uncommon hardness, and most difficult polish,—the *blue lias*. The fragments are about eight inches in height, and appear to have formed part of a splendid *frieze*. There can be no doubt, that such a costly and elaborate piece of workmanship must originally have been intended as the decoration of that member of the cathedral, which was most sacred and honourable in the estimation of the inmates of Glaston Abbey. This would, of course, be the *high altar of the Blessed Virgin*, to whose honour the whole pile was dedicated. On this, and its immediate appendages, therefore, would be lavished

Archbishop Wareham, from Abbot Richard Bere; who tells him, that the parishioners of Glastonbury had from time immemorial been accustomed to flock to it on the day of the Saint's translation; and that they held it as an undoubted truth, if any one omitted this mark of respect to the Saint, it was certain some disaster would occur to him, his family, or his cattle, within the ensuing year.—*Ang. Sac. pars secunda*, p. 231. *Exemplar literarum Abbatibus Glastoniæ*.

* They were dug up some years ago, in the area of the great church, and are now in the collection of Mr. Reeves.

all the grades of ornament, and all the elegancies of art ; and to this appertained, as we may well suppose, the choice and costly sculpture now before us. A tolerably accurate notion of the Virgin's altar at Glaston may be formed, we conceive, from Davies's description of the high altar in Durham Cathedral, before the dissolution.

" At the east end of the quire stood the high altar, *reaching in height almost to the middle vault*, and containing the breadth of the quire in length. In the midst of which quire, right over the said high altar, were artificially placed, in very fine alabaster, the " picture" (*i. e.* statue) " of our Lady standing in the midst, and the picture" (statue) " of St. Cuthbert on one side, and the picture" (statue) " of St. Oswald on the other, all richly gilt.

" Within the quire, over the high altar, hung *a rich and most sumptuous canopy*, for the blessed sacrament to hang within it, which had two irons fastened in the French pierre, very finely gilt, which held the canopy over the midst of the said high altar, that the *pix*" (the box containing the host) " did hang in, that it *could not stir nor move* ; whereon did stand a *pelican*, all of silver, upon the height of the said canopy, finely gilt, giving her blood to her young ones, *in token of Christ, who gave his blood for the sins of the world* ; and the *pix*, wherein the blessed sacrament did hang, was of pure gold, curiously worked in goldsmiths' work ; and the white cloth which hung over the *pix* was of very fine lawn, all embroidered, and the crook on which it hung was of gold." (Rites, &c. of Durham, p. 13.)

The member of the high altar, which Davies here calls the canopy, was, in other instances, denominated the *tabernacle*. An adjunct of this description was given to the high altar of St. Mary, in Glaston cathedral, by the Abbot Adam de Sodbury, about 1336 ; and the fragments of this, we have no doubt, form the subject of the present article.*

PLATE XIV. *The STATE CHAIR of the ABBOT of Glaston Monastery, and a CHAIR of one of the MONKS of that Religious House ; now in the Great Hall of the Episcopal Palace at Wells ; and delineated by the permission of the present Bishop of Bath and Wells.*

The preservation of these singular relics of antiquity was effected as follows. The Rev. John Bowen, of Portland-place, Bath, (the possessor of Abbot Whiting's watch and seal, before described,) was a priest-vicar of Wells cathedral, and resided formerly in that city. About forty years ago, the old Town-hall of Wells was taken down, and a new one built upon the site of an ancient house, belonging to the Rev. Archdeacon Willes, which had been given to him by his father, whilst Bishop of Bath and Wells. In this old

* " Idem abbas magna Dei Genetricis Imagine, et *tabernaculo* præclari operis, magnum insignivit altare." —*John Glast. p. 263.* See, also, Du Cange in voc. Ripa.

house the Abbot's chair had stood from time immemorial ; and, on the pulling down of the house, Archdeacon Willes (naturally considering himself as the proprietor of the relic, together with all other fixtures and ornaments contained in the mansion) presented the chair to the Rev. John Bowen, aware of his taste for the collection and preservation of antiquarian rarities. Shortly afterwards, however, Dr. Moss, the then bishop of the diocese, laid claim to the chair, and required Mr. Bowen to deliver it to him ; but, on a communication of this claim to Archdeacon Willes, the latter insisted on Mr. Bowen's not surrendering it to any one, without his permission. In consequence of the Archdeacon's prior gift of it to Mr. B., and of this subsequent direction, Mr. B. considered himself as the legal owner of the chair, *subject, however, to any appropriation of it, which might eventually be determined on between the Bishop and Archdeacon ;* and as both these parties died without any further arrangement respecting it, Mr. Bowen, with perfect propriety, regarded it, on their deaths, as his own. He accordingly removed the abbatial chair to his house in Portland-place, Bath ; where it remained till November 21st, 1824 ; when the present Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Law) calling on Mr. Bowen, and expressing his admiration of it, the liberal possessor, considering the original destination of the venerable relic, and its after fortunes, and willing to offer a testimony of respect to his amiable diocesan, begged that his lordship would do him the honour of accepting it, *as an heir-loom to the see of Bath and Wells.* At the time when the chair came into the possession of Mr. Bowen, Mr. Slade and Dr. Kate (then residing in Wells, and both of a very advanced age) assured him that it had, from time immemorial, been called the Abbot's state chair, and considered as having belonged to the Abbey of Glastonbury, and appropriated to the use of the abbots ; and further, that tradition asserted it had been brought from the Abbey, and placed in the Town-hall at Wells, on the occasion of Richard Whiting's trial, for the use of the prisoner ; probably with the cruel intention of adding insult to injustice, by the mortifying contrast, which it would force upon his mind, between his former state and present degradation. The material of this chair is oak. That its antiquity is very high, cannot well be doubted. There is a clumsiness in its size, an inconvenience in its tripodial form, and a puerility in its ornaments, consisting of little turned rings revolving round the bars, which throw it back into an age when the arts (as far, at least, as they regarded household furniture) were in an infant state. A chair of similar pattern, but with much improvement, (having *four* legs instead of *three*, and an horizontal addition to the arms, for the convenience of the elbows,) is preserved at the magnificent seat of the Luttrells, Dunster Castle ; but no tradition is connected with it. In the "History of Croyland," p. 98, mention is made of the abbot's chair in that monastery ; and the following note occurs, respecting a similar article of monkish furniture. "The late Lord Coleraine saw a chair of the Abbot of Peterborough, in Corrington church, in 1745, probably placed there by Sir Robert Cotton. There stands, also, under an arch at the back of the mansion-house at Ramsey, an old wainscoat chair, which may have belonged to an abbot of that house." (P. 98.)

We are justified, we conceive, in considering the chair in question as exceedingly ancient, for another reason, in addition to those already adduced. The chair of the celebrated Petrarch is still preserved at *Arque*. Tomasini has given a bad engraving of it, but sufficiently correct, with regard to *form*, as to shew that it bears a very strong resemblance to *John Arthur's chair*, to be shortly described. Its pattern is perfectly classical. Now, it is quite fair to suppose that this pattern was not confined to Petrarch's dwelling, but common, if not over the continent, at least throughout Italy, in the fourteenth century. Between this country and our own, and more especially between English ecclesiastics and Rome, there was a constant intercourse during these early times; and the abbots, priors, and other dignitaries, must have had perpetual opportunities of observing the useful, tasteful, and ornamental articles, with which the Italian houses were then supplied. With such examples of domestic elegancies and conveniences before their eyes, it seems hardly credible that the English travellers should not have adopted, on their return home, into their own habitations, some imitations of the more improved household furniture which they had seen abroad; and, more particularly, that they should not have exchanged the awkward and dangerous pattern of a lumbering tripodial chair, for a seat more neat, secure, and portable. This, doubtless, would be done at Glastonbury, as well as other places. The ancient chair would be still preserved there, for the venerable associations connected with it; but the general character of these seats, in or immediately after the fourteenth century, would approach to the patterns which had been observed and admired in Italy.

The chair before us stood, probably, in the *great hall*, for the convenience of the abbot, when he dined with the brethren. The furniture of this apartment consisted of "four fixed tables, four forms, one table with two tressels, at the high bench (or *dais*), "a cupboard, a *chair*, and a chaffer, or chaffing-dish."—*Stevens's Monast.* i. 487, 488. The table on the raised platform, the chair, and the chaffer, were for the use of the Abbot.

The *Monk's Chair*, also, belonged to the Abbey of Glaston, and was purchased by Mr. Bowen, between forty and fifty years ago, at the sale of the goods of John Moss, esq; of Wells. It has been presented by Mr. Bowen to the present Bishop of Bath and Wells, on the same terms as the Abbot's chair.

Old and unbroken tradition asserts, that this article, also, was formerly a part of the furniture of the Abbey of Glastonbury; a claim sufficiently established by the inscription which it bears, parts of which are given in the etching. The whole, in gothic letters of high relief, runs as follows. On the inside of the right arm, *Johannes Arthurus*; at the top of the back, in the inside, *Monachus Glastone*; on the inside of the left arm, *Salvet eū Deus*; on the left arm, on the outside, *Da pacem, Domine*; on the right arm, on the outside, *Sit laus Deo*. This curious article of domestic furniture was, probably, the work of the monk whose name it bears; as these inmates of the monastery were accustomed to exercise themselves in mechanical labours. (*Paston's Letters*, ii. 30.)

His name occurs in the list of Monks who signed the acknowledgment of Henry's supremacy, Append. No. xviii.; but is not included among those of the twenty-five Monks who remained in charge in the reign of Queen Mary. Willis's Mitred Abbies, vol. i. p. 108.

The prototype of this chair was the *sella curulis*, of ancient Rome; the pattern of which, from some classical sculpture, Petrarch had the good taste and good sense to adopt into his own chamber furniture. It was brought, as we have just seen, from Italy unto England; and, within these few years, the pattern has again revived, in the halls and other apartments of several of our countrymen of taste and fortune.

PLATE XV. NORWOOD HOUSE, SHARPHAM HOUSE, The TRIBUNAL.

Norwood and Sharpham Parks were two of the rural residences (among several others in the neighbourhood) of the Abbots of Glaston, to which they occasionally retired, to relax from business, or escape from ceremony and state. The print shews the only ancient part of the building of Norwood House, which lies about two miles to the south-east of Glaston; and, from the monogram on the oriel, appears to have been built by Abbot John Selwood, towards the close of the fifteenth century. The present estate (and former park) consists of one hundred and fifty acres, and makes part of the landed property, in right of his wife, of Vice-Admiral Sir Harry Burrard Neale, bart. of Walhampton, Hampshire, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean. The earliest notices of the descent of this property, with which we have been favoured, are as follows:—A lease, dated 1st May, 1649, from Sir Charles Berkeley, of Bruton, knight, with his trustees, Edward Cheeke and Robert Thorne, unto Hugh and Robert Grove, esq; (in consideration of £1000,) of the meadow or pasture of Norwood Park, called the Lawne, containing seventy-two acres, and all the tithes issuing or growing out of the premises; which ground and premises were sometime parcel of the late dissolved Monastery of Glaston; to hold for ninety-nine years, for the lives of Catharine, wife of Dr. Edward Davenant, then vicar of Gillingham, and Edward Davenant, jun. and George Davenant, their sons, if they should so long continue, at a pepper-corn rent.

A deed dated 30th March, 1654, by which Sir Charles Berkeley, and his trustees, sells and conveys the said meadow, called the Lawne, together with the dwelling-house called Norwood Lodge, and one parrook there, containing five acres; the ground called the Trusse, containing forty acres; the ground, called Little Southward, containing forty acres; and all tithes issuing out of the same lands, situate in Northwood Park, in or near Glaston, unto Robert Smith, clothier. From this purchaser the estate was regularly transmitted down, through her grandmother, the daughter of John Smith, esquire, of Shaw, Wilts, to the present Lady Neale.

SHARPHAM HOUSE. As this mansion is destined to be levelled with the ground, and is remarkable on more accounts than one, it was judged desirable to preserve a pictorial memorandum of its existence. The low buildings, in front, with pyramidal gable ends, are the only remaining regular members of the abbatial house. They formed the domestic chapel, both in the Abbot's time, and for two centuries after the Reformation. The various armorial bearings, represented in the wood-cut, letter N, ornament the outside of this chapel. Its inside is fitted up for the purposes of worship.* The whole of the mansion was built by the munificent Abbot Bere, the immediate predecessor of the last abbot, as we find from the perambulation made during his abbacy. "There is another park, called *Sherphame*, containing, with some mead inclosures in the circuit thereof, three hundred and eighty-two acres. In this park, Abbot Richard lately built, at his own expense, a very handsome manor-house, with a *chapel*, hall, parlours, chambers, storehouses, kitchen, and other rooms and offices, having a stone wall on one side, and oak pales on the other, with an orchard and fish-ponds. In which park might be kept four hundred deer, and forty large cattle." (Bere's Perambulat. John Glast. vol. ii.) And it was during a temporary retirement at Sharpham, that Bere's successor, the evil-entreated Abbot Whiting, was seized by Henry the Eighth's commissioners, Rich. Pollard, Thos. Moyle, and Rich. Layton, and conveyed, as a criminal and prisoner, to Glaston Abbey. (Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. iv. p. 212. edit. 1820.) Sharpham Park has been in the possession of the Gould family from the middle of the seventeenth century; and a considerable part of the buildings was erected by them before the close of it, or early in the succeeding century. The date of 1701 appears cut on the stables; and on the iron vane of the house are seen the letters D. G. (Davage Gould,) and the date 1733. But the most remarkable circumstance connected with the modern history of Sharpham Park is, that of its being the birth-place of Henry Fielding. In the apartment, called Harlequin's Chamber, lighted by the small window which appears over the chapel, was born, on the 22d of April, 1707, a writer, whose keen but playful wit; penetrating insight into human nature; quick perception, and accurate delineation of characteristic manners; happy invention of incident; and lively mode of narrative, have placed him at the head of English novelists. His father, Lieut.-General Fielding, was a younger son of the Earl of Denbigh; and his mother, the daughter of Judge Gould, and aunt of the late Sir Henry Gould, one of the judges of the Common Pleas. Fielding inherited the errors, with the gifts, of genius; and paid the penalty of a brilliant, but

* The wall of a little chamber, in the upper floor of the house, at the west end of the chapel, is perforated into this place of worship, to allow Mr. Davage Gould, who was very infirm, to join in the service without going below. At the east end of the chapel, is a square mullioned window, in three compartments, each filled with painted glass, lately removed. The subjects are,—St. John the Baptist to the left, our Saviour in the middle, and St. John the Evangelist to the right. The lower pyramidal roof, in the etching, covers the part of the chapel intended for the accommodation of the Abbot and his personal officers. The mansion was formerly approached by a magnificent avenue, a mile in length, the remains of which are seen in some vast elms, and stupendous oak pollards. The estate consists of above four hundred acres, tithe-free.

irregular, career, in an early grave. Sharpham Park is, at present, the property of Lord De Courcy, the eldest son of the Earl of Cavan, who married one of the daughters of the late Judge Gould.

The TRIBUNAL. It does not appear from what cause, or at what time, the name of the Tribunal came to be applied to this ancient dwelling. The denomination imports some connection with the local jurisdiction of the town.* The arms and rose, over the doorway, point to the time of Henry the Seventh, as the æra of its erection. It was formerly a residence of much respectability, inhabited by the Rev. Richard Prat, minister of Glastonbury, son of Dr. John Prat, serjeant-at-law; grandson of Dr. Prat, dean of Rochester, and sub-preceptor to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, under the Duke of Marlborough; and great-grandfather of the present Messrs. Prat, of Glastonbury, lessees of the rectory, under the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

PLATE XVI. *A FAC SIMILE, &c.*

Of this interesting document a full account, as well as a transcript, without the abbreviations, will be found in our "Observations on the contents of the Appendix." No. II.

PLATE XVII. *The SEAL of GLASTON ABBEY, and the WATCH of ABBOT WHITING.*

The etching of the seal and counterpart was executed from an impression in red wax, (obligingly communicated by John Caley, esq; master of the Augmentation Office,) which had been made, under his inspection, from an original impression, on the same material,

* It has been suggested, that the *Tribunal* might be the place of judgment and confinement for criminated and sentenced *Monks*; but this could not be the case, for the accusations of the culpable brethren were, for the sake of secrecy, invariably made in the chapter, and their punishments inflicted in the *prison*: both *within the walls*. Here, fettering, solitary confinement, and severe beating, were inflicted; and sometimes death, induced by the severity of the inflictions. (Matt. Par. p. 1051.) Several fetters and links of chains have been found within the inclosure of Glaston Monastery, and are still preserved; dire proofs of its having been the customary place of incarceration. Davis tells us where it was situated: "Within the infirmary, underneath the master's lodge, was a strong prison, called the *Lying-House*, ordained for great offenders, as for Monks guilty of felony or adultery, where they were imprisoned, in chains, a whole year, without seeing any one, except the master of the infirmary, in letting down their meat through a trap-door by a cord, and that at a great distance from the prisoners." Rites, &c. p. 148. Fuller cannot be serious, even on the subject of the *gaole*: "One roome remaines," says he, "last named, because *least loved*, even a prison for the punishment of incorrigible Monks, who otherwise could not be ordered into obedience. It was a grand penance, imposed on the delinquents, to carry about the lantern (though *light*, an *heavy* burthen); but for such contumacious Monks as would not be amended therewith, the Abbot had *tetrum et fortem carcerem*, a strong and hideous prison, where their obstinacie was converted into reformation." Church Hist. p. 596, fol. 1656.

appended to the act of acknowledgement of Henry the Eighth's supremacy, signed by the Abbot and Monks of Glaston Abbey, and now preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster. The original seal (probably of silver, as was the case in all the rich religious houses) must have been a very superb one; and, from the different forms of the arches, and other architectural features represented on it, would appear to be as ancient as the time of Richard the Second; unless, indeed, the roses and the *fleur de lis*, at the sides of the two parts, be thought to indicate a more recent date. The etching is of the same dimensions with the original impression. In the centre of the seal appear the figures of the three canonized abbots: that of St. Patrick to the left, of St. Dunstan in the middle, and of St. Benignus on the right hand: each has a mitre on his head, a pastoral staff in his left hand, while the right is lifted up in the act of benediction. Under the feet of the saints, are their respective names; and beneath these, emblematic allusions to some particular in the history or character of the individuals. A legend surrounds each of these representations, but it is illegible. The inscription running round the verge of the seal may be read as follows:—**Confirmant has res.....scripti pontifices Tres.** Something is wanting in the impression before *scripti*, which should be supplied by *con*, the meaning evidently being, that these three personages were those heads of the house who had been enrolled, *conscripti*, in the calendar of Saints.

The emblem under the figure of St. Patrick is a plant, and, probably, the *shamrock*, the external distinctive index of an Irishman: that beneath St. Dunstan is of more certain explication, referring, clearly, to the achievement of this saint, so much boasted of by the Monkish writers, and so admirably told by Caxton, in the "Golden Legend," printed A.D. 1493. "And thenne he was made Abbot of Glastenburye, by consent of the Kinge
"and his brother Edmund; and, in that place, ruled full well and relygiously the Monks,
"his brethren, and drewe them to holy lyvyng, by good example gyvyng. St. Dunstone
"and Saint Ethewolde were both made preestes in one daye; and he was holy in contem-
"plation. And when soo that Saint Dunston was wery of prayer, thenne used he to werke
"in goldsmythes' work, wyth his own hands, for to eschewe ydleness; and he gave alwaye
"almesse to poure people, for the love of God; and on a time as he sat at his werke, his
"hert was on Jehesu Cryst, his mouth occupied wyth holy prayers, and his hands besi on his
"werke; but the devil, which ever had grete envye at him, came to him, in an eventyde,
"in likeness of a woman, (as he was busy to make a chalys,) and, with smyling, said it,
"she had greate thynges to tell him; and thenne he bade her say what she wolde, and
"thenne she began to tell him many nice trifilles, and no maner therein; and then he
"supposed that she was a wycked spirite, and an one (anon) caught her by the nose wyth a
"payre of tongues of iron, brenninge hote, and thenne the devyelle began to rore and crye,
"and faste drewe away, but Saynte Dunstone held fast, tyll it was ferre within the night,
"and then he let her goo, and the fende departed, with an horrible noise and crie, and sayd,
"that all the people mighte here, Alas! what shame hath this carle done me! How may I best
"quyte him agen? But never after the deuyell had never lust to tempte him in that crafte."

Osbernus, precentor and sub-prior of the Monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury, who wrote the life of Dunstan, relates the same story, with this additional circumstance: that "the foul fiend, whilst under the pinchers of the saint, called him *bald-pate*, his hair being, "as his historian observes, *rather thin*."*

The device under St. Benignus consists of a party of fishes. What connection these tenants of the waters had with his labours, we are not aware. Perhaps he *preached to them*, as St. Anthony did.

The *counterpart* of the seal is equally interesting. The figures in the centre are,—St. Catherine to the left, with a *sword* in the right hand, and her *wheel* in the other; the Virgin Mary, in the middle, bearing the child Jesus in her left arm, and having an olive branch in her right hand, loaded with fruit, a plant, which, when associated with the Saviour and his Mother, always indicates the Prince of Peace; and St. Margaret to the right, treading on a *serpent*, and supporting herself on a staff surmounted with a cross. The figures are crowned, to shew their canonization. Beneath their feet are their names; and under those of St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, are *doves*, as emblems of their innocence. Under the name of the Virgin, is a representation of the great church of Glaston, dedicated to her; which, rude as it is, at least determines that its great tower was originally surmounted by a *spire*. The legend on the counterpart, as far as it can be made out, is as follows:—
TESTIS ADEST ISTI SCRIP.....ITRIX PIA XRI GLASTONIE. It is an invocation to the holy Virgin to sanction and corroborate the contents of the document, whatever they might be, to which the seal was applied.

The emblems of Catherine and Margaret are fully illustrated by Caxton in his *Golden Legend*, both by wood cuts and verbal description. St. Catherine is there represented with a sword in her right hand, and an open book in her left. A broken wheel is by her side: on this, it seems, armed with razors, she was to be tormented. "And then," says Caxton, "the blessed Virgyn prayde our Lorde, that he wold breke these engynes, to the praying of his name, and to converte the people that were ther. And, anone, as this blessed Virgin was set at this torment, the aungell of our Lord brake the wheles by so great force, that it slew foure thousand Paynymys." (fol. 133.) The wood cut of St. Margaret shews her kneeling on a vast dragon or serpent, and holding a cross. She was condemned to martyrdom by the "Provost of Antioch." "And than appeared an horryle dragon and assayled her, and wolde have devoured her, but she made the sygue of the crosse, and anone he vanyshed away. And the fend came to her (again) and took her by the hande, and sayd, "it suffyseth to thee that thou hast done, but now cease as to my person. She caught him by the heed, and threw him to the grounde, and set her right foot on his neck, saying, "lye styll, thou fende, under the fote of a woman." (Ib. fol. 144.)

* John of Glaston gives the fiend's exclamation, "O! quid fecit calvus iste!" and adds, that the tongs were still preserved at Glaston, in testimony of the fact. P. 117.

The WATCH of ABBOT WHITING, and his SECRETUM or PRIVATE SEAL appending.— These relics are in the possession of the Rev. John Bowen, of Portland-place, Bath, vicar of Mudford, Somerset, perpetual curate of Godney, near Glastonbury, minister of Margaret chapel, Bath, and a magistrate and deputy lieutenant for the same county; who most obligingly and readily allowed a drawing to be made of them, for the use of this work. The proofs of the genuineness of these articles, and the account of their descent to the present time, are as follow. In the year 1783, Mr. Bowen, being then vicar of Bishop's Lydeard, Somersetshire, purchased of Mr. Howe, a watchmaker in that parish, the articles in question. Mr. Howe had bought them, some time before, at a sale by auction of the goods of the Rev. Mr. Paine deceased, who had lived to the advanced age of one hundred years. In the family of this gentleman a tradition was preserved, that the watch and seal had been successively worn by himself, his father, and grandfather, all the time they were at Oxford, of which University they had all been members; and that they had been purchased, by an ancestor of the grandfather, at the sale of Abbot Whiting's personal property, after his execution, and the dissolution of the monastery. Mr. Bowen considered himself particularly fortunate in becoming the possessor of such curious relics, as it enabled him to present them to Mrs. Bowen, who was descended, in a right line, from Mr. John Jeanes, who married Elizabeth, one of the two sisters of Abbot Whiting, about the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Of the *secretum*, or private seal, of the Abbots, a full account is given in the "Observations on the Articles in the Appendix, No. xi." The one here represented as belonging to Abbot Whiting, must be of older date than the period when he lived. If it belonged to him, it was by inheritance, or gift. The legend, as far as it can be made out, gives the words AVE MARIA. The device is the Holy Spirit, in the shape of a dove, descending on a *pix* held by two Monks.

PLATE XVIII. *An Ancient WOODEN TANKARD, ARMORIAL BEARINGS, and Impressions of SEALS.*

The first of these articles, which, from its high antiquity, well deserved the dissertation written on it by Dr. Milner, in the eleventh volume of the *Archæolog.* p. 411, is in the possession of the noble owner of Wardour, Wilts. It was made from heart of oak, lackered with a strong varnish; and is now in perfect preservation, with the exception of the pegs uniting the handle with the cover, the former of which appears to have been broken, and repaired by an artist of inferior skill. It holds just two quarts, ale measure; and there were originally eight pegs, placed one above another, in the inside, which divided the contained liquor into equal quantities of half-a-pint each. The four uppermost of these pegs remain, and the holes are discernible from which the remaining four have fallen. On the lid is carved the crucifixion, with the figure of the blessed Virgin Mary on the right hand of our Saviour, and that of St. John on his left, together with a star over each of them, and

a cherub on either side. The knob on the handle, which was intended for the purpose of raising up the cover, represents a bunch of grapes. Round the body of the cup itself are carved the twelve apostles; whose names, in capital letters, are inscribed on labels under their respective figures. Each of them holds in his hands an open book; except St. Peter, who bears a key; St. John, who supports a chalice; and Judas Iscariot, who grasps at a purse. Beneath the labels of the Apostles are seen birds, beasts, and full-blown flowers, of different kinds; and under these, again, serpents, which, by two and two joining their heads together, produce the forms of strange monsters; but as in all these last-mentioned ornaments no consistent meaning is to be discovered, they may be attributed to the mere fancy of the artist. The three feet on which the cup stands, and which descend an inch below the body of it, consist of as many figures of lions couchant; emblems so often adopted by our ancestors, probably, as the supporters of thrones, statues, monuments, and a variety of other things, in consequence of their having been employed for the same purpose in the throne of Solomon, as we learn in the first book of Kings x. 19, 20. The tankard appears to have been rescued from the hands of the spoilers of Glastonbury Abbey, at the dissolution of that monastery, and the plunder of its goods, by an ancestor of the present Lord Arundel, who was a catholic; and to have been ever since preserved with the greatest care by the different heads of that family, who have always continued to profess the Romish faith. Its fortunes, indeed, have been rather singular. Endangered, as it was, at the wreck of the Abbey property, its jeopardy was not less at the time of the convulsions in the seventeenth century; when the gallant Blanche Lady Arundel, having, with twenty-five men, sustained a siege of nine days, in the castle of Wardour, against Sir Edward Hungerford and Colonel Strode, and an army of thirteen hundred men, contrived, on her capitulation, to secrete this cup, together with certain other small articles of value; and kept it in her possession to the end of her days. It is a relic of remote antiquity; for Dr. Milner, by a train of very ingenious reasoning, renders it highly probable that it was made in the *Saxon* times; and it is of singular curiosity, as it illustrates the law of King Edgar, suggested by Dunstan, which attempted to restrain the inebriety of the English, (introduced among them by the Danes,) by regulating the quantity of liquor to be drunk by one person, at one time, according to certain pegs or marks in the sides of the drinking vessels, which quantity was not to be exceeded, under the penalty of severe punishment. Vide Lambarde's *Archaionom.* 53; and Strutt's *Horda Angel Cynnan*, vol. i. page 49. When the law of Edgar ceased to be regarded, (and its easy evasion would soon occasion its disuse,) the tankard in question, probably, became a *grace-cup*, *poculum charitatis*, or *wassel bowl*, which, in the greater monasteries, was placed on the abbot's table, at the upper end of the refectory, and quaffed by himself and the guests, with the formalities which are still observed in circulating the *grace-cup*, at some of our college and corporation feasts; and used to be practised at the dinner given by the Mayor of Bath, on his assuming the authority of his official station. That the drinking vessels in the English monasteries were, in early times, chiefly formed of *wood*, is evident from a curious inventory (published

by T. Hearne) of the goods of the Priory of Poghley, committed to the trust of *John atte Hyde*, when he was constituted steward of that religious house, in the forty-ninth year of Edward III., which mentions the following articles, “viii tangarda, quorum unum ferro ligatur, i koustrel ferro ligatum, x cifi lignei;” *i. e.* eight tankards, one of which was of wood, and bound with iron; a pail of the same material, and strengthened in a similar way; and ten wooden cups. (Hist. of Glaston, App. page 330.) It may be doubted, however, whether the *mazers*, or common drinking-cups, of the Benedictine monks, were furnished only with a *single handle*, as it was one of the rules of this order that they should hold the cup, while using it with *both their hands*: “Bibentes, duobus manibus cifum tenemus.” (Reyneri Apost. Benedict. Append. prima pars, p. 6. See also Du Cange, voc. Scyphus.)

The ARMORIAL BEARINGS, A, B, C, D, E, F, occur in the walls of the house of Mr. Downes, at the south-eastern extremity of St. Magdalene-street; which, as Mr. Eyston tells us, was built out of the materials of the Abbot's residence, in the year 1713. If it be allowable to consider the elegance of the whole edifice as congruous with the beauty of these specimens of its sculptured ornaments, it must have been no mean example of domestic architecture. The shield, marked A, bears the arms of Edward the Confessor. B, the arms of England, after the time of Henry IV. C, the badge of Henry VIII. D, an Abbot's mitre, inclosing the initials of his name. E, a pelican feeding her young with her own blood, an emblem of Christ's love for his church. F, the *rebus*, probably, of some person connected with the Abbey, in whose name the syllable GRAFT made a part. Such fancies were not uncommon, as has already been shewn in the case of *Camel's* tomb, in the illustrations of the wood cuts. Compare, also, the device of *Grafton* the printer. G, two pannels placed over the door of the *Tribunal*, a badge and emblem of the Tudor family.

The SEALS represent impressions from (H) Abbot Whiting's *Secretum*; (I) from a seal in the possession of Mrs. Hood, of Wotton House, found in the area of the Abbey church. It gives a stag's head embossed, ensigned between the horns with a cross; on a chief three indistinct letters, or two letters with a cross between them. If it relate to any *saint*, as the sacred insignia seem to indicate, it would be St. Hubert; who, as we learn from Butler's *Lives of the Fathers*, &c. (p. 70,) was a nobleman of Aquitaine, and afterwards bishop of Liege, about the conclusion of the seventh century. He was passionately addicted to the diversion of hunting. In the time of a great drought, he obtained rain by his tears. He was buried at Liege; and his shrine gifted with miraculous power. The hydrophobia, more especially, was either prevented, or cured, by holy offices performed before it. The pious lie of the vision, with which this saint was favoured, has been immortalized by Albert Durer's magnificent print: without any doubt his *chef d'œuvre*. (K) from a seal found among the ruins of some old houses, formerly belonging to the wardens, opposite St. John's church, in the possession of Samuel Prat, esq;: the device (a ship) and its legend are equally inexplicable.

PLATE XIX. *The CRYPT in St. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL, and the HOLY WELL of
GLASTON ABBEY.*

For the complete developement of this curious subterraneous apartment, the antiquary, the artist, and the inquisitive traveller, are entirely indebted to the public spirit of Mr. Reeves. Till within the last four months, the body of the crypt was filled, to the height of six or seven feet, with a mingled mass of ruins and earth, the accumulation of the years which have elapsed since the desecration of the Abbey church. The whole of this the liberal purchaser of the monastic inclosure has caused to be removed. The original level of the crypt is now laid open ; the ancient shore, at the western end, which drained the whole of the ecclesiastical structure, has been detected, cleansed, and repaired ; and an entrance into, and exit from, the crypt, so judiciously contrived, as to give the most imposing effect to its inspection.* The remains of the roofing, represented in the plate, are the only portion that remains, with the exception of a little fragment at the west end ; but it is quite sufficient to afford a clear idea of the design and appearance of the whole ceiling in its perfect state. Its plan is, perhaps, unique, and utterly inexplicable by those who are not initiated into the mysteries of architecture ; since, from the broad *flatness* of its crown, no visible means seem to present themselves, by which the upper portions of the groins should be kept in their places, and held together, or the floor on the crown be rendered capable of supporting any superincumbent weight. The ribs springing from the pillars, and those intersecting them along the summit, are all pierced with small holes, at nearly regular distances, obviously intended for the suspension of *lights*, while the base of an *altar* at the eastern extremity, a *piscina*† to the left, and a *stone trough*, filled by a perennial spring, in the right hand or south-east corner, as clearly evince that the crypt had been intended, and used, for the exercise of certain rites of the Romish Church.‡ Its length is eighty-nine

* Very many beautiful specimens of mutilated stone imagery, on a small scale, were turned up during the excavations in St. Joseph's chapel ; all of which are preserved by Mr. Reeves. Among the most interesting of these are, 1st, Part of the head of a youth, masterly in the curled hair. 2d, The complete head of another youth, with the same skill in the hair, though in a more free style. 3d, The summit of a rich and elegant pinnacle ; one of the ornaments of some costly shrine. 4th, The two well executed hands, probably of Moses, holding an open book, and pointing to the commandments. 5th, The two hands of our Saviour, fastened together at the wrists, and bound to the pillar for scourging. 6th and 7th, Two tasteful fragments of small capitals ; the patterns rich foliage, sculptured in blue lias. A very ancient silver ring, also, was dug out, circular within, and hexagonal without, bearing the device of a human heart, with small indentations, alluding to the *quinque stigmata* of our blessed Lord.

† The *piscina* is a hollowed stone, formed like a shallow basin, perforated with three or four holes, and connected with a pipe, or conduit, to receive and carry off the water in which the ministering priest washed his hands, and all the waste fluid that had been *consecrated*. Du Cange, in verb. *Piscina* : Fons Lavatorium.

‡ In one of the aisles of the crypt, under the eastern end of Winchester cathedral, on the *south* side is a *well*, which formerly supplied all the water that was used in the services performed in that member of the church.

feet nine inches; its width, twenty feet five inches at the east, and nineteen feet six inches at the west; and its height, to the crown of the arch, ten feet. It is manifest, however, that the whole of this curious chamber is not of equal antiquity. There is a difference in the form of the pilasters, and their capitals, which points to different eras, in the construction of this crypt; and which, taken in conjunction with other circumstances, to be adduced hereafter, renders it nearly certain, that the western moiety only was the original crypt, and the eastern half of somewhat later date. The entrance into it was nearly at the north-west corner, through the arch which at present admits the visiter. This portal had been nearly concealed for an age: on clearing it, however, from the earth, in August last, an imperfect series of stone steps was discovered, formerly leading to the level above, but too much broken and dislocated to be replaced in their former situation. Mr. Reeves, in consequence, determined to excavate a passage in the same direction with the steps, increasing the length of the approach, but making no alteration in the former entrance. In pursuance of this design, the old stone stairs were removed, the earth penetrated to some depth beneath them, and the passage continued for twelve or fifteen yards in a northern direction; when, singular to say, a discovery was made of the following particulars, and immediately communicated to the Author of the History of Glastonbury. On excavating the ground for the formation of the present passage into the crypt, eighteen coffins were found, and nineteen bodies, that is to say, one of the coffins contained the bodies of *two children*. The length of another of these coffins was, on the inside, *eight feet three inches*, and the *whole length* of it was *filled up by the skeleton*. All the coffins were made of *oak*, two or three inches in thickness. Under the head and shoulders of each corpse was placed a bundle of wood shavings, apparently intended to keep the same in a steady position. Beneath the skeletons, and on the right side of each, was deposited a rod (either from the thorn or hazle tree) of the same length as the coffin, trimmed of its lateral twigs, and in general about an inch and half in circumference, at its larger end. Three of these coffins lay *under the masonry and steps*, which led into the crypt. They had all been placed east and west; their respective bones were in their natural relative positions, and the whole seemed to have been undisturbed from the moment of their interment.

Appearances such as we have described naturally give rise to much curious speculation; but, whatever our hypotheses may be with respect to the other particulars, it is perfect demonstration, that the interments must have been made *previously* to the formation of the crypt, or in other words, before the conclusion of the eleventh century. It would be

(Essays on Gothic Architecture, page 162.) It will not be allowed by the Clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, who have visited the crypt, that this subterraneous apartment was intended for the performance of divine worship. We can only answer, that, in other places, similar buildings were thus applied. In William Thorn, the monk of Canterbury, mention is made of a particular collect to be said in the service performed in the crypts. The crypt under St. Peter's church of the Vatican, at Rome, called the Confession of St. Peter, and *Limina Apostolorum*, is provided with diverse altars, and also with priests to officiate at them. (Rees's Encyclopæd. in voc. Crypt.)

deemed, probably, more a matter of fanciful than reasonable conjecture, to suppose, that the children might have a reference to a period antecedent to the iron-hearted Dunstan's persecution of the *married* clergy; that the *enormous skeleton*, and its *oak* coffin, had some bearing upon the Monkish account of the exhumation of Arthur; and that the *wooden rods* were scions of the *holy thorn*, which, from the earliest times, brought such crowds of votaries to the place of its growth.

The HOLY WELL of Glaston. It may be allowed, perhaps, to introduce our remarks on this ancient object of superstition, by some observations which we threw into the Bath Chronicle on its first detection, in the latter part of April, 1825.

"*Glastonbury Abbey.* A discovery of a very curious and interesting nature was made last week, within the ruins of this celebrated Monastery, by a party of gentlemen of that place and neighbourhood, engaged in searching after the hidden antiquities of the consecrated inclosure: a discovery which will throw much light on the marvellous legendary accounts, and local traditions, that have so long disguised the early history of this most ancient religious establishment; explain the cause of its attracting such flocks of devotees and pilgrims to its hallowed walls; and occasion, probably, for an age to come, its renewed visitation, by many an antiquary, virtuoso, and pious member of the Romish church.

"Directed in their search by the report of a flight of underground steps, existing towards the south-eastern corner of St. Joseph's chapel, connected with the outside of the wall; and by the appearance of an arch nearly choked up, beneath the roofing-line of the ancient crypt; the labourers sank a pit, four yards square, to the depth of five or six feet, when their progress, on the east side, was suddenly arrested by a compact mass of stone work. On a further cautious removal of the earth, this was found to be the crown of a nearly perfect semicircular (or Anglo-Norman) arch, of the most beautiful and elaborate masonry, similar in pattern to the exquisite zig-zag (or rather lozenge-like) ornaments of the windows of St. Joseph's chapel, and evidently coeval in construction with that architectural gem. The labour of a few more hours detected a flight of winding steps leading to this subterranean arched recess; uncovered a pavement, at the depth of ten or twelve feet from the surface; and displayed a small Well, of a correct circular form, over-hung and protected by the costly arch that rose above it. A hole in the stone work of the well, near the surface, prevented it from being overflowed, by discharging the superfluous water into a channel of masonry, which runs, in a northern direction, under the pavement of the crypt of the chapel, and is supposed to empty itself into the great drain that surrounds the whole cathedral. The apartment, with its splendid arch and holy well, was originally covered with a groined roof, to guard it from injury or profanation; and appears to have been entered by the pilgrims, through a door-way in the southern wall of the chapel, surmounted by an elegant arch, in the mixed Saracenic and Gothic style, which opened upon the summit of the flight of steps, descending to the well. The choked-up door-way, on a level with the pavement, and opening upon it, was convenient for the occasional inspecting, cleansing, and repairing

of the apartment, well, and conduit. No doubt can be entertained of the application of this secret chamber, and sacred well, to the purposes of *miraculous cure*; for, tradition speaks of the *holy water*, as well as the *holy thorn*, of Joseph of Arimathea; but no visible evidence of its existence was known to remain, till the developement of the crypt in question. It has been concealed, unknown, and silent, for ages; but we may easily imagine, that, in the days of its celebrity, the concourse to it must have been multitudinous and incessant; and that, had the records of the sanative qualities and extraordinary effects of its perennial spring been preserved, we should have, at this moment, as many instances of its wonder-working influence before us, (and equally well authenticated,) as we have of the miracles performed at the tomb of the Abbé Paris in the last age, or by the late Prince Hohenloe in the present one.

“The recent purchaser of the Abbey domain, John Fry Reeves, esq; of Glastonbury, with a creditable zeal for the preservation of the memorials of former ages, and with a liberal attention to the gratification of the curiosity of the public, has directed the subterraneous chamber, with its staircase, arch, well, and pavement, to be cleansed, repaired, covered in, and restored, as nearly as possible, to its primitive state and appearance. A drawing of the whole was made upon the spot by Thomas Shew, esq; of Bath, for the illustrations of the ‘History of Glastonbury.’—2d May, 1825.”

The public notification of these particulars excited considerable curiosity. Many were the visitors who went to Glastonbury to inspect the well and its accompaniments; and, amongst the rest, several of the Romish Catholic faith, and a few of the priesthood of that Church. To the *latter*, however, the account given of the purposes to which the subterraneous chamber had been applied was by no means satisfactory. They would not allow that *aught* of the *miraculous* had been connected with the well; they asserted, that the notion of its having been an object of *pilgrimage* was entirely unfounded, and that its uses had been exclusively those of local convenience; the room above for a *vestiary*, or place for putting on, or changing, the priestly garments; and the well, for washing them in. Here, then, the author of the above paragraph is at complete issue with the gentlemen in question; and as it must be conceded that *they* are much more likely, than he can be, to determine the meaning and design of all the appendages of their ritual, and all the visible symbols of their faith, it seems but just to defer to their opinion, *unless* strong reasons can be adduced to render it probable that such opinion is altogether a mistaken one.

Reasons, however, to this effect are not difficult to be found.

First, The veneration which the ancients paid to springs and fountains, and the sanctions by which they guarded them from pollution, by placing them under the tutelage of particular divinities, is well known.* Politically considered, the practice was a most judi-

* “Veteres non hominibus modo singulis, sed et fluminibus et fontibus, regionibus quoque atque urbibus, suos cuique genios attribuerunt atque adeo nullam pæne rem, in qua perspicerent aliquid eximium “sine numine esse crediderunt.”—HOR. *Bond. Not.* l. iii. *Od.* 13. There is not a more decisive evidence of the great reverence in which wells were held among the ancients, than the very beautifully-sculptured *puteal*,

cious one; for as, in sultry countries, springs are rare, and of peculiar importance, so it would be an object well worth the attention of the sagacious legislator, to preserve them fit for the public use, and to prevent them from being exclusively applied to private purposes, by associating the superstitious feeling with their constant purity and their original destination; and hence it was, that Aganippe and Castalia, the Blandusian fountain, the spring of Egeria's grotto, and a multitude of other natural wells, were all consecrated; and claimed their presiding guardians, and peculiar times and modes of religious worship.

The early Papal priesthood caught the hint, and adopted the practice, as they did that of most of the peculiarities of classical heathen worship,* into their own system of religious observances; with this perversion, however, that the superstition which had before been wisely directed to the securing of a great object of general utility, was now made subservient to the benefit of the *Church* alone; to increase and confirm the influence of the clergy; or to enrich the treasuries of monastic establishments.† Springs, wells, and fountains, were transferred from the genii of antiquity to the guardian saints of the Romish calendar; and their waters were endowed with the power of a miraculous cure for all those diseased worshippers, who could afford to try their efficacy through the chargeable medium of clerical and monkish ministration. This monstrous superstition was more than once, indeed, attempted to be checked by general councils, but the abuse continued; and our early ecclesiastical writers have frequent notices of such consecrated and wonder-working springs. The number of them which exist to this day among us, still bearing the names of their tutelary saints, and attracting even now the ignorant and poor by their fancied mirific influence, not only manifests their multiplicity and sacred character in former times, but shews, also, the busy interest which the Romish clergy took in their ancient celebrity and application.

Now, though there be no mention of St. Joseph's Well at Glastonbury in the meagre accounts which have reached our times of the Abbey and its adjuncts, by the few writers who have treated of them, yet nothing adverse to our hypothesis respecting the well can be inferred from such silence. Their pages, indeed, are almost entirely occupied by other subjects—early legends, eternal squabbles between the bishops and the monks, and petty transactions of a mere domestic nature. The high altar of the Virgin, without comparison the most holy, glorious, and productive appendage to the church of Glaston Abbey, is scarcely mentioned by these chroniclers;‡ and the shrine of Dunstan, which drew such in the Townley collection of marbles; where the numerous figures are nearly as sharp and entire as ever, whilst the indents of the rope, to draw up the buckets, are inches deep.

* See Middleton's Letter from Rome, passim, 4to. 1729.

† The profits derived to religious houses from the visits of devotees to these objects of a senseless superstition—wells, shrines, and images, must have been considerable, as we find that they occasionally became sources of legal dispute between those everlasting opponents, the bishops and abbots. See *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 545.

‡ The altar, and image, and relics of the Virgin were held in profound veneration, not only at Glaston

crowds to the Monastery, and poured so much money into its coffers, has only incidental notice conferred upon it: an inattention, we think, which fully accounts for the omission, by these writers, of an object, of somewhat inferior value or regard; and which, consequently, can weigh nothing against the strong probability, that the Monks of Glastonbury applied the well in question to the same valuable purposes, as other religious houses applied their miraculous springs, and reaped from it a rich harvest of celebrity and profit.

Secondly. Tradition lends her sanction to the accuracy of the opinion we have advanced. The idea of a *holy spring* has been, from time immemorial, connected with all the superstitious reminiscences of Glastonbury. A floating recollection of this nature occasioned the dream of Matthew Chancellor, and inspired the inhabitants of Glastonbury and its neighbourhood, with a confidence to try the virtue of the waters which had been discovered, with a full persuasion of their salutary effects: and, in a letter from the learned Mr. Douce, dated the 23d of August, 1825, he states, that an antiquarian friend had informed him, that "there are some remains of a hospital, where there is a well called *Joseph's Well*." Now, though we do not find that any eleemosynary establishment exists, which has a well so named attached to it, yet the *tradition* is established, even if an error be allowed as to the fact; since the information of a spring, so denominated, was given to the gentleman alluded to, long previously to the discovery which now engages our attention.

Thirdly. The construction of the room above, the ornamental finishing of the arch below, and the size and situation of the well, all evince that the former could not have been intended for a *vestiarium*, nor the latter for a *lavatorium*. The usual number of officiating priests and their attendants could not have been accommodated in the small apartment above, (which did not exceed in dimensions the chamber of the well,) with a space sufficient for those frequent changes of robes which characterize their gaudy ritual; nor was there room enough in it to have stowed away these gorgeous habiliments, which were preserved with a care equal to their cost. The beauty of the *arch*, also, decisively points at something higher than an every-day use. It is, in fact, a reduplicated arch; the inner pattern separated from the other, by an interval of a few inches, but both precisely similar in appearance, and in rich and careful execution: the lozenge ornament, carved in high relief, standing out from the plane of the stone, and completely detached, save at its base; a work of such skill, and cost, and time, as would never have been undertaken, had not its destination been commensurate with its labour and expense. The *situation* of the well further indicates its intended application, as it was carried from the centre of the arch towards the southern wall, just sufficiently to allow the more impotent to sit, and the less infirm to

Abbey, but throughout the whole Roman Catholic world; and continue to be objects of adoration, with the great majority of the members of that church, to the present day. The influence of particular saints was, and is, considered as local, limited, or personal; that of the Virgin was universal: the cost with which her image was attired, which always surmounted her altar, is scarcely to be believed; but finery did not make her proud, she condescended to the humblest offices, and frequently, to afford an example of humility, or avoid giving trouble, *would light her own candle*. Jewell's Reply to Harding, p. 381, 1609.

kneel down, at its northern side. There is, also, a little recess, or cupboard, contrived in the passage that leads from the well to the crypt, to hold and secure the sacred vessels used at the altar of the latter.

Having thus, as we conceive, established the reasonableness and probability of our opinion respecting the destination and actual use of St. Joseph's Well, and the chamber above it, we will indulge ourselves, for a moment, in imagining what the feelings and proceedings of the devotee might be, who pilgrimaged to this consecrated recess, in search of health or ease. After passing the Abbey inclosure, he would soon find himself at the northern portal of St. Joseph's chapel, and pause, perchance, to gaze, with wonder and delight, at the storied frontispiece, rich with the effigies of kings and queens, and knights and saints, whose names and deeds were not then forgotten, and graced with all the embellishments of the sculptor's art. But, his first step into the fabric itself would dissipate, in a moment, all the reveries of a "toy-taken fancy," and fill his mind with astonishment and awe. A grand perspective, of six hundred feet, would suddenly open upon him, leading his eye through successive arches, of various forms, and clustered pillars, of diversified pattern; its area filled with altars, shrines, and images, illuminated by streams of richly-coloured light, from painted windows; and its lofty fretted roof, echoing with "the note of "praise," from the solemn organ, or the harmonious choir. With "trembling step and "slow," he could cross the sacred pavement, and descend the stairs that led to the "darkness visible" of the chamber of the well. The next moment would find him on his knees before the wonder-working spring, applying its waters in the manner required by his malady. The altar in the crypt would then receive his genuflexions and prayers, his thanksgivings and oblations; and, retiring through its further arched door-way, he would again ascend to day; and (such is the strange mysterious influence of the imagination upon the physical part of our system) might, possibly, in certain cases, experience, from the excessive excitement which he had felt, and from the conviction that it would be so, an actual cure of his disorder.

The admeasurements of the chamber and well are as follows:

	Feet.	Inches.
Length of the recess	17	0
Breadth of the arch, from within it	4	8
Height from the floor to the under part of the arch	4	4½
Diameter of the well	2	2
Depth of ditto	4	9
Distance of well from the north side of the arch	2	3
Ditto from the south side of ditto	0	3
Depth of ornamental work round the arch	0	8

PLATE XX. GROUND PLAN of GLASTON ABBEY.

The dark portions of this plan designate the existing remains; the lighter ones represent such as were visible in Stukeley's time. The letters of reference may be explained as follows: A, St. Joseph's chapel. B, the additional building of Henry de Blois. C, the nave of the great church. D, the central point under the tower. E, the choir. F, the site of the retro, or Lady's chapel. Second F, the same, according to its original proportions. G, the north transept. H, the south ditto. I, K, L, M, chapels in the two transepts, their names too uncertain to be correctly given. N, a cloyster. O, the chapter-house. P, the area, with cloisters round it. Q, the refectory. R, the guest-hall. S, part of the Lord Abbot's dwelling. T, the Abbot's kitchen. V, part of the almonry. W, a covered passage into the crypt. X, St. Joseph's well.

Of the measurement of the great church we have two early accounts: one by William of Worcester, about the middle of the fifteenth century;* and another in manuscript, written apparently in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.† The latter enumerates, also, the apartments of the convent itself, and the various buildings connected with it.

The admeasurements of William of Worcester are as follows.

“*DE ECCLESIA MONASTERII GLASTONIAE.*”

“*ECCLESIA.*—Longitudo navis ecclesiae monasterii continet 54 virgas” (yards) “vel 100 gressus” (steps.)

“*Chorus Glastoniae* continet in longitudine 42 virgas.

“*Latitudo ejus, cum duobus alis, continet 24 virgas, et 10 virgas vel ultra le reredes*” (half skreen), “*sic in toto continet 34 virgas.*

“*Longitudo brachiorum juxta chorum a boriâ in meridiem versus le orlage*” (horologe or clock) “96 gressus.

“*Latitudo brachiorum predictorum continet 10 virgas.*

“*Longitudo a fenestrâ quæ est proxima latitudinis brachiorum, quæ incipit in parte occidentali latitudinis brachiorum, quasi Anglice ‘a porche,’ usque principium navis ecclesiae, continet 7 virgas.*

“*Longitudo claustri ex omni quatuor parciis continet 80 gressus.*

“*Longitudo de le chapter-hous continet 25 virgas.*

“*Latitudo ejus continet xj virgas.*

“*Latitudo navis ultra duas helas continet 46 gressus.*

“*Et tota latitudo, cum duobus alis sive helis, continet 46 gressus.*

“*Sed longitudo propriæ ecclesiae navis continet 12 virgas.*

“*Latitudo chori, cum duobus alis, in parte orientali chori, continet 25 virgas.*

* William of Worcester, apud Hearne, p. 134, 292.

† Communicated by the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.

“ Memorandum, quod in quolibet latere navis ecclesiæ sunt 10 columpnæ, et sic sunt in tota navi 20 columpnæ.

“ Et quælibet columpna continet in spacio ab unâ ad alteram 7 virgas.

“ Porticus introitus ad magnam ecclesiam continet, ejus longitudo, videlicet, 15 virgas; et ejus latitudo, 8 virgas.

“ Longitudo aulae domini abbatis est 66 gressus.

“ Latitudodictæ aulae continet 34 gressus.

“ In qualibet parte chori sunt 6 magnæ altæ fenestræ vitreatae, et tot 6 in meridionali chori.

“ Et in qualibet luce sunt in qualibet panellâ, et 6 luces, id est, parvæ fenestræ, sunt in qualibet magnâ fenestrâ, sunt in toto 60 parvæ fenestræ.

“ Item sunt in quolibet latere alarum choro 8 fenestræ.”

“ In Occidentali Parte Altaris Glastoniæ.

“ Spacium de le reredes ex parte orientali magnæ altaris sunt 5 columpnæ seriatim.

“ Et inter quamlibet columpnam est capella cum altare.

“ Et spacium capellæ in longitudine continet 6 virgas.

“ Et spacium interceptum inter capellas et le reredes continet similiter 5 virgas.

“ GLASTYNBERY.—Ecclesia beatæ Mariæ in fine occidentalis partis navis dictæ ecclesiæ.

“ Longitudo capellæ beatæ Mariæ quæ est contermina ex parte occidentali* navis ecclesiæ, continet 34 virgas.

“ Latitudo ejus continet 8 virgas.

“ Et in quolibet latere sunt.....fenestræ magnæ.

“ Et ex opposito secundæ fenestræ ex parte meridionali sunt in cimiterio duæ cruces lapideæ concavatae, ubi ossa Arthuri regis recondebantur, ubi in linea bifurcata jacet Josephus ab Arimatheâ.”

We next subjoin a copy of the particulars contained in the MS. account.

“ The names of the chambers, as I find them named in the inventory, as likewise of other roomes belonging to the late Abbey of Glastonbury.

“ The great chamber.

“ The ffourth chamber.

“ The abbot's chamber.

“ The ffifth chamber.

“ The second chamber.

“ The high chamber, called the king's lodgings.

“ The third chamber.

* Here appears to be a mistake either of William or his editor. The word *occidentali* should be *orientali*. The Mary retro, or Lady's chapel, is found invariably at the *eastern* end of the cathedral; and the foundations of this very chapel at Glastonbury may be now seen in that direction, from the great choir, agreeing with the measurement here laid down.

- " The wardrope under the king's lodgings. " The stilling-house. The chaple.*
 " The second chamber next to the king's. " The almnor's house.
 " The third chamber. " The inner chamber. The buttry.
 " The ffourth chamber. " The new chamber. The chamber over
 " Two chambers, called the inner chambers. " against it.
 " The pryor's lodgings. " In another officie, a hall, one chamber, a
 " The hall. The pryor's chamber. " chamber called Paradise.
 " The kitchen. The inner chamber. " The inner chamber.
 " The chappell.* " The friar's chamber.
 " The buttry. The bakehouse. " The doctor's chamber. The buttry
 " The ffirmerar's office. The hall. " chamber.
 " The inner chamber. The buttry. " The bishop's chamber. The monck cham-
 " The subamnor's officie. " ber.
 " The bakehouse belonging to the subam- " The chapell.* The parlour.
 " nor's officie. " The sexton's officie. The chamber, hanged
 " The bishop's chamber. " with greene say.
 " The inner chamber. " The jubyler's officie.
 " The cellar's chamber. " The ffryery officie.
 " The red chamber. The greene chamber. " The dary-house.
 " The broade chamber. The chamber next " The little parlour under the gallery.
 " to it. " The great hall, hung at the upper end
 " The white chamber. " with a great piece of arras.
 " Paulett's chamber. The ffourth bed- " The pantry. The buttry.
 " chamber. " The abbot's plumphouse (pump).
 " The middle chamber. The next chamber. " In the abbot's stable 8 horses.
 " A docker's (doctor's) chamber. " I finde the abbott had of horses, mares,
 " Another hall. The mill-house. " and colts, at Sharpham, at the same
 " The bakehouse. The brewhouse. " time, and at another parke, in all 44.
 " The armory, where was a great number " This is almost all I finde about the house.
 " of swords, gunnes, bulletts, and other " Seaven great bells in the great toure.
 " materials belonging to that officie. " There was a great many fine altars in the
 " The convent's kitchen. " church, with very rich things belong-
 " The archdeacon's officie. " ing to them.
 " The gallery. " In the new chaple a very faire toombe of
 " The sextery. " King Edgar, copper gilt.
 " Another chapple.* " The alter being set with images all gilt.
 " The kitchen. " The rest belonging to the house I will
 " The cook's chamber. The kitchen. " give a more full account another time.

" The length and breadth of the great hall at Glastonbury.—The hall contained in
 " length one hundred and eleven ffoot, and in breadth one and ffiftie ffoot.

" The great chamber contained in length seventie-two ffoote, and in breadth twentie-ffoure ffoote.

" The broade court belonging to the said Abbey contained in length ffour hundred ninety-one ffoote, and in length (breadth) two hundred and twentie ffoote.

(In a different contemporaneous hand-writing.)

" The great church in the Aby wase in length 594, as followeth :

" The chapter-house in length - - 90 foot, [this was the retro-chapel.]

" Quier, in length - - - - - 159 foot, in breadth 75 foot.

" The bodie of the church in length - 228 foott.

" Joseph's chapell in length - - - 117 foott.

594

" The kitching 40 foot square."

We cannot, perhaps, better obtain a clear idea of the magnitude of the conventual church at Glastonbury, when in its complete state, than by comparing the above dimensions, with those of the largest ancient ecclesiastical structures in England and Wales. The mighty fabric will be found to have been second only to the old Gothic cathedral of St. Paul's, which was burnt down in 1666, and measured 631 feet in length from east to west, and 297 feet from north to south.

	Feet.		Feet.
St. Asaph, length from east to west	179	breadth of transepts from north to south	108
Bangor - ditto - - -	214	ditto - - - - -	96
Bath - ditto - - -	210	ditto - - - - -	126
Bristol - ditto - - -	175	ditto - - - - -	128
Canterbury - ditto - - -	514	ditto - - - - -	124
Carlisle - ditto - - -	219	ditto - - - - -	124
Chester - ditto - - -	348	ditto - - - - -	180
Chichester - ditto - - -	392	ditto - - - - -	131
St. David's - ditto - - -	290	ditto - - - - -	120
Durham - ditto - - -	420	ditto - - - - -	176
Ely - ditto - - -	517	ditto - - - - -	178
Exeter - ditto - - -	390	ditto - - - - -	140
Gloucester - ditto - - -	420	ditto - - - - -	144
Hereford - ditto - - -	370	ditto - - - - -	140
Landaff - ditto - - -	150	no transepts	
Lichfield - ditto - - -	411	length of transepts	88
Lincoln - ditto - - -	482	ditto - - - - -	222
London, St. Paul's ditto - - -	500	ditto - - - - -	248
Man - ditto - - -	113	ditto - - - - -	66
Norwich - ditto - - -	411	ditto - - - - -	191
Oxford - ditto - - -	154	ditto - - - - -	102

		Feet.			Feet.
Peterborough,	length from east to west,	480;	length of transepts	-	208
Rochester	ditto	306;	ditto	-	122
Salisbury	ditto	452;	ditto	-	210
Wells	ditto	371;	ditto	-	135
Winchester	ditto	540;	ditto	-	208
Worcester	ditto	410;	ditto	-	180
Westminster	ditto	489;	ditto	-	189
York	ditto	498;	ditto	-	222

But the claim of the Abbey Church of Glaston to admiration did not rest upon its unrivalled vastness alone: its elegance was commensurate to its size; and taste was as much interested by the beauty of its parts, as the imagination was awed by the grandeur of its whole. A slight examination of the fabric in detail will fully justify this high eulogium. Let us, then, begin with the western end. The oldest member of this stupendous structure (the antiquity of which we shall speedily discuss) is, unquestionably, St. Joseph's chapel. This name, however, does not, in our acceptation of it, embrace the *whole* of the ruin generally so called, extending from the western wall to the great depressed arch in an opposite direction; but that portion of it, only, which stretches to the outside of the south-eastern turret. Many appearances indicate, that, beyond this spot, the building was not originally carried. *Here* (both on the north and south side) a practised eye may clearly distinguish a *perpendicular-line* of division, interrupting the continuity of the masonry, and shewing where the old work ceased, and where the later addition commenced; while a careful admeasurement will evince, that there is a difference of two feet and one inch, in the respective breadths of the chapel, and the structure connected with it. The same proofs of two different eras in the erection of these conjoined buildings, may be found in the crypt below. A difference of eleven inches occurs in the breadth of its eastern and western ends; and the varying forms of the capitals and bases of the pilasters, which support the groins in the ceiling of the two moieties, seem clearly to point out distinct degrees of antiquity between them.

In addition to what we have said upon this subject, we may further observe, that the interior proportions of St. Joseph's chapel (if our hypothesis of its pristine dimensions be allowed) would be judicious and beautiful—a small excess of a double cube, a form exceedingly pleasing to the eye; whereas, viewed in its present extent, from the western wall to the great obtuse arch at the opposite extremity, an evident and disagreeable disproportion is immediately confessed, between the longitudinal and latitudinal lines of its plan. The same conclusion results from an *external* view of the building. By limiting its ichnography to the dimensions we propose, a design of singular taste, skill, and elegance, instantly develops itself; all its parts in harmony, and all its features beautiful; a well-proportioned fabrick, supported by uniform buttresses, of a pattern singular as it is graceful, and terminated, at its four corners, by turrets of the same simple and solid, but airy, form; perfectly

according with the style of the structure to which they pertain. Here, then, we have a *whole*, which is at once intelligible and admirable; but, if we suppose the architect to have extended the chapel beyond the eastern turrets, his design becomes unmeaning, all science is disregarded, and all symmetry destroyed.*

Taking it, therefore, as a conceded point, that St. Joseph's chapel was, on its erection, confined to the limits and proportions we have endeavoured to establish, we may readily imagine what its appearance would be, when in its perfect unmutilated state; a parallelogram of sixty-two feet ten inches in length, twenty-four feet nine inches in breadth, and about forty feet in height to the crown of its groined ceiling; finished, both within and without, in its forms and ornaments, with the best skill, the nicest art, and the most correct taste; and presenting to the eye, probably, the choicest and most perfect specimen, then extant in the kingdom, of what may be strictly called an *Anglo-Norman* ecclesiastical edifice. On the north and south were the two grand portals, which we have fully described in a former part of these explanations. High in the western wall, was the elegant triarial window, already mentioned, with its semicircular head. At the opposite end, another window (probably of the same size and pattern) threw its light upon the altar, immediately beneath it. On the north and south sides, four uniform, but larger, windows (each subdivided, like the triarial ones, by mullions, of rich design, into four compartments) rose gracefully and loftily, till their semicircular summits almost touched the vaulting; their slender weather mouldings assuming the pointed form, and exhibiting, at their terminations, a series of corbel heads, representing the different stages of the age of man. But, it was beneath these windows, and on the inside, that the architect lavished his chief labour. *Here*, he covered the whole surface with small semicircular arches, interlacing each other, and producing, by this combination, that pointed Gothic form of arch, which was doomed, in the succeeding age, to supersede the use of its more simple and venerable parent; and *here*, after having ornamented his arches, above and below, with uniform fillets, or mouldings, of the richest and lightest zig-zag pattern, he supported the lower ones on polished pillars of blue lias, each having its central *band moulding*, and surmounted them with finely chiselled capitals, equally diversified and graceful. But, the adornments of St. Joseph's chapel, identified with the building, were not left to the architect alone: the painter was called in to decorate the pannels between the arches, which glowed with vivid representations of all the host of heaven. The traces of the suns, and moons, and stars, that covered the intervals, may still be discerned: they are not to be considered, however, as unmeaning ornaments, the mere accidental offspring of an untutored taste, or puerile fancy; but as symbols of the science of the times; emblems of those arcana, in astrology and alchemy, of which the clergy of the *midde age s* were exclusively in possession, and which they confined to their own order,

* The *apparatus* of the well, the arch, the stairs, and the little room above, we conceive to have been an *after thought*, as the pattern of the doorway leading out of the chapel into the last-mentioned apartment indicates a style, at least one hundred years later than that of the chapel itself.

with as much care as the ancient sages did the secret principles of their esoteric philosophy.*

The building which was next in construction to St. Joseph's chapel, and is identified with it, bears such striking marks of a subsequent age, and of a varied style, as are quite sufficient to prove its later date. St. Joseph's chapel rather exceeded the proportion of the double cube in length; the additional building is considerably within it, being broader and shorter than the chapel, and, consequently, less elegant in its ground plan. The arches of the windows, also, are of a totally different character; and though they retain the rich zig-zag ornament of the Anglo-Norman manner, yet their pointed summits may be considered as a distinct manifestation of the adoption of, what may be called, the first pure style of Gothic architecture. On this additional building being raised, it is probable that the eastern wall of St. Joseph's chapel was taken down, and the altar removed to the eastern end of the new edifice; where it stood, beneath a noble pointed window, which was converted, on the erection of the great nave, into the depressed arch that now remains. The level of this building, and of St. Joseph's chapel, was considerably lower than the floor of the church, and the line of the steps, by which an ascent was afforded from the one into the other, may still be seen, on the wall to the north-west of the grand arch communication between the two. The beautiful door-way into the additional building, on its north side, is certainly of later date than the body of the building, as may be inferred from the waving line of its head, and the exquisite fillagree of the tendrils and foliage which run round the whole casing of the portal.

The portion of this great conventual church, which was erected next in succession to the building we have just described, included the great nave and aisles, the transepts, tower, and choir. Of this stately group of architectural wonders, the only remains are,—*first*, part of the outward wall of the south aisle, with three windows; the ends of its flying buttresses, on the outside; and a portion of the arched communication between the cloisters and the church. *Secondly*, two large and lofty masses of the four main pillars, which, by combining their vast arches, supported the majestic tower that rose above them, and terminated in a spire: though sadly marred and shattered, sufficient of them is still preserved to afford a scale by which we may calculate the height of the vaulting of the nave and choir, whose elevation could not be much less than one hundred feet: they also shew the *triforia*, or passages, which encircled the whole interior of the church, at half its height, and afforded conveniences for hanging out the tapestries, embroideries, banners, &c. with which the Monks decorated the sacred walls, on days of high and festal observance. *Thirdly*, a superb group of arches,

* *Alchemy* and *astrology* were very favourite studies with the clergy, particularly with the Benedictine Monks, for some centuries; and hence may be explained the frequent introduction of the heavenly signs in the paintings with which they adorned the walls, and filled the splendid windows, of their sacred structures. Traces of this predilection may be discovered as low down as the latter end of the fifteenth century; for, in the great east window of the Abbey Church in Bath, the sun, and moon, and stars, may be yet seen in its topmost spandrils. See a very amusing and learned article, in which this subject is touched upon, in the *Quarterly Review*, No. li. p. 180.

to the north-east of the tower piers, the divisions of two chapels, whose tutelary saints are not sufficiently ascertained, to give their names with perfect confidence; but who might well be proud of the beautiful fabrics dedicated to their honour. The combination of arches, piers, and windows, seen from the northern extremity of these chapels, is exceedingly impressive. Here, too, remained a small fragment, eight feet in length, by six in breadth, (lately unfolded, and now properly preserved,) of the rich *encaustic pavement* that, probably, covered the whole extent of the church of Glaston Abbey, as it now does that of Great Malvern, in Worcestershire—an ornament, either manufactured in Italy, or wrought by the monks' own hands; particularly admired and adopted by the Norman ecclesiastics, who thus emblazoned, with fanciful figures in the first instance, and with heraldic devices in after times, the floors of all their more magnificent sacred structures.* *Fourthly*, Some remains, on the opposite side, of another chapel, to the south-east of the tower piers; which must have been equally elegant in character, rich in ornament, and symmetrical in proportions, with those we have just described. *Fifthly*, The outward wall of the south aisle of the *choir*, with the *dado*, or stone seat, for the convenience of the worshipper, at its base; a fragment of the north-east corner of the same; and masses of the two piers, which (before the erection of the retro chapel) included the ample window, that *then* formed the eastern termination of the church. Immediately beneath this gorgeous expanse of painted glass, and seen, consequently, from the western extremity of the pile, rose the Altar of the Virgin; and probably kept its station in this spot, even after the erection of the retro chapel, till the dissolution of the Abbey. It must have been too gigantic to be moved with ease, if we may judge of its size from the depth, and width, and strength of its foundations; which were last year uncovered, and partly broken up.

These are the only vestiges of this once glorious pile: but the marvel is, that so much remains; for we are told, that, from the period of the dissolution to the early years of Queen Elizabeth, both the church and the conventual buildings were without a guardian, and lay open and exposed to the wanton depredations of every casual spoiler; and we know, that since this period houses have been built, highways repaired, and new turnpike-roads made and covered, from the materials of the monastery of Glaston, which were publicly sold for these unholy purposes.

We will now endeavour to determine the periods of time when the different parts of this great church were built.

To attempt any inquiry with respect to the churches which preceded St. Joseph's chapel, would be useless. Of these, though there were several in succession, and all, probably, on the site of this chapel; yet their vestiges are totally obliterated, and the monkish accounts of them are wild and absurd.† The earlier ones were of fragile and perishable

* See Henniker on Norman Tiles; and Dallaway's Heraldic Inquiries, p. 104.

† In 625, St. Paulinus, bishop of Rochester, came to Glaston, "*muros vetustæ ecclesiæ ligneo tabulatu construi fecit, et extra a summo usque deorsum in terram plumbo coopiri.*"—*John Glast.* 87.

"*Infra quam (Ina's church) eciam fecit (Ina) construi capellam argenteam.*"—*Ib.* 101.

materials; and the later ones, of the clumsy pattern, and limited dimensions, of the Anglo-Saxon places of worship.*

It was not till the commencement of the twelfth century, that any structure of real architectural beauty rose on the consecrated ground of Glaston Abbey; when Abbot Herlewinus, who had been a monk of Caen in Normandy, and had there acquired either a taste for, or a knowledge of, the art of building, constructed, as we believe, the chapel of St. Joseph. The historian records, that he was a character every way qualified and likely for such an undertaking; a man of spirit and generosity; and so particularly hospitable, that he threatened the porter with the loss of his ears, if he should shut the gate against any traveller who offered himself as a guest at the abbey;† that he *built a new church*, and expended upon it four hundred and eighty pounds—a sum quite sufficient in those days for the erection of the fabric in question. When to these historical notices is added, the circumstance of the architecture of St. Joseph's chapel according precisely with the *Anglo-Norman style*; that is to say, the style that was introduced into this country in the time of Edward the Confessor, was perfected in the reign of Rufus, and superseded by, or at least mixed with, the *Gothic*, (we must use *common* terms, though they are inaccurate,) towards the conclusion of Henry the First's reign; when these particulars are duly considered, there seems to be sufficient reason for attributing St. Joseph's chapel to the founder and period above allotted to it.

To the building immediately connected with it, we would adjudge a somewhat more recent epoch. In the year 1126, Henry de Blois, the nephew of Henry I. brother of King Stephen, and afterwards bishop of Winchester, succeeded to the abbacy of Glaston; a man who seems to have anticipated the manners and acquirements of far more civilized times than those in which he lived;‡ and to have excelled his cotemporaries, as much in knowledge and elegance, as in dignity. The large additions which he made to the conventual buildings are particularly enumerated by John of Glastonbury; and as he thus increased the accommodations of the monks in other less important ways, it cannot be doubted that he would do so with respect to public worship, and extend the former small church to dimensions more commensurate with the number and wants of the inmates of the convent. Henry died in 1171; and previously to his demise, that modification of Gothic architecture had established itself in England, which characterises the portion of the Abbey ruins that we would assign to him.

* It was on these earlier churches, however, that the Monks of Glastonbury founded their claim of the superior antiquity of their convent to all others in Europe; and it seems to have been conceded to them. A Glaston monk, being at Paris, visited the church of St. Denis. A priest belonging to it meeting him, and finding that he was a member of this far-famed monastery, gently stroked his head, and, after a long pause, thus addressed him: "Here you behold the church of the most glorious martyr, St. Denis; boasting, in France, the same dignity, and the same founder, (Christ,) as Glaston does in England. They would, also, be coeval in age, did not Glaston precede it by one step, (uno tamen gradu illa supereminet,) for she is called "ROMA SECUNDA."—*John Glast. p. 10.*

† John Glast. 162, et infra.

‡ Adam de Domerham, vol. ii. p. 305—315, et infra.

On the death of Prior Robert, (the successor of Henry de Blois,) the monastery came into the possession of Henry II. who appointed as its *custos*, Peter de Marci, a monk of Cluni. He died in 1184, a year most disastrous to Glaston Abbey; as a fire occurred, retributive in its nature, if we may believe the monkish historians,* which laid the monastic buildings in ruins, and consumed all that was combustible in the church itself. To repair the devastation occasioned by this dire calamity, the King (Henry II.) commissioned his chamberlain, Ralph Fitz-Stephen, (son of King Stephen,) to repair to Glaston; search into the extent of the evil; take all the profits of the monastery into his hands; and, after allowing a sufficient portion of them to the monks for their subsistence, to apply the surplus to the re-edification of the ruined buildings. Ralph performed his commission with zeal and honour. He repaired the former church, and laid the foundations of a new and larger one, stretching in length four hundred feet, and spreading to the breadth of eighty feet.† Here, then, we have the commencement of the whole of that great structure to the eastward of Henry de Blois' additional building; which was now, doubtless, connected with the nave, by lowering its eastern arch, and converting, what had been originally a window, into an entrance to the body of the new church. But Ralph Fitz-Stephen did not live to complete the great work which he had begun; and a long interval elapsed, before it was entirely finished.‡ Henry II. who had contributed much to the expenses of the work, died; and the careless abbot, Henry de Swansey, paid no attention to its progress; though the zealous monks of Glastonbury obtained permission from Pope Honorius the Fourth, to make a progress through the country, and assail the laity with charity sermons; astonish them with relics; and lure them with indulgences; in order to raise funds for the great work which they had so deeply at heart.§ How long these efforts lasted, or what their success was, does not appear; but sufficient has been said, we apprehend, to establish the fact, that the great church, from the western end of the nave to the ruined piers at the eastern termination, was the work of a period, from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century.

With respect to the Lady's, or retro, chapel, we have no data by which we can positively determine the period of its erection; though certain hints in John of Glastonbury seem to indicate that it was built by Adam de Sodbury, who obtained the abbacy in 1322. We

* John Glast. 173. Peter de Mark, it seems, could not conciliate the favour of the monks. He was obliging; they were contumacious; and this was their punishment.

† John. Glast. page 180.

‡ If a passage in John Glast. be genuine, it would appear that the great conventual church was not dedicated till the time of Geoffry Fromont, who became abbot in 1303. "Idem abbas fecit conventualem ecclesiam Glastoniam dedicari."—Page 225. But Hearne says, this clause is *not* in the Ashmolean MS. of John Glaston's History.

§ John Glast. 185. In the Index Chartarum of John Glastonbury are the titles of forty-seven charters of indulgences of various archbishops and bishops, extending to 1102 days, "concessæ Glastoniensi ecclesiæ, sive fabricæ ecclesiæ."—Page 393.

find that this abbot expended great sums in completing and adorning the sacred fabric ; that he decorated the high altar with a vast image of the Virgin, and a rich tabernacle, and vaulted a great part of the nave and choir ; and we may reasonably suppose, that he might add to these evidences of his respect for the holy patroness of the Abbey, by building and dedicating to her that noble chapel, of ninety feet in length, which, previously to the desecration of the sacred pile, terminated, to the east, the great church of Glaston Abbey.* Of the style of the architecture of this chapel we cannot judge, as not a single vestige of it remains above ground ; but being a century later than the choir, it would probably degenerate, in some degree, from the character of that noble member of the fabric ; and exhibit thinner and higher pitched arches, more thickly clustered columns, and a greater variety of architectural ornaments, of every description, than were admitted into the severer style of the preceding century.

It is impossible to contemplate such structures, or at least such architectural ruins, as we have described, and not feel a strong curiosity as to the *origin* of their peculiar style, and to the *history* of the *artists* who designed and executed them. These are problems, indeed, whose solution has, for a long time past, exercised the fancy, or called forth the learning, of some of our ablest writers : nor can it be considered as a point of trifling interest, to endeavour to lay open the secrets of a species of architecture, which combined beauty, taste, strength, and utility in its results ; whose principles have been lost for upwards of three centuries ; and the modern imitations of which, with all our advantages of sounder science, increased knowledge, and improved skill, are confessed to be far inferior to their original models.

The subject, however, does not appear to be involved in so much difficulty as is generally apprehended ; and a little *common sense*,

Which, though no art, is fairly worth the seven,"

will probably effect more in its explanation, than all the dreams of genius, or all the researches of study.

The theory, which we would propose for the solution of the enigma, may not, perhaps, be satisfactory, but it will at least be recommended by brevity and simplicity.

The total eversion, for a certain period, of the arts in Europe, followed the wreck of the Roman empire ;

" When Time his northern sons of spoil awoke,

" Who all the blended work of strength and grace,

" With many a rude repeated stroke,

" And many a barbarous yell, to thousand fragments broke,."

* John Glast. 263. Adam de Sodbury seems, also, to have provided for the services of the chapel he had built, by directing eight good surplices, and as many amices, for the use of the chaplains officiating in the same.—Ib. 269.

The work of destruction, however, was at length completed, and the spoilers sat down to enjoy what they had won : they had sense, activity, and energy ; and, when once settled in their new acquisitions, dropped the pursuits of blood and plunder, to cultivate the advantages of peace and civilization. The arts began to revive, and architecture, which may be considered as almost an essential one, would of course claim their early attention. It was not, however, necessary for them to tax their invention for plans or forms of building ; the Roman models were before their eyes ; and the Franks, who had possessed themselves of the north and west of France, naturally adopted, in their structures, the arch, the pillar, and other characteristics of such of the Roman edifices as had not fallen under the shock of war. But fashion is of an evanescent, or at least mutable, nature : caprice, fancy, or taste, is ever busy in altering forms ; and, either before the acquisition of Normandy by Rollo, or shortly after the settlement of the Northmen in that fair region of France which they had acquired, the whimsical interlacing of the Roman arches, and the division of the large round pillar into several smaller ones, suggested the two principal features of the Gothic style—the pointed arch, and the clustered column ; whilst a desire to carry their edifices *higher* than the Romans had done before them, rendered the flying buttress a necessary adjunct, to support the great elevation of the wall, and to counteract the pressure of the ponderous roof. The tower or spire was added upon the same ambitious principle ; or, what is still more probable, as an object to be seen from far by the worshipper, to direct his course, through a wild, devious, or wooded country, to the place of his devotion. Upon these principles we ground our belief, that the first simple Gothic style of ecclesiastical architecture was adopted in France, or at least in Normandy, as early as the commencement of the tenth century.

This was not, however, the case in England, which, for centuries, exhibited a scene of foreign aggression and internal conflict, that left little breathing time for the improvement of the arts, the cultivation of taste, or the formation of elegant, or even civilized, manners. The Anglo-Saxons could boast no architectural skill ; and when they built their larger fabrics, *without foreign assistance*, they were content to adopt a wretched imitation of the general features of the Roman fabrics that still existed among them, upon a dwarfish scale, and in an humbler taste ; their only effort at diversity being the introduction of grotesque capitals, vandike cornices, runic knots, or spiral lines. We have mentioned *foreign assistance*, since it is quite certain that to it they applied, when they were desirous of raising a building of more than common magnitude or beauty ; and, for the best possible reason, because they had no artists among themselves, who were competent to such an undertaking.* When, however, the intercourse became intimate between England and Normandy, in the time of Edward the Confessor, we cannot doubt, that the Anglo-Saxons would begin to

* There are many passages in our early writers to this effect. The following, however, from a foreign source, Mabillon, is conclusive. “Anno proximo ab inchoato Wiremuthensi monasterio, Benedictus, oceano “transmisso, Gallios petiit cæmentarios, qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta ritum Romanorum facerent adduc- “turus.—Quia in illa regione (Anglia) deerant, ex transmarinis partibus advecti.”—*Annal. Ord. Benedict. tom. i. p. 524.*

imbibe from the Normans, who were far before them in the arts of life, some notions of a better style of architecture than that which they had hitherto themselves practised; though we have good authority for believing, it was not till some time after the Conquest, that the English architects conceived the designs, formed the plans, and executed the masonry, of what are denominated Gothic ecclesiastical structures. *Why* the secret, or the ability, of executing these noble works of art should so long have been withheld from our countrymen, can, we think, be explained only in one way: that the body of men who professed both, were, literally, and strictly, *free-masons*;* that this species of architecture, like many other arts, was, for a long series of years, a *mystery*, whose principles and processes were exclusively possessed by a brotherhood, chiefly residing upon the continent; that they worked by *models*, and not by charts, plans, or elevations, (to which they could not resort, when the art of drawing and the rules of perspective were unknown,) and, therefore, were better able to maintain their monopoly, than if their system had been less recondite. We also conceive, that, in the progress of time, their *secret* would be either divulged or detected, and become the common property of genius, enterprise, and activity, instead of being confined to a select company of professors; that the English architects would then begin to work on English ground; and, deserting the austerer rules of their masters in the art, carried the Gothic style through all its varieties of *improvement*, as they conceived, from its character of “simplex munditiis” in the thirteenth century, to the gaudy dress which it wore, like the victim adorned for sacrifice, at the period of its extinction, in the reign of Henry VII.†

* Something like a confirmation of the truth of this notion, is seen in the emblems of freemasonry which decorate the northern and southern entrances into the ancient church of Banwell, in the inside; particularly, the bust of a man over the latter portal, supported by these symbols, with a book spread before him, as if he were studying the rules of his art.

We are aware, that the late Lord Orford has said, “as all other arts were formerly confined to cloisters, so was architecture also; and when we read that such a bishop, or such an abbot, built such and such an edifice, they *often gave the plans*, as well as furnished the necessary funds.”—*Walpole’s Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 110. This assertion, however, seems to want proof: but even if true, it would not overturn the hypothesis, of the principles or rationale of the art being confined to a *brotherhood*, to which, as in modern freemasonry, an ecclesiastic was as eligible as a laic.

† Ecclesiastical architecture is not the only art in which our ancestors greatly excelled their descendants. Their *calligraphy*, exemplified in existing charters and other manuscript documents, is unrivalled. The *illuminations* of their *missals* are not now to be matched; and we in vain endeavour to equal the intensity and permanency of their *colours* in *painted glass*. The fact seems to be, that *religious worship*, and its *concomitants*, were matters of more thought and pains with them, than they are with us; and, consequently, an excellence was attained in every art connected with them, to which, coldness or indifference, on such subjects, can never hope to reach.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

DIFFERENT ARTICLES IN THE APPENDIX.

No. I. *A LITTLE MONUMENT, &c.*

WITH a deference, which we deemed becoming, to the opinion of a gentleman of acknowledged taste, intelligence, and learning, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart. we have reprinted, from Hearne's "History and Antiquities of Glastonbury, 1722," the first article in the Appendix. It was suggested, that the extreme scarcity, and high price, of the volume of Hearne's works, which contains "the Little Monument," (for, a small copy of it has been sold for *eleven guineas*,) stamped the extract with nearly the value of a manuscript; and that the *admirable manner* in which this succinct history is executed, fully entitled it to a wider circulation than it has hitherto obtained. Hearne has not mentioned, in his preface, the *name* of the person who communicated this curious tract to him, (though it appears, from another of his voluminous publications, that it was *Mr. Charles Eyston*,*) but speaks of him with much respect and admiration. His words are,—
"It was drawn up by one of those virtuous and learned gentlemen, that I have had the
"happiness of being acquainted with. When the pious author first put it into my hands,
"I read it over with as much delight, as I have done any thing whatsoever, on the subject
"of antiquity; and I was earnest with him to print it. This, at last, he condescended
"to do, (though he had even before come to a resolution (*not*) to do it,) upon condition
"I would conceal his name, and make such additions and alterations as I should see
"proper. I very readily complied with the first part of the request, (for I well knew
"his great humility and modesty,) and should have proceeded to gratify him in the other,
"did I not (upon mature deliberation) apprehend, that it would be more acceptable to
"give it as it was penned by the author; who, however, has been pleased to speak more
"honourably of me, than I am conscious to myself I deserve." Preface, lxxviii. We
had long sought, in vain, for some satisfactory information respecting Mr. Charles Eyston,

* Hearne, in his Collect. vol. v. states, that Mr. Eyston was the author of "the History of Glastonbury." The Bodleian Catalogue has given it to Dr. Rawlinson, who seems to have been the publisher only, or assistant to Hearne.

when, through the obliging intervention of John and Philip Duncan, esquires, fellows of New College, Oxford, we were favoured by the Rev. Dr. Bliss, dep. reg. of the University, with the following extract, from a MS. note book of the learned antiquary Thomas Hearne; a communication the more liberal, as Dr. Bliss, at the time of his transmitting it, was engaged in preparing for publication "Extracts from Thomas Hearne's Note Books," of which these particulars formed a part.

"On Sunday morning died, Charles Eyston, of East Hendred, in Berks, esquire, a gentleman of eminent virtues, and my very great friend and acquaintance. He was a *Roman Catholic*; and so charitable to the poor, that he was lamented by all who knew him, insomuch that on Saturday last, being the day immediately before his death, I heard a woman of Hendred say, that she had rather that all the people of Hendred (except her own husband) should die, rather than this gentleman. He was a man of a sweet temper, and was an excellent scholar; but so modest, that he did not care to have it at any time mentioned. The last time I saw him was on the 18th of September last, (1721,) when he rode on horseback from Hendred, on purpose to see me, and converse with me a few hours. We dined together at the Mitre, and Mr. Kimber, of Holywell, with us.

"Mr. Eyston was as well as I have known him, and returned home that evening; but, it seems, some time afterwards he was seized with a diabetes, of which he died; and was buried in Hendred church yesterday, Nov. 9th, 1721."

A further obligation was, also, conferred upon us, more recently, by Charles Eyston, esquire, the lineal descendant of the gentleman in question, and the present proprietor of the family estates. He very liberally communicated the original MS. of the "Little Monument," neatly written by the amiable author himself; a few of his notes, relating to the Abbey of Glaston; and two letters from the celebrated Thomas Hearne, to his friend and correspondent, Charles Eyston, esq. The MS. does not differ, in the slightest degree, from the printed copy, and the notes were afterwards incorporated in the "Little Monument," and, therefore, need not be given; but as the letters are somewhat interesting, and bear upon the subjects of Mr. Eyston's book, and the Abbey of Glaston, they are here offered to the reader.

"Honoured Sir,

"I most heartily thank you for letting me have so much of your good company lately, in Oxford, and for bringing me acquainted with Mr. C——n, whom I have seen once since.

"I have quite read over your book, with great care, and equal satisfaction. It is a most valuable, choice thing. There are many particulars in it not commonly known. It is ready to be sent, whenever I have an opportunity. The mistakes of the binder are rectified. I have received two books from Mr. Rawlinson, senior, (who sends you his humble service,) which I will transmit to you at the same time, he having lent them to me, with the design that you should have the use of them.

“ On Sept. 4, 1705, I saw and perused a printed work, in 8vo. called *Reasons that Catholics ought in any wise to abstaine from Heretical Conventicles*: the running title over every leaf is, *A Treatise on Schisme*. I want to know, for certain, who the author of the book was. At the beginning of the copy which I saw, is this memorandum, in MS.—*Mr. Carter hath confessed, he hath printed of these books 1250. This was found at Wm. Carter's, in his house at the Tower Hill, with the original copy sent from Rhemes, allowed under Dr. Allein's owne hand, subscribed thus, 'Hic tractatus est plane Catholicus, et nostris imprimis hominibus, hoc schismatis tempore pernecessarius. Ita testor Guillelmus Allanus sacræ Theologiæ Doctor et Professor.'*

“ Mr. Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 306, insinuates, that 'tis Robert Parsons the Jesuite; who certainly writ *Nine Reasons why Catholics should abstain from Heretical Conventicles*, if we may credit Ant. Possevin, in Apparat. Sac. tom. ii. in Robt. Parsons; which seems to be no other than the book I saw at the time before mentioned; the title-page whereof being torn out, I was not able to put down so good an account of it as otherwise I should have done. 'Tis very probable that you can tell more about this matter. My service to all my friends.

“ I am, Sir, your most obliged humble servant,
 “ Edm. Hall, Oxon, Feb. 15, 17¹⁸/₁₉. THOS. HEARNE.”

“ For Charles Eyston, esq; East Hendred, near Wantage, in Berks.

“ To be left at the Post-office in Wantage.”

“ Honoured Sir,

“ Yesterday about eleven o'clock I walked towards Woodstock, and returned in the evening. I found the ways good in some places, but in others miserably bad; and I fear they are much worse towards Hendred, for which reason I cannot think of coming over at present.

“ I should be mighty glad of the honour of discoursing with Sir Richard Moore at your house.

“ Since you know no more of Leslæus than what I told you, I believe the book is more scarce than I was aware of; otherwise I cannot but think you must have met with it, the author being a zealous Roman Catholic, and a great sufferer in behalf of his royal mistress, the famous Queen of Scotland.

“ I have some design of printing the two old cuts of Glastonbury, with the MS. If so, I must borrow the first volume of the Monasticon, that the engraver may copy them. But I shall consider further of this.

“ My best wishes and most humble service to all my friends, and among them, if you think it proper, to Sir Richard Moore.

“ I am, honoured Sir, your most obliged humble servant,
 “ Edm. Hall, Oxon, Dec. 31, 1720. THOS. HEARNE.

“ I have talked again with Fletcher, since my last.”

Through the politeness of the Rev. Charles Wapshare, of East Hendred, we are enabled to subjoin the following inscription to the memory of the Author of the "Little Monument." His remains lie interred under a stone, in a part of East Hendred church appropriated as the burying-place of his family.

Hic jacet Carolus Eyston, armiger, primogenitus Georgii Eyston, de East Hendred, armigeri: Qui antiquitatum ecclesiasticarum studiosus, fide et charitate conspicuus, ac religione devotus, obiit Anno Domini 1721, die 5th Novembris, ætatis suæ 54to. superstites, relinquens quatuor filios, et sex filias, ex uxore sua Winifreda (filia Basilii Fitz Herbert, de Norbury, in comitatu Darbyensi, armigeri) genitos. Anima ejus per misericordiam Dei, et merita Christi, requiescat in pace.

George Eyston, mentioned in the inscription, married Anne, the youngest daughter of Robert Dormer, of Peterley, Bucks, esq. Of this marriage Charles Eyston was the issue.

In Lysons's *Magna Britannia*, vol. i. page 292, are some particulars of the ancient family of Eyston, as well as of their interesting manor-house.

The circumstance of Mr. Eyston having professed the *Roman Catholic faith* will account for his ready credence of the *legendary history* of Glaston Abbey, as well as for the seriousness with which he asserts that the *Holy Thorn sprung up miraculously*. In this article of his belief, however, he only adopted an error, which had, for ages before him, been very general: pilgrimages, also, continued to be made to the wonderful tree, even in Mr. Eyston's time; and its scions were sought for with the greatest avidity, both by the pious of the Romish Church, and the superstitious of other systems of faith, till within these eighty years.* But the wonderful part of the history of the *Holy Thorn* is now no more. Modern science, which has dissipated so many dreams of erroneous belief and false philosophy, has given to this plant its proper place in the *natural* productions of the vegetable world; and determined it to be the *fourth* variety of the *cratægus*, or hawthorn. The following mention of it occurs in Dr. Withering's *Arrangement of British Plants*, vol. iii. page 604, edit. 1818.

"Var. 4. *Glastonbury Thorn*. Appendages at the base of the leaves, kidney shaped, toothed, very large. It does not grow within the ruins of the Abbey at Glastonbury, but in a lane beyond the church-yard, on the other side of the street, by the side of a pit. It appears to be a very old tree: an old woman of ninety" (about thirty years ago) "never remembers it otherwise than as it now appears. There is another tree of the same kind, two or three miles from Glastonbury. It has been reported to have no thorns; but that I found to be a mistake. It has thorns, like other hawthorns, but which also on

* "London Evening Post, January, 1753. *Glastonbury*. A vast concourse of people attended the noted thorn on Christmas-Day, new style; but, to their great disappointment, there was no appearance of its blowing, which made them watch it narrowly the 5th of January, the Christmas-day, old style, when it "blowed as usual."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxiii. p. 49.

“large trees are but few. It blossoms twice a year. The winter blossoms, which are
 “about the size of a sixpence, appear about Christmas, and sooner, if the winter be severe.
 “These produce no fruit,” &c.

Since Dr. Withering's time, the *Holy Thorn* has been introduced into many parts ;
 and is now found in various gardens of Glastonbury, and its vicinity.

The following particulars respecting this miraculous plant are found in Hearne's
 “Appendix” to the History and Antiquities of Glastonbury.” They record the sim-
 plicity of an English prelate in the seventeenth century, and vindicate (in this instance,
 at least) the venerable Ashmole from the charge of credulity, which has been so often
 directed against his memory. “*Godfrey Goodman*, bishop of Gloucester, having reckoned
 “up divers instances to manifest the increase of Socinianisme among us, in his epistle
 “dedicatory to Oliver Cromwell, (then lord general,) in his book, intituled, *The two great*
 “*Mysteries of the Christian Religion, the infallible Trinity, and wonderful Incarna-*
 “*tion, explicated*, printed anno 1653, adds this :

“ ‘ And I will insist on one particular—the White Thorn at Glastonbury, which did
 “usually blossome on Christmas-day, was cut down ; yet I did not heare that the *party was*
 “*punished*. Certainly the thorne was very extraordinary ; for, at my being there, I did
 “consider the place, how it was sheltered ; I did consider the soile, and all other circum-
 “stances ; yet I could find no *naturall* cause. This I know, that God first appeared to
 “Moses in a bramble bush ; and that Aaron's rod, being dried and withered, did budde ;
 “and these were God's actions, and his first actions ; and, truly, Glastonbury was a place
 “noted for holyness, and the first religious foundation in England, and, in effect, was
 “the first dissolved ; and therein was such a barbarous inhumanity, as Egypt never heard
 “of the like. It may well be, that this white thorne did then spring, and began to blossome
 “upon Christmas-day, to give a testimony to religion, that it might flourish in persecu-
 “tion ; as the thorne did blossome in the coldest tyme in winter, (though the sun in so
 “great a distance might seeme to want heate to bring forth the sap,) so religion should
 “stand, or rather rise up, though religious houses were pulled down.’

“I never heard, nor read, that any ancient author did mention this thorne, which cer-
 “tainly they had not omitted, if there had byn any such thing ; and, by the growthe of
 “the thorne, truly I did judge the age thereof to be much about the time of the dissolu-
 “tion of the Abbey. I took occasion to mention this thorne in the Prolegomena to my
 “*Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, printed 1652, viz. a yeare before this byshop printed
 “the before-mentioned peece, but that *it was produced from a naturall cause* ; and be-
 “sides us two, I do not remember to have read any author who hath taken notice of this
 “thorne in print, except Gerard and Parkinson, in their Herballs, and Camden ;
 “but that all the remembrance we have of it hath past along among us by tradition only,
 “which I have often heard spoken of, and by some who have seene it, whilst it flourished
 “at Glastonbury.”

“Upon St. Stephen's-day, Anno 1672, Mr. Stainsby, an ingenious enquirer after

“ things worthy memorial, brought me a branch of hawthorne, having green leaves, fair buds,
 “ and full flowers, all thick and very beautiful, and (which is more notable) many of the
 “ hawes or berries upon it red and plump; some of which branch is yet preserved in the
 “ plant book of my collection. This he had from a hawthorn tree, now growing at Sir
 “ Lancelote Lake's house, near Edgworth, in Middlesex; concerning which, falling after into
 “ the company of the said knight (7th July, 1673,) he told me, that the tree whence this
 “ branch was plucked, grew from a slip, taken from the Glastonbury thorn about sixty years
 “ since, which is now a big tree, and flowers every winter about Christmas.” E. Ashmole.*

In a pleasing little local publication, touched with taste and spirit, called “the Avalonian
 “ Guide, A. D. 1818,” sold at the White Hart, Glastonbury, are the following further
 particulars of the wonderful thorn (p. 50, notes). “ The hill is to this day called Weary-all
 “ Hill; on the eastern eminence of which, (the spot where, tradition says, St. Joseph
 “ planted his staff,) formerly stood an old hawthorn tree, which blossomed twice a-year,
 “ (in the spring, and in the winter,) and was called the Holy Thorn, from an encouraged
 “ opinion, that it was originally produced from St. Joseph's staff; therefore, one of these
 “ thorns was constantly preserved, on this spot, by grafts, or buds, until so late as the
 “ political commotions in the reign of Charles I., when the tree, being considered a relic
 “ of Papistry, was nearly destroyed by a soldier (who, according to tradition, was killed by
 “ a splinter flying from it). About the year 1740, the stump or root of this tree was to be
 “ seen, but nothing of it now remains, excepting some grafts from it, growing in different
 “ places: the oldest of them stands near St. John's Church-yard at Glastonbury, and is a
 “ large tree, which continues to blossom twice a year. But it is the opinion of many, that
 “ the tradition relating to this thorn originated in a monastic fable, and that the tree was
 “ originally imported; as it is asserted by several botanists, that hawthorns, imported from
 “ an opposite climate, will continue to blossom in their *natural* season, and *again* when
 “ the season comes on in this country, which may be five or six months later.”

No. II. KING INA'S CHARTER.

The monastic charters, which assert a date earlier than the eleventh century, are to be
 regarded with much suspicion, as many of them manifestly are, and have been proved to be,
 from internal evidence, decided *forgeries*.† The motives which suggested these pious
 frauds, on the part of the Monks, seem to have been two: *First*, the wish to extend their
 territories and privileges, encouraged by the ease with which such an object might be
 effected, at a period when the mode of prosecuting a critical examination of the validity of
 such pretensions was not understood; and, *secondly*, a desire of rendering themselves, as

* Hist. and Antiq. of Glaston, apud Hearne, append. xii. p. 14.

† Hicksii Dissert. Epist. ad Showerum. Thesaur. tom. ii. p. 63, et infra.

much as possible, *independent* of the jurisdiction of the municipal law, and of the *authority* of the *bishop* of their *diocese*. This could best be done, by deriving their claims from pretended documents of remote antiquity; and, as fast as they acquired possessions, or assumed exemptions, (by the various means which cunning practises so successfully upon ignorance and superstition,) confirming their title to them by *fictitious donations*. The *Benedictine Monks*, it seems, (the order settled at Glaston,) were especially notorious for these impositions: Gallonius, Launoy, and Naude, have all accused them of it; and Mabillon has insufficiently defended them. Papebrochius asserts, that most of the old Benedictine charters in France were forgeries of the eleventh century. Richard archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to Pope Alexander, says, that there was a *general suspicion* of forgery in the Charters of Exemption. Pet. Blesensis, (ep. 68.) Gervasius tells us, that the Monks of Augustine (in Canterbury) produced very *suspicious* and razed charters (Decem Scriptores, page 1451): and the learned editors of the Mon. Ang. have laid it down as an axiom, in their Propylaion, that the older these charters pretend to be, the more they are to be suspected. (See Stillingfleet's Antiq. Brit. Church, 17 et infra.)

There can be no doubt that the Benedictines of Glaston Abbey dealt largely in this species of surreptitious evidence, and founded their claim to many extensive portions of land, and several important immunities, on royal grants, which had been manufactured by their own scribes, in the *scriptorium* of their monastery. Such were the charters of King Arthur, St. Patrick, &c. exhibited and read before Henry the Second, and allowed and confirmed by the *inspeximus* of that monarch (Append. No. 9): and of the same character were many of the documents preserved in the muniment room of the Abbey, in the time of John de Taunton, at the latter end of the thirteenth century. An index of these, extracted from an ancient MS. at Cambridge, is given to us by Hearne, in his "John of Glastonbury," p. 370: it fills forty-seven pages, and refers to nearly one thousand five hundred articles; enumerating, among the names of benefactors, not only those of some of the earliest Saxon kings on record, but some, also, of personages, of whom the oldest English historians make no mention. Happily, however, for the peace and safety of mankind, fraud is usually either unguarded or inconsistent, and furnishes, from itself, the means of its own detection. This truth is fully exemplified in the case of these early Monkish charters, which, though fabricated with a sufficient degree of skill to pass unquestioned in an artless and ignorant age, abound sufficiently with anachronisms and solecisms to destroy their character utterly, with those who live in times of more general information, inquiry, and acuteness. To an ordeal of this sort, the two first charters in Mr. Eyston's appendix (those of St. Patrick, and King Ina) have been submitted; and though assumed as genuine by the worthy author himself, and his more learned predecessors, Alford, Cressy, Reyner,* &c. the test has stamped them with the eternal brand of forgery and falsehood.

* Reynerus, a Benedictine Monk, and theological professor, cites this charter of Ina as genuine; and adds of it, "Hactenus privilegium cum appendice, ex præfato registro Glastenburie, quod *secretum* abbatis

The proofs of the fabrication of St. Patrick's charter are enumerated by Stillingfleet, as follows :

First, In St. Patrick's time, no such computation was used, as that from *the year of our Lord* ; this mode not being adopted till one hundred years after the death of the saint. Dionysius Exiguus (at that distance of time) first introduced the way of computation "from the incarnation."

Secondly, The term of *indulgences* was not used, for the relaxation of penance, till the *eleventh century*.

Thirdly, St. Patrick says, he obtained from Pope *Celestine* twelve years of indulgences : a thing impossible ; for St. Patrick is said to have retreated to Glaston towards *the close of his life*, and Celestine died soon after Patrick *went to Ireland*, which was many years prior to his coming into Somersetshire.

Fourthly, The years of the *incarnation* and *indiction* disagree, the latter being *eight*, and not *four*. (Wilkins Con. vol. i. p. 79.)

A similar charge of the fabrication of Ina's charter is supported by these reasons :

First, Because it refers to *other ancient charters* of Glaston Church, as to the *exemption* of the Monastery from *episcopal jurisdiction*—a very suspicious circumstance ; and because, as there were no charters among the Saxons till the time of *Withred*, in 694, so Ina could never have referred to what did not then exist.

Secondly, In the *beginning* of the charter, Ina mentions Baldred as one of his *vice-roys* ; in the *middle*, he makes him one of his *predecessors*, and joins him with Kenelwalchius, Kentwin, and Cedwalla ; and in the *end*, he converts him again into a *king*, and makes him confirm the grant ; but no such king appears in the lists of the different kings of the different states, before the Heptarchy ; and only one, in Kent, an hundred years after the time of Ina.

Thirdly, Ina had, at most, but three bishops in his dominions, and not any archbishop ; he would not, therefore, use the language, *cum licencia Beorthwaldi Dorobernensis ecclesie Pontificis* ; nor could the charter have borne this subscription, *Ego Beorthwaldus Dorobernensis ecclesie archiepiscopus, Inæ regis donationem et libertatem sub sigillo sanctæ crucis corroboravi*.

Fourthly, It is out of all probability to suppose that all the kings, archbishops, bishops, chieftains, and abbots of Britain, should have been consulted on this charter, and consented (*consentientibus etiam omnibus*) to its sweeping exemptions, immunities, and privileges. (Stilling. Antiq. of Brit. Church, 16, et infra.)

With respect, however, to Ina's charter, introduced into our Appendix, and now before us, the reasons for questioning its genuineness do not appear to be serious. That there were charters of as high antiquity, is allowed on all hands. (Hicks Thesaur. ii. 75.) Many,

"inscribi, et in bibliotheca excellentissimi Comitum Arundeliæ haberi diximus fideliter descriptum." Disceptatio Historica, p. 44.

of the Saxon times are found in Ingulphus, William of Malmesbury, the additions to Matthew Paris, &c.; to most of which credit has always been attributed, by our ablest antiquaries; and, from the congruity of this short charter of Ina with the best authenticated of those just mentioned, in the simplicity of its expression, and the *general* form of its grant, we may fairly rank it with them in character and credit. After all, however, the subject of the genuineness of these ancient records remains yet to be satisfactorily discussed; and a second Hicks is wanting, to complete that great plan, for establishing or rejecting, collecting, arranging, and explaining them, which he himself has chalked out in his very learned *Dissertatio Epistolaris ad Showerum*. The concluding paragraph in our charter is so far curious, as it points out the *wooden materials* of the church of Glaston, in the time of Ina, *lignea basilica*; which agrees with Bede's account of the ancient churches in England; and sufficiently explains the cause of their being so frequently burned to the ground.

No. III. KING EDMUND'S CHARTER.

This is given more fully in Eyston's Appendix, No. 5; but we have introduced the *abridgement* of it from the *Mon. Ang. nov. edit.* into our Appendix, as it will afford us an opportunity of making a few remarks upon so important a document. The first question respecting it is, whether it be genuine or not? since many charters, about this period, attributed to Edgar, Dunstan, &c. have been proved to be spurious, (Hicksii Dissert. Epist. p. 66,) and were, probably, forged a century after the time in question. Hicks himself, indeed, considers the charter before us as an example of documents of this suspicious kind: "*Falsitas—eo nomine,*" says he, "*haud injuria in suspicionem vocanda est charta Edmundi regis Anglorum, apud Will. Malm. de gestis R. A. cap. vii. qua eccl. Glastoniensem prædiis magnis et honorificis privilegiis donasse dicitur, quia scripta est literis aureis in libro Evangeliorum, quem (rex ille) eidem ecclesiæ obtulit, opere satis eleganti composito, qui textus Sancti Dunstani dicitur.*" (Ib. p. 82, note.) On the other hand, we do not know that there is any sufficient foundation, either from internal or external evidence, (except the words just cited,) for positively pronouncing it to be surreptitious. Its phraseology is the language of the times; its privileges are the same as those granted to other favoured monastic establishments at this period; and the high regard entertained by Edmund for Dunstan, (who had been born near to, and educated at, Glastonbury, and who had shortly before been appointed abbot there, and had just completed his reparations and additional buildings,) renders it very probable, that the king would manifest his regard to the abbot and his monastery, by such a charter of privileges and immunities, as the one we are now considering. It should seem, therefore,

that the *probabilities* of its being genuine counterbalance the *suspicion* that attaches to it, from the words which Malmesbury has appended to its conclusion.

The two periods, as we apprehend, in which the monks were most busied in forging their deeds of donation, privileges, and exemption, were—that which immediately succeeded the devastations of the Danes; and the time of comparative justice and repose, which followed the almost universal dislocation of property, occasioned by the conquest of England by William the Norman.

For nearly an hundred and fifty years, the incursions and ravages of the Danes, their conflicts within the kingdom, and temporary acquisitions of uncontrolled power here, produced such a general confusion of affairs, such a violation of all law, and destruction of life and property, as are scarcely to be paralleled in the history of nations. “A furore Normannorum eripe nos, Domine,” *from the fury of the Northmen deliver us, O Lord!* was a prayer introduced into the daily liturgy of the unhappy Anglo-Saxons; and from an ancient author we have a picture of the atrocities of these cruel invaders, that fully justifies the petition, while it explains its cause. “Jam vero per omnes provincias, agris vastatis, villis prædatis, civitatibus crematis, ecclesiis spoliatis; clericorum et monachorum aliis ferro jugulatis, aliis flammis consumptis, aliis de muris præcipitatis, aliis suspensis; matronis omnibus per plateas distractis, et demum ignibus injectis; parvulis a matrum uberibus avulsis, aut lanceis exceptis, aut superacto carro minuatim contritis.” (Alured Bever. Annal. lib. viii. p. 114; see, also, Osbern. de vit. S. Elphegi Arch. Cant. Ang. Sac. tom. ii. p. 135.) The church, its priesthood, and possessions, would be, of course, especial objects of the fury and avidity of a fierce, rapacious race of Pagan marauders. We know, indeed, that they suffered severely; and that Glaston, among other monasteries, had its full share of affliction, as long as these tumultuous times continued. (John Glas. page 9.) No sooner, however, had the vigour of Alfred overcome this ruthless enemy, and for a time given law and order to his realms; than the Church began to revive from its prostrate state, and the monastics to make themselves ample amends for the losses they had sustained by the Danish depredations on their property. It was *then*, we should suppose, that the religious recluses of Glaston not only claimed, and possessed themselves of, large tracts of land, of which they had not hitherto been the proprietors; and assumed certain privileges, which had never been formally granted to them; but, also, manufactured all those early charters of the British kings, of St. Patrick, of Arthur, the long and minute one of Ina, and many others; which were received as genuine, and confirmed, and added to, by those simple devotees—the later Anglo-Saxon monarchs; who had neither skill, nor leisure, to detect the imposition. But, independently of the fabrication of many of the charters in question, at the period just alluded to, it seems to be very probable, that others were forged at the *second* epoch, to which we have referred—the interval between the first occupation of the country by William the Conqueror, and the compilation of that great national survey, called *Domesday Book*. That William, shortly after his settlement in England, provoked by opposition and insurrections,

tyrannized over the people, and pillaged the monastic establishments to a great extent, is a matter of record; and though the Abbey of Glaston did not suffer so severely as many other similar institutions, (as appears by the extract from Domesday Book,) yet, in common with the rest, it had to deplore the loss of some valuable lands, and probably of many valuable privileges. The latter years of William in England, however, were years of greater quiet, and less injustice; and the Monks had the leisure and means, not only to regain, legitimately, what they had been unjustly deprived of, but also to claim and acquire, by *fabricated charters*, domains and rights, which had not previously pertained to their monastery.* It is to *this* period, therefore, that we would assign all such of the *Anglo-Saxon charters* of our monasteries, as appear to be spurious; and, among others, the suspected ones of Glaston Abbey, still extant, as well as many of those enumerated in the voluminous “Index Chartarum ad cænobium Glastoniense spectantium” (John Glast. p. 370); which, though now no more, appear in the list, under the names of various great men of the Anglo-Saxon times.

Assuming, however, that the article, No. 3, in our Appendix, is a legitimate one, we have not only a clear proof that the Monastery of Glaston enjoyed very important civil privileges, as far back as the middle of the tenth century; but grounds, perhaps, for believing, that, in opposition to the alleged high antiquity of these immunities, the reign of Edmund was the actual period when it *first* became possessed of them. This may be inferred, we conceive, from the phraseology of the deed; which seems to imply, by the word *concedo*, that it was an *original* grant of *new* privileges, and not a *confirmatory* recognition of old ones; a notion, which is strengthened by the grasping character of Dunstan, the great patron of the monks; the interest which he would naturally feel in the aggrandisement of the monastery, of which he was now the abbot; and his great influence over the mind of his royal patron Edmund: for the Saxon kings were, for the most part, a very *religious* race, according to the meaning affixed to the term in the middle ages; and willing, as long as their personal vices were not opposed by their favourite ecclesiastics, to *concede* all that might be required of them, by these keepers of their consciences. Be this, however, as it may, the privileges and immunities granted to Glaston Abbey and its dependent town, by this charter, were many and valuable. They consisted of—*Burgbrice*, a power to try and punish all breaches of the peace, within the borough—*Grithbrice* and *Frithisbrice*, similar privileges, in different districts (Hearne Hist. Glaston, p. 37, note)—*Hundred socna*, the right of inquiring and adjudging, in the courts of a certain district (the hundred), all criminal causes arising within the same (Rayneri Onomast.)—*Athas*, the right of administering oaths—*Ordelas*, the right of determining litigations, and doubtful crimes, by the proof of the different methods of ordeal (Brady, Hist. Boroughs, appendix)—*Infangenetheofas*, the right of trying and judging

* Several charters were forged, in the reign of William the Conqueror, by the Monks, for the purpose of establishing their claims to their possessions before the King's Commissioners. Archæolog. vol. x. p. 231.

all thieves, taken within the jurisdiction of the burgh (Brady, ut sup.)—**Hamsocna**, the same as Hundred Socna, only within a more confined district, the ham or village*—**Forestealle**, an exemption from foreign destraints—**Tol. Theloneum**, a duty on all articles coming into, and bought and sold within, the privileged district—**Team**, the right of acquiring and possessing bondmen, villains, servants, and slaves, with their posterities and generations, (sometimes called *secta* or *sequela*,) and to dispose of, and sell, their children and goods at pleasure. (Brady, ut sup.)

The exemption of the possessions of the Abbey, “*ab omni calumpnia*,” protected them from all legal processes from without; and the authority “*puniendi aut dimittendi delinquentia in ea commissa*,” rendered the abbot and monks sole arbiters of all infringements of the law, within their own domains. Edmund, indeed, refers to his ancestors as the grantors of this last privilege; but, if there be any force in what we have said above, it may be doubted, whether the monks could have proved that they were legitimately entitled to it, previously to his own charter.

In the Appendix to Mr. Eyston’s “*History, &c.*” (which makes the first article of the present Appendix) will be found (No. 6) a charter of King Edgar to the Abbey of Glaston, which has much the appearance of having been coined long after the reign of that prince. It adds, considerably, to the privileges before bestowed upon the monastery, by giving it,—*First, Ealle Hordan, Bufan Gorderan, and Beneoderan*, that is *all hidden treasure above, and under, or within, the ground* (Hearne John Glas. p. 37)—*Secondly, Flemenfrede*, the right of receiving a fugitive or outlaw (Jac. Law Dic.)—And, *thirdly*, the singular right, that should the abbot or any monk of Glaston chance to meet a thief, who was on the way to execution, he should have the privilege of snatching the culprit from punishment, in whatsoever part of the kingdom he might happen to encounter him. This, perhaps, will be deemed a sufficient ground for believing the charter to be a forged one, as no monarch would stretch the privileges of a subject to such an enormous extent. In fact, it would be clothing him with one of the most precious prerogatives of royalty: it would be applying the principle of *sanctuary* to *person* as well as *place*;† and conferring a right, that must render all criminal law nugatory, and annihilate the dread of legal punishment. The

* See Decem Scrip. p. 2030.

† The pernicious privilege of *sanctuary* had been enjoyed by the Convent of Glaston from early Anglo-Saxon times, though it was not formally sanctioned by charter till the eleventh century. It appears to have been conceded, also, to some, if not all, of its dependent churches. The precincts of the church of *Doultong* (two miles from Shepton-Mallet, appropriated to the Abbey of Glaston, by Bishop Walter Gifford, 1266. Ad. Domes. p. 614) were sacred, as a place of refuge to the debtor and the criminal. In the Mon. Ang. nov. edit. No. 1, Append. No. xxviii. is an *Ordinacio Vicarie de Doultong, per copiam*, which determines, “*quod vicarius qui pro tempore fuerit, totum dominicum sanctuarii, quod quidam ad ipsam ecclesiam consuevit primitus pertinere*” &c. For a full exposition of the origin, progress, suppression, and nature, of the *law of sanctuary*, see Warner’s *Illustrations of Novels by the Author of Waverley*, vol. iii. p. 291, et infra; and Kempe’s *St. Martin le Grand*, p. 16, et infra.

same privilege is not to be found specifically recognised in any subsequent charter. The exemption, also, of the Abbey, its five churches, and domains, from the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Wells, which, in after times, occasioned such fierce contests between the abbot and those prelates, is another reasonable cause for attributing Hicks's character of "falsitas" to the charter in question.

No. IV. *The COPY of a PAPER, &c.*

The Chartularium, or Registrum, mentioned in this article, is still in the library at Longleat, the magnificent mansion of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Bath. It is to be regretted that reasons, of a very cogent and satisfactory nature, prevent the noble owner from complying with the dictates of his own liberal feelings, and communicating this curious MS., *a second time*, in aid of topographical research. From all the information which we have been able to obtain respecting this MS. we conclude, that it is either the original of, or a transcript from, a MS. in the Ashmolean Library, Oxford, marked 790, Cat. MS. Ang. 7429, (commonly called *Secretum Abbatis de Glastonia*,) from which the learned and industrious Editors of the new edition of the Monast. Ang. have made such copious extracts, in the first number of that elaborate work. This is the more probable, as we know, that it was the judicious practice of the Monks to have *more than one copy* of their chartularies, in order to guard against loss by fire or other casualties,* and that one of these was always in the keeping of the abbot, or prior, and called, as such,

* Abbot Walter de Monynton procured a fair transcript to be made of all the charters, grants, bulls, and other documents, relating to the privileges or possessions of the monastery, which transcript was called the *Secretum Abbatis*, and was always to be under the immediate care and inspection of the Abbot. It is from this MS., (say the Editors of the new edition of the Mon. Ang.) now deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the finest preservation, that many of the charters in the Appendix are copied.

It is marked in the Library MS., Wood 1. It formerly belonged to the Arundel collection, (Reynerus, vol. i. p. 43. Usher, p. 124,) and afterwards was in the hands of Mr. Beoly, who gave it to Anthony Wood, upon whose death it was purchased by the University. Not only the charters and records of the monasteries, but the annals of the times, also, were regularly and carefully noted down in these conventual leiger books, by certain of the monks, appointed especially for that purpose. "Statutum est convenienter in plerisque regionibus, et ut *audivi*, in Anglia, quod unum quodque monasterium a regibus fundatum, haberet de ipso loco, suum certum *scribam*, qui omnia *notabilia* tempore regis, saltem in regno, vel e vicinis contingentia, &c. ac in *cænobiticis* *archivis* librariorum pro authenticis chronicis quibus fides daretur, scripta reponent, ne temporis labilitate *memoriæ gestorum* in regno deperirent." Contin. Johan. de Fordun Scoti Chron. p. 1348, edit. Hearne. And the same author tells us, in another place, that the recording of historical facts in these monastic annals produced, on a particular occasion, a very serious inconvenience to the Monks of Glaston. "Iste Henricus *Lancastriæ Dux Herefordiæ, et Comes de Derbi*, (the son of John of Gaunt,) quando sibi regni diadema *de facto* assumpsit, misit Abbati Glasinberi, pro actio Parlamenti et *cronica*, quæ posuerunt filias Rogeri *Mortui-maris* debere succedere. Et quia excusando negavit, *recognovit temporalitatem*, donec *cronicam* obtinuit *et incendit; et novas pro se faciens fabricari jussit.*" Ib. Contin. p. 1127, ap. Hearne.

the *secretum abbatis*, or *prioris*. It seems likely, that the MS. mentioned by Hearne, as being in the Bodleian Library, "chartularium eximium," (John Glast. p. 429, note,) and that described in the following letter, from a very intelligent friend, were of the same description. "I have just discovered," says he, "among my papers, a notice of Glaston, which will probably be acceptable to you. In a MS. catalogue of the manuscripts in the very curious library of the Rev. Cox Macro, D. D. of Norton, near St. Edmundsbury, 1766, the fourth number among the folios is thus described—

"GLASTONBURY LEDGER, a thin folio on vellum, containing all the grants to the Abbey. At the beginning is an original bull of Pope Alexander, and a letter from Thomas Tanner, bishop of St. Asaph, dated July 10th, 1722, wherein he calls it an excellent register, and that he met with it at Oxford, thirty years ago, a leaf of it being sent with some tobacco from a grocer's, which he finding to contain something historical, he went and bought it, and so rescued it from destruction. It has the prologue of William of Malmsbury, of the antiquity of Glaston, to Henry Bishop of Winchester. Mr. Hearne says it is one of the most excellent histories we have of Glastonbury. At the beginning is this memorandum, *Ignis ingens in villa Glaston, anno Xti. 1473.*"

"The MS. is, I presume, now the property of Mr. Pattison, the late or present Member for Norwich, who married Miss Staniforth, the heiress of the Macro property."

The manor of Ashbury, or Ashdowne, (the subject of No. 4,) was the occasion of a sharp legal contest, in the early part of the thirteenth century, between the Monastery of Glaston and William De Valence, uncle of Edward the First. The King, on his visit to the Abbey, had renewed and confirmed the ancient privileges of the house; and, amongst the rest, *the return of writs*, in all the manors, lands, tenements, and fees, belonging to it. But, no sooner, says the historian, had the Abbot and Convent received this confirmation, than William De Valence, the lord of Schyvenam, would not permit the exercise of this right at Ashbury; alleging that it was comprised in the manorial rights of that domain. "Qua propter, post multas altercationes, Abbas Johannes cum ipso composuit, et cartam ipsius de remissione facta, simul cum confirmatione Domini Regis super eodem optinuit, non sine magno labore et gravibus expensis." (Johan. Glast. 249.)

No. V. CHARTER of CONFIRMATION by KING EDRED.

It was by accident that we met with this ancient and curious charter, when searching the muniment room at Wells, about six years ago, for a document of a very different description. In May last, on a second visit to the archives, through the favour of William Melliar, esquire, registrar, we were not so fortunate as to lay our hands upon it. It had every appearance of being a genuine Anglo-Saxon charter, was in excellent preservation, and written in a fine uncial character. Many circumstances, independently of its relation to Glaston Abbey, render it very interesting—the grandiloquism of its diction; the

singularity of some of its expressions ; the admixture of Greek vocables with the Latin text ; the complete exemption of the subjects of the grant from all royal interference and impositions, save the *trinoda necessitas*, (or obligation to contribute to the expense of military expeditions, and the reparation of bridges and fortresses ;) the number and dignity of the witnesses to the deed ; and the terrible denunciations pronounced upon its violation. It may be considered, indeed, as one of the most curious charters extant, of the period to which its date refers ; and as affording an excellent sample of the *solemn language*, in which these donatory deeds were couched, and of the careful *manner* in which they were authenticated. The form of execration at the end is only to be equalled by the phraseology of one of the same Edgar's charters, which concludes with these fearful words : " Sit passus et " cum Dathan et Abiron, et cum Juda traditore Domini, et Juliana Apostata, ecclesiarum " Domini oppressore et persecutore, et etiam anathemate ligatus, cum Diabolo et Angelis " ejus infernalibus, ignibus perpetuo cruciandus, nisi resipiscat et emendat. Amen. " Amen. Amen. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat." (Hicksii Thesaur. tom. ii. in Indit. Epist. Dissert. ad Showerum.) The charter before us, it seems, was granted at Glastonbury, and placed by the king's own hand on the altar, in the ancient church of " Mary, the holy " Mother of God," after having been authenticated by his own proper *signature* of the *cross*, and by the similar signatures of his mother, two archbishops, five bishops, four dukes, two clerks, and St. Dunstan the abbot of Glaston. Previously to the reign of Edward the Confessor, (who, in consequence of his Norman education,* introduced into England many foreign customs, and, among the rest, the Norman practice of authenticating charters by a *seal*,) the mode of ratifying these acts of donation was, by the grantor and the witnesses tracing the figure of the *cross* at the foot of the deed, and the scribe affixing, to each of the marks, the name and title of the person who had made it ; (Ingulph. Hist. Croyl. p. 901 ; Selden's Janus Anglo. p. 52 ; Madox Form. Ang. Prelim. Dissert. p. 2.) a custom which is practised at the present day, in the execution of legal documents, when the parties to the deed are as unskilled in writing, as the highest ranks of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were. In the ages preceding the seventh century, (when written documents appear to have been first introduced,) the mode of granting landed possessions was much more simple—a *verbal* declaration of the gift, accompanied by the *delivery*, in the presence of witnesses, of a staff, a spear, a horn, an arrow, or a turf of soil, (from whence originated our present *livery* of *seizin*,) as an emblem of the property bestowed, constituted the whole of the ceremony. (Hicksii Dissert. Epist. 97.) But though the later Anglo-Saxons improved upon this simple mode of transferring lands, by a *written* credential, and a *sign manual*, yet they frequently combined, with this more formal process, the plan in use with their ancestors, of giving a *tangible possession* of the property by the delivery of some material substance at the time of executing the deed of donation. An instance of this occurs with respect to Glastonbury, when King Edgar, on his personal oblation of a charter of privileges to the monastery, upon the altar of the Blessed

* Nutritus in Normannia, et diutissime commoratus. Ingulph. Hist. Gale, p. 62.

Virgin, divided his curiously carved *horn* (*lituus*), into two parts, and presented one of the halves to the abbot, as a *livery of seizin* of the lands and privileges which he had confirmed to his house. (Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 17; Will. Malm. lib. ii. c. 8.)* This deposit was, probably, considered of high importance, and preserved with the greatest care; as we find it enumerated, six hundred years afterwards, among the treasures of Glastonbury Abbey, which accrued to Henry VIII. on the seizure of that religious house: "Item, delyvered more unto his Majestie, the same day of the same stuffe, a greate pece of a "unicorne-horne, as it is supposed." (Mon. Ang. nov. edit. No. 1, Append.)

It appears by Edred's charter, and it is confirmed by John of Glaston, (p. 43,) that Pucklechurch had, in the first instance, been granted to the Abbey of Glaston by Edmund, with his brother Edred's consent. It was an ancient royal possession, and had a palace, in which, as it is said by some authors, the unfortunate Edmund himself met his death by the hand of an assassin: a catastrophe, which, it seems, St. Dunstan had predicted. "Cujus "mortem (Edmundi) Dunstanus, tunc Glastonensis abbas, ante aliquot dies prædixerat." (Mabillon, Annal. Ord. Benedict. tom. iii. 483.) Mr. Rudder says, "Pucklechurch was "formerly a royal ville, in which Edmund king of England, interposing to make up "matters between his cupbearer and one Leof, an abandoned fellow, received a stab from "the latter, of which he died. Here are great hills of ruins of the royal mansion."† (P. 610.) Before dismissing this article, we would direct the reader's attention to the singular terms by which the *present* and *future* life are designated towards the conclusion of the charter, "*nec in vita hac practica*" (the scene of active exertion) "*veniam nec in theoretica* (the life which is the object of faith), "*requiem apostatus obtineat ullam, &c.*" The ideas are at once scriptural and philosophical.‡

* "Et ne hoc donum instabile et ingloriosum esset, *lituo* eburneo, quem limbus auri prætexebat, super "altare dato confirmavit. *Lituum*, se præsentem, per medium sectum, asservari jussit custodia, ut et testimonio "inposterum proficeret, et rapiendum cupiditatem incisionis dampno frenaret. Ostenditur autem prædictus "lituus in thesauraria Glastoniæ usque in hodiernum diem, et singulis annis, in anniversario dicti regis die "durante, missa super altare collocatur." See, also, John Glas. 132. Camden speaks of the similar dedication of the Pewsey horn: "Sic regem Canutum prædium *Puseyense* dedisse cum solenni *cornu* traditione." Brit. ed. 1607, p. 203; ib. 573. See, also, Kennet Paroch. Ant. 52. Ingulphus, p. 70, mentions, particularly, the practice, common with our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, of conveying inheritances by the delivery of the lord's helmet, sword, *horn*, or cup.

† The Abbot of Glaston, it appears, levied a fine of this vill, and the advowson of its church, in the 7th of John, to Jocelyne bishop of Bath and Wells, on condition that he would restore to the monastery the free election of their abbot. In the 13th Henry III. the bishop obtained a license to disafforest its manor. (Fosbrook's Hist. Gloucestershire, vol. ii. p. 51.) The munificent Henry de Blois, abbot of Glaston, in the early part of the twelfth century, assigned to the sacristy of the Abbey 50s., from the church of Pucklechurch, to maintain a perpetual wax light burning before the image of the holy Virgin Mary, in the *ancient church* of Glaston. (John Glas. 166.)

‡ Hicks, p. 84, Epist. refers, in the following note, to a charter of Edred, by which he gives Pucelancyrean (Pucklechurch) to the Church of Wells. Chartæ hujus apographum elegantissime et graphice

No. 6. *An EXTRACT from DOMESDAY BOOK,* &c.*

It may not be uninteresting to offer a few remarks, in this place, on DOMESDAY BOOK, derived, principally, from a personal inspection, some years ago, of this most curious national survey. The record consists of two volumes, (a folio and a quarto,) fairly written on vellum, bound in thick wooden covers, secured with plates of brass, and carefully preserved in the chapter-house at Westminster. The folio volume contains the survey of twenty-nine counties, and the city of Lincoln; the quarto one, the survey of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham, were not surveyed. Lancashire is partly included in the Cheshire account, and partly in that of Yorkshire. With the exception of these districts, *Domesday Book* presents us with a complete survey of all England, and of the several rapes, laths, hundreds, and wapentakes, in each county; an account of the cities, towns, vills, boroughs, manors, castles, &c.; what numbers of hides, carucates, virgates, half-hides, bovates, oxgangs, leuca, quarantena, were in each manor; what the value of them was at three different periods, viz. the reign of Edward the Confessor, the time when they were granted by the Conqueror, and the period of making of the survey; what, and how much, arable land, meadow, pasture, and wood, there was; how many men occupied the respective towns, manors, estates, &c. and of what condition these people were, whether freemen, socmen, villains, bordars or freedmen, cottagers, servi or serfs, tradesmen, labourers, Englishmen or Normans; what beasts, for food or culture, as hogs, goats, sheep, horses, asses, oxen, cows, calves, colts, stocks of bees, &c. together with the number of mills, fish-ponds, fisheries, rivers, marshes, and vineyards; an account of the rents, tributes, census, services, tolls, customs, homage where due, and what works were to be performed for the respective lords of the manors, by the persons inhabiting the same. In several counties, also, was minuted down an exact account of what goods, chattels, and treasure, each person had; what were his debts, and how much was owing to him.

The general order observed in writing the survey is as follows:

Prefixed to the description of each county stands a list of all the persons holding lands within it. The king, as *Rex Willelmus*, or sometimes *Willelmus rex Anglorum*, stands

descriptum, acceptum gratus refero doctissimo viro R. Healey, LL. D. et Wellensis ecclesiae oeconomus et chartaphylaci dignissimo. *Quere.* Is not this the very charter now before us, accidentally attributed by Hicks to Wells instead of Glaston? Hicks adds, that the "investitura ecclesiarum per annulum et baculum," arose from the ancient mode of presenting some palpable article to the grantee, at the time of giving possession of the property. *Ibid.*

* The extract regards only the possessions of the Abbey of Glaston in Somerset; but it had other manors, vills, and lands, at the same time, in Hants, Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, and Gloucestershire. *Dom. Book*, 43 b. 59 b. 66 b. 76 b. 90, 104, 165. It appears, also, by Pollard and Moyle's Certificate, *Append. No. 20*, that the Abbey had acquired some possessions in Wales, London, and Bristol, between the *Domesday* survey and the dissolution.

first; the several bishops, abbies, religious houses, and churches, having possessions within the county, next occur; then come the great men, who held of the king *in capite*; and, lastly, are enumerated the inferior thanes and officers, described under the names of *servientes regis*.

Immediately after the list of tenants, the demesne lands of the king are particularized; and then those of every tenant, according to the order observed in the list.

To collect this multifarious information, commissioners were selected and appointed by the king, who had authority to summon and impanel juries in every hundred, lath, or wapentake; and to examine them, on oath, as to the objects of their inquiry. From the answers thus obtained, the commissioners formed their returns; which were transmitted to the king, and by his order, digested into the great record, called *Domesday Book*.

The exact time when this national survey was undertaken, is a matter of doubt; but the year of its completion is ascertained, beyond dispute, by an entry at the end of the quarto volume, in these words: "Anno millesimo octogesimo sexto ab incarnatione Domini, vigesimo vero regni Willelmi, facta est ista descriptio, non solum per hos tres comitatus, sed etiam per alios."

Various motives have been attributed to William for this vast undertaking;* but that suggested by Judge Wright appears to have been the true one.

"It is very remarkable," says he, "that William I. about the twentieth year of his reign, just when the general survey of England, called *Domesday Book*, is supposed to have been finished, and not till then, summoned all the great men and landholders in the kingdom to London and Salisbury, to do their homage, and swear their fealty, to him; by doing whereof, the Saxon chronicler supposes that, at that time, the *proceres*, et omnes prædia tenentes, *se illi subsidere*, ejusque facti sunt *vassali*. So that we may reasonably suppose, *first*, that this general homage and fealty was done at this time, (nineteen or twenty years after the accession of William I.) in consequence of some thing new; or else that engagements, so important to the maintenance and security of a new establishment, had been required long before; and if so, it is probable that tenures were then new, inasmuch as homage and fealty were, and still are, mere feudal engagements, binding the homager to all the duties and observances of a feudal tenant.

"*Secondly*, That as general homage and fealty was done about the time that *Domesday Book* was finished, and not before, we may suppose that that survey was taken upon, or soon after, our ancestors' consent to tenures, in order to discover the quantity of every man's fee, and to fix his homage. This supposition is the more probable, because it is not likely that a work of this nature was undertaken without some immediate reason; and no better reason can be assigned why it was undertaken at this time, or, indeed, why this survey should be taken at all, there being at that time extant a general survey of the whole kingdom, made by Alfred."†

* Ingulph. p. 79. Sax. Chron. Gibson, 186. Mat. West. p. 229.

† Wright's Introduction to the Law of Tenures, p. 52.

It is probable, also, that the Conqueror might further *intend*, by this survey, to fix the proportion of *Danegeld* on the property of every landholder; for the produce of this tax had so greatly decreased, in consequence of the many exemptions claimed by various descriptions of people, that, in many hundreds, scarcely a third part of the land paid its proper proportion of it. The rectifying of this abuse, and the *additional hidage* that might reasonably be expected from the increase of arable lands, and the improvements in tillage, subsequently to the year 1013, (when this tax was first imposed by Ethelred,) were, doubtless, objects which had *some* influence with William in planning and executing this comprehensive statistical inquiry.*

William was no friend to the clergy, more especially the monks; and, indeed, their acquisitions of territory had been so large under the Anglo-Saxon kings, their claims of exemptions so numerous, and their encroachments on the royal prerogative so alarming, as fully justified a wise and politic monarch, in paring down their possessions, curtailing their privileges, and checking their inordinate ambition. The religious houses, particularly, had made great strides towards an entire escape from the burthen of public impositions, and the controul of civil authority. Their *demesne lands* were excused from taxation by the tenor either of forged or actual grants; and thus, at least one sixth of the real property of the country pleaded an exemption from an impost, which ought, in justice, to have been equally borne by all. This is fully exemplified in the case of the Abbey of Glaston, as appears from the article in the Appendix now before us; where we find, in the account of many of its possessions, that they *never had been gelded*; or, in other words, had hitherto evaded the payment of Ethelred's general tax, called the *danegeld*.

A translation of the first minute of the possessions of the Abbey of Glaston is as follows:

"The church of Glastingberie has, in this vill, 12 hides, which *never were gelded*.
 "The land consists of 30 carrucates. Of this there are in demesne 10 hides, save half a
 "virgate; and there are 5 ploughs, and 17 serfs, and 21 villains, and 23 bordarers, with
 "5 ploughs; and there are 8 mechanics, and 3 arpents of vineyard, and 60 acres of mea-
 "dow, and 200 acres of pasture, and 20 acres of wood, and 300 acres of coppice. It is
 "worth (annually) £20."

The origin of Domesday Book may be traced to the time of Alfred; who, after his settlement on the throne, compiled, from various sources, an admirable body of laws, which, having digested into an uniform code, he entered into a book, called *Liber Judicialis*, or *Dom-boc*. (Spelman, Vit. Ælfred. p. 63.) With these he incorporated a survey of all the counties, hundreds, and tythings, throughout England. It was from this digest that Ingulphus extracted the particulars of the lands and tenements belonging to Croyland Abbey. (Gale's Scrip. Ang. vol. i. page 795; Ingulph. 79, 80; Brady's Hist. 117.) Edward the Confessor revived, corrected, improved, and extended the laws of Alfred; and, probably, instituted, at the same time, a new and more particular inquiry into the lands and tenures, &c. throughout the kingdom; condensing the whole, as Alfred had done

* See the Preface to Warner's Hampshire, extracted from Domesday Book, *passim*.

before him, into one comprehensive code. Of this great work, however, not a vestige now remains; though, that it was actually effected, is demonstrated by the constant reference, throughout Domesday Book, to the ascertained value of every particular place in the time of Edward the Confessor.

The uses of this great record were very important for centuries after it was compiled, nor are they extinct even at the present day; for if a question arise, whether a manor be *ancient demesne*, or not, the authority of Domesday Book alone can, and does, determine it. (Black. Com. vol. iii. p. 331.)

To the particulars of the large possessions of the Abbey, recorded in Domesday Book, we may add the ensuing items of their property in after times; and conveniently subjoin such accounts as remain, of the various public assessments levied upon it, on different occasions and periods, under the names of escuage, scutage, quinzieme, taxation, &c.

Besides their manerial property, the Abbot and Convent were possessed of a great number of *rectories* and *advowsons*, viz. Lympsham, Marksbury, Wrington, Batcombe, Ditchet, Mells, Street and Walton, High-Ham, Puddimore-Milton, Greinton, and Monkton; as well as the *appropriations* of the following vicarages, to which they presented incumbents: Doultling, with the four chapels of East and West Cranmore, Downhead, and Stoke-Lane; East-Brent, East-Pennard, Bradley, Butleigh, Baltonsbury, Meer, Moorlinch, Catcott, Chilton, Edington and Sutton, Middlezoy, Othery, West-Zoyland, Shapwick, and Ashcott; together with the whole profits of the curacies of West-Pennard, and of St. John's, and St. Benignus, or St. Benedict's, in Glastonbury.

By the grants of the different Bishops of Bath and Wells, the Abbey, and its various offices, had, also, yearly pensions, in money, paid to them out of several churches; grants of which were confirmed by John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, by his charter, dated A. D. 1281. (Adam de Don. Auctarium, 669.)

De ecclesia S. Johannis Glaston	-	-	6 marc.	} ad sacristariam.
De ecclesia de Doultling	-	-	4 do.	
De ecclesia de Shapwick	-	-	20s.	ad cantariam.
De ecclesia de Hamme	-	-	40s.	
De ecclesia de Wynescombe	-	-	1 marc.	
De ecclesia St. Petri in Yvelcestre	-	-	$\frac{1}{2}$ marc.	ad mederiam.
De ecclesia de Strete	-	-	60s.	
De ecclesia de Sowey	-	-	4 marc.	ad eleemosynariam.
De ecclesia de Cameleston	-	-	1 marc.	
De ecclesia de Middletona	-	-	10s.	ad infirmirariam.
De ecclesia de Berwes	-	-	$\frac{1}{2}$ marc.	ad opus eccles. Glaston.
De ecclesia de Murlinch	-	-	100s.	
De ecclesia de Wrington	-	-	40s.	
De ecclesia de Dychesyate	-	-	3 marc.	
De ecclesia de Batecumbe	-	-	20s.	

De ecclesia de Monketon	-	-	2 marc
De ecclesia de Estbrent	-	-	1 marc.
De ecclesia de Lympesham	-	-	1 marc.

To this may be added a few more particulars from Dr. Archer's account of the religious houses in the diocese of Bath and Wells. (Walter Hemmingford, Ap. Hearne.)

To the abbot, from the rectory of Almenesford	-	-	40s.
To the convent, from Norton-under Hampden	-	-	40s.
To the keeper of the infirmary, from Barrow	-	-	13s. 4d.
To the abbot, from Wrington	-	-	3 marcs.

- “ The knights who held lands of the abbey in the times of Henry I. and Henry II. were,
 “ Walter de Scireburne, who held one knight's fee, and after him Earl Patrick.
 “ Walter Waleran the elder held one fee, and after him his son Walter.
 “ Robert Malet held ten fees, and Hubert de Sancta Susanna held thereof two fees,
 “ and afterwards William Malet held the whole for twelve knights' fees.
 “ Alured de Lincoln the elder, five; afterwards Alfred.
 “ Robert de Candos and Walter his son, one.
 “ Ansketil de Cosinton, one; his grandson after him.
 “ Geffrey de Coveston, one; and afterwards Geffrey Fitz-Adam.
 “ Hugh de Grainton and his grandson, half a fee.
 “ Sanson de Spercegrave and his son, one fee.
 “ Walter de Abbodeston and Robert his son, one fee.
 “ Richard Fitz-Urse and Reginald his son, one and a half.
 “ William Fitz-Walter and Robert Fitz-Martin his son, five.
 “ Odo Baucans, and afterwards Geffrey his grandson, one.
 “ William de Hwateleï, one.
 “ Alberick, and after him Roger Folioth, one.
 “ Ralph Huse, one.
 “ John Fitz-Hamund and William his grandson, one.
 “ Geffrey Tortesmain, and afterwards Robert Pukerel, one.
 “ Osbert de Lisuns, and afterwards Henry de Newmarch, one.
 “ Roger de Berkeley, one.
 “ Henry Orescivill and Helias his son, one.
 “ Ralph Basset, and the heir of Ralph Basset junior, one.
 “ Aiulf and William Fitz-Richard his son, half a fee.
 “ Rembald Uscarl, and after him Robert de Winshore, one.

“ Richard Cotele held twenty pounds value of land, which belonged to the demesnes
 “ and to the table of the monks, and did no service therefrom.

“ Baldwin de Essecote held one fee, and in the time of Hen. II. the heir of Ywan his
 “ son held the same.*

“ For all which fees the abbot paid to the King the sum of twenty-six pounds thirte-en
 “ shillings and four-pence.† And 33 Hen. II. in the escuage or scutage charged for the
 “ army of Galway to those barons who did not attend the King in his expedition, the same
 “ abbot was assessed at forty pounds for the fees above recited.‡ The same sum was
 “ likewise paid in the aid levied for the ransom of King Richard I. when he was taken and
 “ imprisoned in his return from the Holy Land.§

“ In the taxation of Pope Nicholas, made A. D. 1293, the Temporalities of the abbot
 “ within, his county were thus charged :

“ Deanery of REDCLIFF.		£.	s.	d.
“ Wrington	- The abbot of Glaston - - -	41	0	0
“ Marksbury	- The same - - -	15	10	0
“ Deanery of FROME.				
“ Mells	- - - - -	16	11	0
“ Deanery of CARY.				
“ Doulting	- - - - -	21	0	0
“ Pilton	- - - - -	42	0	0
“ Ditchet	- - - - -	50	6	10
“ Pennard	- - - - -	18	8	8
“ Batcombe	- - - - -	21	15	0
“ Deanery of ILCHESTER.				
“ Ham	- - - - -	33	0	0
“ Milton	- - - - -	14	12	0
“ Deanery of TAUNTON.				
“ West-Monkton	- Chamberlain of Glaston - -	30	0	0
“ Deanery of POWLET.				
“ Grienton	- - - - -	7	2	3
“ Withyes	- - - - -	8	4	9
“ Deanery of AXBRIDGE.				
“ Brent, South-Brent, East-Brent, Lympsham, and Berrow	-	130	4	0
“ Jurisdiction of GLASTONBURY.				
“ Glastonbury.—The abbot of Glastonbury	- - -	51	13	10
“ The portion of the prior of Glaston	- - -	46	8	0
“ The portion of the almoner	- - -	8	3	0

* Lib. Nig. Scac. i. 87, 88, 89.

† Mag. Rot. 14 Hen. II. r. 10, a.

‡ Mag. Rot. 33 Hen. II. r. 12, a.

§ Mag. Rot. 6 Ric. I. r. 13, b.

			£.	s.	d.
	"	The portion of the cook	-	19	3 4
	"	The portion of the pitancer	-	19	15 4
	"	The portion of the gardener	-	0	50 0
	"	The portion of the infirmarer	-	6	2 8
	"	The portion of the hostler	-	4	0 0
	"	The portion of the præcentor	-	0	54 4
	"	Ferling-Mere—The abbot of Glaston	-	20	0 0
	"	Baltonsbury	-	26	0 0
	"	Butleigh	-	37	0 0
	"	Street	-	29	0 0
	"	Walton	-	28	0 0
	"	Aschot	-	16	15 0
	"	Shapwick	-	30	2 6
	"	Sowy, Weston, Middlezoy, and Othery	-	104	1 8
	"	The hundred of Whitleigh	-	8	0 0
	"	The hundred of Whitstone	-	6	0 0
	"	Andersey—The sexton of Glastonbury	-	10	0 0
	"	Glastonbury { The abbot	-	0	60 0
		{ The chamberlain	-	0	100 0

" THE QUINZIEME of the King from the liberty of the abbot of Glastonbury, with
 " twenty pounds of advance, assessed 8 Edw. III.

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
					<i>Advance.</i>		
	"	Glastonbury, with the twelve hides	-	12 6 8	1	10	0
	"	Hundred of WHITLEIGH.					
	"	The village of Weston	-	9 0 1	0	6	0
		Middlezoy	-	8 2 4	0	13	4
		Othery	-	8 14 3	0	13	4
		Moorlinch	-	1 1 2	0	6	0
		Greinton	-	1 10 0	0	3	0
		Ashcot	-	2 10 4	0	5	0
		Shapwick	-	1 9 4	0	4	0
		Walton	-	1 5 4	0	5	0
		Street	-	1 12 8	0	10	0
		Butleigh	-	1 14 4	0	7	8
		Milton	-	0 19 8	0	2	0
		Blackford	-	0 14 4	0	2	0
		Wheathill	-	0 6 8	0	0	8

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
				<i>Advance.</i>		
Cary	0	10	0	0	0	12
Dunden	2	16	0	0	5	0
Catcott	1	0	0	0	3	0
Edington	1	1	1	0	2	0
Chilton	0	13	1	0	3	0
Cossington	1	7	4	0	2	0
Stawell	0	16	2	0	3	0
Sutton	0	16	4	0	3	0
Wollavington	2	0	0	0	3	0
" The Hundred of WHITSTONE.						
" The village of Corscombe	3	10	0	0	7	0
" Shepton	10	11	4	1	0	0
" From which to the Lord Abbot's men at Ham	1	10	0	0	3	10
" The village of Doultling	5	0	10	0	10	0
Charlton	2	8	10	0	5	0
Batcombe	4	14	6	0	8	0
Lamiat	4	4	1	0	3	0
Ditchet	3	0	0	0	7	6
Alhampton	0	15	4	0	5	0
Hornblotton	0	9	4	0	2	0
Pennard	5	9	8	0	10	0
Pylle	2	1	0	0	4	0
Bradley	1	3	8	0	4	0
Rooksham	1	5	0	0	3	6
Baltonsbury	2	13	0	0	5	0
Pilton	4	0	0	0	7	0
Compton	3	14	8	0	2	0
Wotton	3	8	8	0	6	0
Downhead	0	13	4	0	3	0
" The Hundred of BRENT.						
" The village of South-Brent	4	17	8	0	13	4
Berrow	9	2	2	0	13	4
Lympsham	5	18	11	0	13	4
East-Brent	10	7	11	1	0	0
" The Hundred of WRINGTON.						
" The town of Wrington	10	0	0	1	12	0
" The manor of Mells	4	6	8	1	10	0
" The manor of Ham	3	0	10	0	15	0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
				Advance.		
" The manor of Monkton	4	0	4	0	15	0
" Marksbury	0	12	1	0	2	0

" The sum of the taxation of the goods, spiritual and temporal, of the abbot and convent of Glastonbury, in and out of the county of Somerset, was £1571 : 14s. : 11d. The tenths £157 : 3s. : 6d. Quinzieme or fifteenths of the principal taxation £104 : 15 : 8d.*"

After all the loud complaints, of the monkish writers, of the injustice and oppression of the Conqueror,† it does not appear that he deserved their severe vituperation. His conduct towards the religious orders was *corrective* rather than *tyrannical*. He bled them, it is true ; but their pléthory required it. The following charter is a proof of his equitable conduct, with respect to the Abbey of Glaston, in a case wherein they could prove a *legitimate right* to the property which they claimed.

" Notum sit omnibus tam præsentibus quam futuris, quod ego Willelmus, Dei gracia rex Anglie, visis et cognitis cartis ecclesie Glastonie concedo eidem ecclesie in perpetuum ad usum monachorum inibi Deo serviencium, pro salute anime mee, quasdam terras quas calumpniabantur pertinere ad præfatam ecclesiam *jure heditario* et confirmo. Subnotantur autem terrarum nomina, videlicet, Middleton, Fulebroc, Berwes, Burrington, Lime, Blakeford, Witon. Testibus W. episcopo Dunelmensi et archipresule. Lanfranco et Thoma archiepis. et Roberto comite de Maure, et multis aliis." (Mon. Ang. nov. edit. Append. No. X.)

In Lord Rolle's MS. are the *extenta* of the following manors, together with the years of the different abbots under which they occur. They are not, however, numbered, as in the following schedule. Where no date occurs, there is none in the original.

1. Glasconi, - - 3d year of Adam of Sodbury.
2. Schapewyk, - - the like.
3. Wythyes.
4. Greyngton.
5. Hamme, - - 3d of Adam de Sodbury.
6. Ayshcote,
7. Street, - - 14th of Walter Fromond.
8. Mere, - - 14th of Walter de Moynton.
9. Baltonsbyh. - - 7th of Walter Fromond.
10. Doultynge.
11. Dychesyete, - - 14th of Walter Fromond.
12. Merkesbury.

* Adam de Domerham, Hist. ii. 675 in Auctario."

† " Etenim citra conquestum Willelmi ducis Normannie, anno Domini 1066, de regno Angliæ factum, qui Glastoniensem ecclesiam *enormiter* de suis possessionibus mutilavit, et quamplures ex suis militibus inde feudavit." John Glas. 40.

13.	Hundestrete.		
14.	Buddeclegh,	-	14th G. abbatis.
15.	Pennard,	-	14th Walter Fromond.
16.	Melles,	-	7th Walter Fromond.
17.	Batecombe.		
18.	Pultone,	-	14th Walter Fromond.
19.	Wryngtone,	-	3d Adam of Sodbury.
20.	Suthbrente.		
21.	Berghes,	-	5th W. Fromonde.
22.	Lympelesham,	-	ditto.
23.	Estebrente.		
24.	Weston,	-	5th W. Fromond.
25.	Middlezoy,	-	ditto.
26.	Otherey,	-	ditto.
27.	Midelton,	-	11th Ade abbis.
28.	Netleton,	-	16th J. abbis.
29.	Gurtelyngton,	-	ditto.
30.	Kyngtona,	-	ditto.
31.	Cristmalleforde,	-	16th Johis abbis.
32.	Wynterbone,	-	4th Ade abbis.
33.	Marnhulle.		
34.	Boclonde,	-	3d Ade abbis.
35.	Uplym,	-	ditto.
36.	Nywtone.		

} All included under the general
head of "Sowy."

No. 7. *CHARTA HENRICI Regis Anglie, de Feria, &c.*

Du Fresne (in voc. Feria) and Jacob (Law Dict.) both remark, that Fairs had their origin in a religious observance, "by the resort of people to the feast of the dedication of churches; and, therefore, in most places, the fairs, by old custom, are on the same day with the wake or festival of that saint to whom the church was dedicated; and, for the same reason, was kept in the church-yard, till by authority restrained." (2 Inst. 221, Blount.) The institution, however, be its origin what it may, was equally advantageous to the grantee and the public. The former had a certain *thelonium*, or *toll*, paid to him, either upon the articles sold at the fair, or for the *privilege* of selling them, as well as for the *safe conduct* of the purchaser going to or from the fair, and for the *protection* afforded him during his continuance there. The neighbourhood had an opportunity of supplying themselves, at these appointed times of public mart, with a variety of necessary

and useful articles, which they could not easily have obtained elsewhere, at a period when the present little local trade of towns and villages did not exist—and, that the barter between buyer and seller, on these occasions, might be transacted without disturbance or interruption, it was a provision of our law, that no person engaged in the business of the fair should be molested or arrested in the place where it was held, during its continuance, for any other contract or debt, than what was incurred in the same, or at least agreed to be paid there. (Stat. 17 Edward IV. c. 2, and 1 Richard III. c. 6.) To these fairs the merchant brought his goods, and the tradesmen of the cities and large towns their wares; and here the families, for a large circuit round, resorted for the purchase of their *year's stock* of luxuries or conveniences. It is a curious circumstance, such was the limited extent of the internal trade of England, that so late as the commencement of the sixteenth century, even *noble families* were obliged to have recourse to *fairs* for the supply of their domestic wants. In the interesting publication, called “the Northumberland Household Book,” there is the following direction for the steward of this powerful baron. “He that standes charged with my lorde’s house, for the houll (whole) yeare, if he may possible, *shall be at all faires*, where the *groice emptions* (general stock) shall be boughte for the house for the *houlle yeare*, as wine, waxe, beiffs, muttuns, (the carcasses of oxen and sheep,) wheite, and maltie,” (wheat and malt.) Page 407. The convent and town of Glaston enjoyed other fairs, exclusively of the one just mentioned—one on St. Dunstan’s day, and another on the exaltation of the Holy Cross; but these had been for some time discontinued, even in Abbot Richard Bere’s time. (John Glast. Terrar. p. 308.)

The *Wake*, or annual revel, so common in our country villages, is nothing more than the *vigil*, or nocturnal watchings, of former days, on the eve of the patron saint. It is held now by day, instead of night; and converted, from superstitious uses, to the more cheerful purpose of rustic recreation.

The present fair at Glastonbury is held on the 11th of October, and called *Old Michaelmas fair*. There was formerly one on the *shortest day*: it is now removed to *Street*. A new fair day has been recently adopted, on Wednesday in Easter week.

No. 8. *CHARTA MATILDIS IMPERATRICIS, &c.*

This high-born and high-spirited dame was the daughter of Henry I. married, in 1109, by proxy, when she was only eight years old, to Henry the Fifth, emperor of Germany, and sent to her husband in the ensuing year; and married a second time, after the death of the emperor, to Geoffry Plantagenet, son of the Count of Anjou. The charter seems to have been granted shortly after the battle of Lincoln, in 1140, in which King Stephen was taken prisoner, when Matilda, for a short time, exercised the royal power; and was either a bribe, or remuneration, to her cousin, Henry de Blois, bishop of Winton and

abbot of Glaston, to induce him to desert, or to repay him for forsaking, the fortunes of his elder brother, King Stephen. The Empress's solemn reception at Winchester, alluded to in the charter, is related by William of Malmesbury; who tells us, that Henry de Blois received her with much pomp, in the cathedral, where he offered absolution to all those who should abandon Stephen, and adhere to Maud; and denounced excommunication against all the partisans of the imprisoned king.

The reader will observe, that, among the privileges to the Abbey of Glaston, which the charter recognizes and confirms, is included that valuable one of its having a *mint*, and *coiners of money*. It is Hearne's opinion, that it might have enjoyed this privilege as early as the reign of Æthelstan, the son of Edward the Elder, (edit. Præf. John Glast. xxix.) but that its origin could not be exactly ascertained, more especially as the name of Glastonbury does not occur among those places (enumerated in the ordinance of Æthelstan) as authorised to have *mints*: these were, Canterbury, Rochester, London, Winchester, Lewisham, Hastings, Chichester, Southampton, Wareham, and Exeter. (Ib. xxx.) But as Æthelstan concludes his ordinance with these words, *Eller to þæm oþrum burgum an*, also to every *other town* one (minter), it seems likely, that a place, of so much ecclesiastical importance as Glastonbury then was, would not be excluded from the number of the places privileged to coin money. Mr. Hearne concludes, further, that the situation of the *mint* was not only within the walls of the Abbey, but in a chapel, also, especially dedicated to that use. (Ib. xxxv.) However this may be, the abbot (as in all other monasteries) placed a keeper over it, (Ang. Sac. i. 646,) who, in the Anglo-Saxon times, coined the convent money, according to a stamp that was given him for that purpose. (Ib. i. 779.) Independently of the current coin of the realm, the privileged abbies minted *counters*, also, or *abbey-pieces*, which, *before the general use of the Arabic numerals*, were employed to assist computation, and to settle their different accounts. The sum, whatever it might be, was performed by a known arrangement of these counters, within the squares of a cloth which covered their *exchequer* table. (Du Cange in voc. Scaccharium.) Such was the early mode of executing arithmetical processes at the government receipt court, instituted by William the Conqueror, called the *Exchequer*, from the *chequered* cloth that covered the table, on which the royal dues were computed, and the payments made.

Several of these counters, or abbey-pieces, as they were also called, and a few pieces of current money, all apparently minted at Glaston Abbey, have been found, at different times, among its ruins. They are in the possession of the two elder sons of Mr. Reeves. The far larger part, however, of their local collection of coins, consists of what are commonly called *Nuremberg jettons*, (being coined in, and brought from, that city,) and used for the purpose of computation, as above explained. Snelling has written a treatise upon them; and Pinkerton spoken of them his *Medals*, vol. ii. 55, 58. He says, they were of most common use in abbies and other places, where the revenue was complex, and of difficult adjustment. For this reason, a great number of them is found in the ruins of our English abbies, where they are commonly called *abbey-pieces*. (P. 56.) The device

upon most of these foreign coins is the common one—a *ball and a cross*; and the legend a German one, allusive to the place where they were struck. Those which bear the inscription, *AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA*, we should attribute to the Glaston mint, as having a direct reference to her tutelage of that monastery.

The following remarks, on the subject under consideration, from some of our best antiquarian writers, will throw still further light on the ancient mintage of England. At the synod held at Greatly by King Athelstane, in the year 928, there was a law made respecting the coinage of money, (that before alluded to,) that there should be but one uniform species of it *throughout the whole realm*; which wise law had entirely abolished the privilege many had used, in coining money of their own, to the great prejudice of individuals, and the diminution of the king's crown and dignity. (Will. Concil. vol. i. p. 206; Leges Ang. Sac. p. 320.) The profits of these mints, which were still considerable, were still enjoyed by those who were entitled to them; but they had neither the denomination, stamp, or alloy, heretofore peculiar to themselves; for, as Mr. Selden observes, after this time no money was coined without the king's name or effigies.

Before the Norman Conquest, the *superintendency* of the *mint-masters*, or *moneyers*, seems, by the law of King Canute, to have belonged to the portreeves of the several places which had the privilege of coinage. *After the Norman conquest*, they were put under the direction of the chief justiciar, or treasurer, and barons of the Exchequer; before whom the chief officers of the several mints, as well the king's as those of bishops, abbots, &c. took an oath for the just discharge of their office. One of these was an *assayer* of the money, who assayed it, to see if it was up to the due and old standard, according to the *pix of assay*; which was constantly, as had been accustomed, made at the Exchequer. (Madox's Hist. Excheq. page 198; North's Remarks on the Eltham Coin, p. 14.)

No. 9. CHARTA REGIS HENRICI II.

This charter may be considered as a monument of the simplicity of our early kings, and of the cunning of the contemporary monks: the one receiving, with implicit confidence, the gross and clumsy impositions, which the others had framed to serve their own interested purposes. Henry declares that he has caused to be examined, to be exhibited, and to be read to him, not only the charters of his immediate predecessors, and of the Saxon monarchs before them, but those, also, of the British Arthur, and the Pagan Kenewalla! That the monks of Glaston had, by this time, provided themselves with a regular series of donatory deeds, from the sixth to the eleventh centuries, cannot be doubted, from the list of benefactors to the monastery, which is recognised in the charter before us. Anxious to free themselves, as much as possible, from civil control, and more especially from the authority of the bishops of Wells, and to depend entirely upon their spiritual father, the

Pope, they had by the middle of the twelfth century, digested a mass of evidence in support of their rights, immunities, and possessions, quite sufficient to satisfy the minds of the generality of their contemporaries, with regard to the legality of their claims. There were, however, *some* whose interests were too intimately involved in the pretensions of the monks, to allow these assumptions to pass without scrutiny and dispute. They trenched deeply upon the spiritual authority and legal patronage of the *diocesan*; and, consequently, excited a keener inquiry into their legality, on the part of those who believed themselves to be aggrieved, than parties less personally interested would think of instituting. Hence it was, that the bishops of Bath and Wells had already begun to resist the claims of the monks of Glaston, and to assert their supremacy over the monastery, and their jurisdiction over the seven churches mentioned in this charter of Henry II. (a resistance that induced a contest between the parties, protracted through the tedious space of four centuries and a half;) and to this, also, may be attributed the virulence with which the annalists of the Abbey always speak of the bishops of their diocese, as violators of their peace, and spoilers of their possessions.*

The account of the proceedings which attended this long-drawn dispute, respecting the seven churches, is involved and obscure; and the arrangements made, from time to time, with regard to them, quite unintelligible. Archer has the following remarks on the subject:—"There had been a controversy of about four hundred and fifty years standing, "between the Monks of Glastonbury and the Bishops of the diocese, about the jurisdiction "over these parishes," (the seven mentioned in Henry the Second's charter,) "which afterwards made up the archdeaconry of Glastonbury, and are, to this day, called the "Jurisdiction of Glastonbury.

"The seven parishes named in King Ina's charter of exemption, ann. 725, are, "Sowey, Brent, Merling, Schapwicke, Strete, Budcaleth, and Pilton. The charter of "King Edgar, ann. 971, mentions but five of these parishes, and leaves out Brent and "Pilton. Henry the Second's charter, 1185, printed in the History of Glaston, p. 129, "mentions seven churches, as in King Ina's charter, and the same, except *Brent*, which is "omitted; and, instead of that, *Ditcheate* is inserted.

"But, in truth, the seven churches claimed by the Archdeacon of Wells on one side, "and the Abbot and Monks on the other, were those mentioned in the charter of King "Henry; and the other three, Pilton, Pennard, and Ditchet, never did belong to the "monks, but were given up, at this time, in exchange for the prebend of South Brent, "though they did not continue long under the jurisdiction of the archdeacons of Glaston- "bury; for, *Pilton* being made the corps of the chantorship in the Cathedral of Wells, "became an exempt jurisdiction of itself, and *Pennard* and *Ditchet* returned to the "archdeacon of Wells; and the archdeaconry of Glastonbury was continued within the "seven parishes mentioned in this charter." (cxv. Append. Mon. Ang. nov. edit.)

* Vide John Glast. p. 40, 185, et prolog. p. 8.

“ Notwithstanding this, both *Pilton* and *Ditchet* are mentioned in the prohibition sent to the bishop, 1319, as belonging to the jurisdiction of the abbot and convent; when it is most evident, by the registers, that *Pilton* was then a peculiar jurisdiction, belonging to the precentor of Wells, as it is now; and *Ditchet* was then in the jurisdiction of the bishop and archdeacon of Wells, as it is still.” (Mon. Ang. nov. edit. Append. note.)

It appears, from John Glast. (p. 173) that, at the time when Henry II. granted the charter on which we are now remarking, the Abbey of Glaston was vested in the hands of the king: it had fallen into his possession in consequence of the death of the abbot, Robert, prior of Winchester, in 1171; for, being a *barony*, it immediately reverted, according to the principles of the feudal law, to the liege lord of whom it was held; the common usage with respect to all manors and estates of this description of tenure, in case of the death or deprivation of the tenant *in capite*. Henry retained the abbey in his hands during the remainder of his reign, appointing a *custos*, to administer the affairs of the convent, and to account to him for its receipts and expenditure. The first of these *custodes* was Peter de Marci, a monk of Clugni, who, on his death, was succeeded by one of the king's chamberlains, Ralph Fitz Stephen, a son of Henry's royal predecessor. The monks, in general, had great reason to complain of these appointments; since the *custodes*, too frequently, thought of nothing more than how they could enrich themselves, and supply the exchequer of their employer, by their fraud or exactions. Ralph Fitz Stephen, however, was a splendid exception to the usual abuse of power, and spared neither expense nor labour to fulfil the duties of his office, and to restore to its former state the faded grandeur of the ruined abbey and church. Whether it fared so well under the auspices of other *custodes*, to which it was occasionally subject, is a matter of doubt; but it appears, from the *Baronia Anglica*, that it was its frequent lot, either to deplore the oppression, or to applaud the integrity, of these temporary guardians of its possessions. In, or about, the year 1140, the 5th of Stephen, it was in the custody of the Bishop of Chichester. (Madox, p. 299, c. i. n.) In the 19th Henry II., William Fitz-John, and William de Gundevil, had the charge of it. (Ib. p. 211.) The Archdeacon of Poictou accounted for its scutage, in the 18th of Henry II. (p. 439.) It was again in custody, in the 5th year of Henry III. (p. 463): and we find it, in the 8th year of the same king, in the hands of the Bishop of Bath.

This last instance of the possession of the abbey, during a vacancy, seems, however, to have been rather an irregular assumption, than a legal exercise, of the right of *custody*; and arose from a groundless claim of the bishops of Bath and Wells, of being *intermediate tenants* between the king and the abbots; and, consequently, of having the disposal of, and the accounting for, its temporalities, in the event of the death or deprivation of the latter. This was the case in the second year of Edward I. “The Bishop of Bath and Wells,” says Madox, “laying claim to the patronage and custody of the temporalities of the Abbey of Glaston, during the vacancy, the King issued a writ for sequestering the profits thereof, till the right between them should be determined.” (Hist. Excheq. p. 134.)

In the succeeding year, however, a compromise took place between the King and the Bishop, in this matter: the latter, by the assent of the Chapter of Bath and Wells, quitted claim to the King, "*servicium omnium terrarum et feodorum nunc abbatiae Glaston; cum patronatu seu custodia ejusdem abbatiae et pertinencium, quæ predecessores nostri habuerunt, ut medii inter Reges Angliæ et Abbates Glaston ex concessionibus inclytæ recordacionis Richardi, Johannis, et Henrici Tercii Regum Angliæ prædecessorum, &c.*" (Prynne's Parliamentary Records, p. 167), and received, as a remuneration for his concession, the city of Bath, which was then a royal demesne. A long account of the particulars of this dispute, its origin, progress, and termination, is found in John Glast. p. 240, et infra. It is there said, but erroneously, that the bishop received, in exchange, the church of Congresbury, and an annual rent of fifty-five pounds out of the *barton of Bath*, whereas the patent in the clause roll of 1275 expressly asserts, that the city itself was the boon; and the king, in his precept to the citizens, to give livery and seizin to the bishop, specifically excepts the *barton* out of the grant, "*excepta bertona nostra.*" (Prynne, ut supra.)

No. X. PRIVILEGIUM CELESTINI TERCII, &c.

The commencement of the thirteenth century was an epoch of much importance to the abbots of Glaston, as they then obtained the honourable spiritual privilege of wearing the *mitre, ring, gloves, (χειρὸς θήκη) dalmatica*, or seamless coat of Christ, *tunic*, and *sandals*, together with the papal authority for pronouncing the benediction upon all sacerdotal garments. All the above articles of attire had, with the Romish church, a mysterious meaning, and were considered as emblematical either of personal dignity, or official duty; and, as such, had been originally restricted to the episcopal order alone. In compliment, however, to the monastics, the surest buttresses of papal power, the popes, after a time, conceded the privileges above enumerated to their most faithful allies, to the great displeasure of the bishops, who complained loudly of this innovation. They were particularly annoyed, that the use of the *mitre* should be granted to the abbots, because it destroyed all external distinction between the lord of a diocese, and the president of a convent, at the synods and councils. To quiet the bishops in this respect, Pope Clement IV., in the thirteenth century, ordained, that abbots should wear mitres embroidered with *gold* only, leaving the use of *precious stones* exclusively to the bishops. But the ordinance was soon disregarded; for, as the abbots affected an independence of the power of, and parity of dignity with, the bishops, they were unwilling to relinquish this outward symbol of equality in authority and rank.*

* The abbots who obeyed this injunction, wore a mitre "argent, garnished with gold, and murray labels." Fiddes's Wolsey, col. p. 113.

But, it is carefully to be repeated and observed, that the privileges conferred by the papal document, which has occasioned these observations, were only of a *spiritual* nature. The grant of the mitre to the head of Glaston Monastery did not convert him into what was strictly called "a mitred abbot," or, in other words, give him the privilege of sitting and consulting in the Parliament of the kingdom. This was altogether a *temporal* dignity, springing out of, and identified with, the *constitution* of the *country*, arising solely from his being the lord of a barony, (for such was the Abbey of Glaston, Inquisit. post Mortem, 2d Edw. III. second No. 129, vol. i.,) and holding, as such, of the King *in capite*. The monarchs of England, indeed, had, from the earliest times, sedulously endeavoured, to the best of their ability, to prevent all papal interference with the *temporal* concerns of their kingdom; and, what is more, denied, to a certain extent, the bold claims, of the Popes, of *spiritual* jurisdiction within the realm: for even the *royal supremacy* in our church, though generally considered as an acquisition by Henry VIII., might easily be shewn to have been coeval with the origin of our monarchy. In the Anglo-Saxon times, the Popes themselves acknowledged it; and proofs are not wanting to manifest, that, constitutionally, the *English kings have always been the heads of the English church*.

The authority of the "mitred abbots" in their convents, as well as their weight in the great council of the nation, were considerable. "They were," says Madox, "great lords, and the monks in their house were deemed to be in the state of dead men, divested of all property. The seigneurage was vested in the Lord Abbot: he was to do *homage* to the King, as the King's immediate tenant; and the Abbot's feudal tenants were to do homage to him, as their immediate lord. This, I think, was the ancient state of the abbies, in respect of seigneurage: but then, if the seigneurage came to be, in any degree, vested in the convent, that made a deviation from the ancient and most regular course of fees." (Baron. Ang. 210.)

With respect to the number and names of the "mitred abbots" in England, previously to the Dissolution, the quaint, but amusing, Fuller has given us the following particulars: "The highest civil honour the English abbots arrived at was, that some were selected to be abbots in Parliament, and called to be assistants to the King in his *great council*. To begin at the reign of Henry III. (before whose time, the footsteps of solemn summons to Parliament are almost worn out): in his time, all abbots and priors of quality were summoned thither. In the forty-ninth year of his reign, no less than sixty-four Abbots, and thirty-six Priors, (a jolly number,) with the Master of the Temple, were *voluntarii summoniti*, (out of the king's free will and pleasure no right that they could claim themselves) summoned to Parliament."

In after times, the number of abbots summoned to Parliament fluctuated: viz., forty in the 27th of Edward I., seventy-five in the 28th year of the same king, fifty-six in the 1st year of Edward II., and fifteen in the 2d year of Edward II. His successor determined and limited the number to twenty-six: they were in precedence and dignity as follows:—1st, St. Alban's; 2d, Glastonbury; 3d, St. Austin's, Canterbury; 4th, Westminster;

5th, Edmundsbury; 6th, Peterborough; 7th, Colchester; 8th, Evesham; 9th, Winchelcombe; 10th, Crowland; 11th, Battaile; 12th, Reading; 13th, Abingdon; 14th, Waltham; 15th, Shrewsbury; 16th, Gloucester; 17th, Bardney; 18th, Bennet in the Holme; 19th, Thorney; 20th, Ramsey; 21st, Hide; 22d, Malmesbury; 23d, Cirencester; 24th, St. Mary, York; 25th, Selbye; 26th, the priory of St John's of Jerusalem, whose prior was first chief baron of England.

"None of these held of mesne lords by *franke almonage*, but all of the king in *capite per baroniam*, having an entire barony, to which thirteen knights' fees did at least belong.

"To these twenty-six *regular barons*, King Henry added the Abbot of Tavistoke in Devonshire.

"Next to the Prior of St. John's in Jerusalem, the Abbot of *St. Alban's* took place above all of his order, to the no small grief and grudge of Glastonbury, seeing Joseph of Arimathea was two hundred years senior to St. Alban." (Church Hist. p. 546.)

This precedence was conferred on St. Alban's by Pope Adrian IV., in the twelfth century, as a mark of attachment to the place of his education, and because it was the spot on which St. Alban, the proto-martyr of England, suffered for his faith.

The grant of privileges (No. 10) was confirmed by Gregory IX. the immediate successor of Honorius III. and by Alexander IV. Innocent IV., also, directed a bull to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, announcing the rights which had been awarded to the Abbot of Glaston, and enjoining that they might be fully and peaceably enjoyed. This was confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Mon. Ang. nov. edit. No. i. Append. p. 55, et infra.)

Gregory says, in his bull, that the privileges are *a special gift of the Apostolic see*; an expression which is explained in the following observations on the subject, by an obliging Roman Catholic Clergyman.

"The document issued by Celestin the Third to the Abbot of Glastonbury grants to him, and to his successors, the privilege of blessing, for use, the mitre and ring, and all sacerdotal ornaments used within the precincts of his jurisdiction. This privilege is, by the discipline of the Catholic Church, annexed to the jurisdiction of *bishops only*, except the holy see should, by a *peculiar indulgence*, extend it further. The writer of these lines, in common with every Catholic clergyman exercising his functions in this kingdom, has, by the same authority, a power of blessing those ornaments which belong to the priesthood. The force of the document, therefore, consists in conveying to the grantees episcopal power, as far as the benediction given to the enumerated ornaments is concerned."

No. 11. CHARTER of CONFIRMATION by ROBERT, Prior of Bath, &c.

A *fac-simile* of this curious deed, made by Thomas Shew, esquire, of Bath, will be found among the plates of this work. The original is in the hands of the learned and Reverend Joseph Hunter, of Bath; to whom the public is already indebted for an highly esteemed "History of Hallamshire," and from whom it may expect, in a short time, another interesting work on the Topography of Yorkshire.

The *sacristy*, or *vestiary*, of the papal church, was similar to the *vestry* of the reformed one; though the *sacrist* had a much wider range of duties imposed upon him than the modern sexton has to perform. The expenses, also, connected with this department of the monastic economy, were very heavy, particularly in the larger abbeys; a consideration, which induced many pious benefactors to bestow valuable donations, in land and money, for the specific use of the sacristy. In the *Index Chartarum*, &c. (John Glast. page 370,) upwards of *thirty* deeds of this description are enumerated. (Ib. 414, 415, 416.) The *office*, also, of *sacrist* was one of trust and dignity, as appears from the election of Robert de Pederton, a monk who held it, to the abbacy in 1261. (Ib. 230.) It required, further, a knowledge of *music*, as the *sacrist* was sometimes entrusted with the charge of providing singers for the choir. Abbot Adam de Sodbury, about the year 1324, assigned to the *sacrist* of Glaston twenty marcs per annum, for the support of four priests who sang well; who, (*cum duobus de Galilæa antiquitus ordinatis*,) with two others, to be provided by the *sacrist* and *elemosinarius*, should serve daily, melodiously singing, in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, clothed in surplices and amices, as well as attend the solemn choral masses; who should recite the *placebo* and *dirige*, with nine lectiones, and a commendatory prayer for the souls of the abbots Geoffry Fromont and Adam de Sodbury, the brethren of the monastery, and all the departed faithful. The same abbot further assigns to the *sacrist* *totum novum clausum*, to provide, on the anniversaries of himself, his father, mother, and John de Brunton, then prior, for every monk, a portion of bread, a cup of good wine, and a dish of fish. (Ib. 268.)

The original of this document (No. 11) is peculiarly interesting, as it probably exhibits the only specimen extant of a waxen impression of the ancient seal of the Priory of Bath, and (what is equally curious) of the *secretum* of Robert, who became prior in 1205, and was elected abbot of Glastonbury in 1223. The original form of the mass of wax has been disfigured by time; but the impressions on the front and back of it are well preserved. The former gives a rude representation of the eastern end of the then conventual church; the latter, of the *private personal* seal of Prior Robert. As the law at the present day directs that certain parochial documents shall be authenticated by the mutual signatures of the minister and churchwardens, and that the chest containing the registers, archives, &c. shall be furnished with two keys, deposited in their respective hands, for the purpose of evidencing mutual assent, and preventing all *ex parte*

measures in parochial transactions; so it was the practice, formerly, in all monastic establishments, for the *treasury* (in which were deposited the charters, muniments, and common seal, belonging to the house) to be secured by two or more keys, one in the keeping of the abbot, and the others in the possession of certain monks delegated for that purpose; and for every *written act* of the monastery to be authenticated by the same common seal of the chapter, and the *secretum*, or private seal, of the abbot or prior; a constitution first ordained by Otto, and wisely adapted to preclude any fraudulent alienation of the property of the house, either by the president or the brethren. To the abbot's principal chaplain the custody of this seal was committed; who obtained, from the nature of his charge, the name of *portitor sigilli*; but for the application of it to any deed affecting the interests of the body, it was necessary to have the consent of the chapter. As the *secretum* was strictly a *personal* seal, its use and authority would cease with the abbot's deprivation or death; it was, therefore, generally destroyed, in either case, by breaking it, with a hammer, on one of the steps of the high altar. (Willis's *Mitred Abb. in Westminster*, Matt. Par. 1064; Du Cange, voc. *Stola*.) A mention of the use of the abbot's *secretum* occurs in John Glaston, where Abbot John de Kancia is recorded to have paid off, about the year 1300, a bond debt of £6000, secured to Warantinius, a merchant of Lucca, "per sigillum ejusdem abbatis, et sigillum commune." (Page 254.)

The date of "Prior Robert's confirmation" is, probably, 1205, for in that year Savaric died; and it seems reasonable to suppose, that one of the earliest acts of the new prior would be to confirm the charters of his predecessor. The contents of the deed, when liberated from their abbreviations, are as follow:

"Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Robertus Prior, et conventus Bathon. salutem in Domino. Ad universitatis vestræ volumus devenire noticiam nos ratam et gratam habere donationem quam piæ recordationis venerabilis episcopus noster Savaricus, provida deliberatione fecit sacristariæ de Glaston super ecclesiam Sancti Johannis Baptistæ de Northbinne cum capella de Pennard, et omnibus earundem pertinenciis dictæ sacristariæ de Glaston in usus proprios in perpetuum concessa. Salva honesta sustentatione ministrorum eam deservientium. In hujus igitur rati habitionis nostræ testimonium presens scriptum sigilli nostri munimine duximus communiendum."

"Consensus Prioris et Conventus Batonie de ecclesia Sancti Johannis supradicta."*

The impressions are on green wax, and each has an inscription. That on the *secretum* (representing the prior in the act of benediction) is very legible: "Secretum Roberti Prioris Bathonie." The only intelligible characters on the other side of the seal are, * Sig.....Ri.....Bad.....ecclesiæ.

* The charter of Savaric, alluded to above, occurs in Mon. Ang. No. 1, nov. edit. Append. xx. Henry de Blois, also, and Pope Honorius, had granted their charters of confirmation previously to that of Prior Robert. (Ib.) Hearne gives them in the "Index Chartarum Glastoniæ." (John Glast. p. 414.)

The fortunes of the church and chapel, mentioned in this charter, have been somewhat singular. The latter is now the *church* of East Pennard; the former a *ruin*, and to be detected, at present, only by the remains of a wall, a door-way, and a dilapidated west window, called *Stone Chapel*, about half-a-mile from *Binne-Grove*, in the parish of East-Pennard.

No. 12. *BULLA HONORII III.*

The object of this bull was the termination of a dispute between the Monks of Glaston and their diocesan, which had commenced in Savaric's uniting Glastonbury with the see of Bath, and styling himself *bishop* of the former place; and which had now subsisted for five and twenty years. After numerous applications, by both parties, to the Holy See; the expenditure of much treasure; and the decease of many of the busy meddlers in this bitter feud; the Pope proposed four several forms of adjustment to the antagonists; decreeing, at the same time, that, if none of them should be accepted, the cause should then be referred to his own sole and personal determination. The first form was, that the union should remain unbroken, and the bishop continue to enjoy all that he now held as long as he lived; that, after his death, a separation of the two places should immediately ensue, and the monastery resume its ancient rights, "*reservato in perpetuum Bathon. episcopis, hujus episcopi successoribus, omni jure diocesano in Glastoniensi monasterio.*" Second form: That the union should be immediately dissolved, and ("*apostolica auctoritate*") the bishop and his successors receive an annual payment from Glaston, the terms to be settled by the Pope; the rights of the diocesan being reserved as above. Third: That, from that time, the union should be perpetual; and the property of Glaston monastery, before awarded by the Pope to the bishop, should be restored to the Abbey. Fourth: That from that time the union should be immediately dissolved; the bishop retain possession of all the temporalities of the monastery, as well as its spiritualities, as far as regarded diocesan rights; and the Abbey be restored to its former independence and individuality. (John Glast. p. 206, et infra.) It appears, however, that neither of these forms was exactly agreeable to the contending parties; who, having met together, after much discussion, agreed that another plan of accommodation should be submitted to the Pope, as a final adjustment between them, and as satisfactory to both. His Holiness assented to this composition; and sanctioned it by the bull in question.

No. 13. *INDULGENCIA ABBATI et CONVENTUI, &c.*

The dress of the Benedictine order, to which the Monks of Glaston belonged, was sufficiently comfortable for the situations in which their convents were usually placed;

but it did not shield them, in all respects, against the peculiar severities of the climate of Glastonbury in the thirteenth century. Surrounded with water in the winter, and with a stagnant marsh in the summer, they were alternately subjected to the painful rigours of cold, and the unhealthy influence of damp; and though a *cowl* made part of their costume, yet, as they were obligated to perform divine service “discoopertis capitibus,” with uncovered heads, this afforded them no protection, during the large portion of the twenty-four hours, in which they were engaged either in private prayer or public worship. Steevens describes the dress of the Benedictine monks thus: “As for the habits of the monks, they were left to the discretion of the abbots, according to the nature of the country, as it was either hotter or colder. In temperate climates, a *cowl* and a *tunic* were sufficient; the *cowl* thicker for winter, and thinner for summer. The *scapular* was the upper garment during the time of labour; which was put off, and the *cowl* worn during the rest of the day. Every one had two tunics and two cowls, either to change at night,” (for they slept in their clothes!) “or to wash them. The stuff they were made of was the cheapest the country afforded. To the end, that no man might have any property, that is, any thing he could call his own, the abbots found them all with every thing that was necessary; that is, besides the habit, a handkerchief, a knife, a needle, a steel pen, and tablets to write. Their beds were a mat, a straw bed, a piece of serge or flannel, and a pillow.”

St. Benedict did not decide of what colour the habit should be; but it appears, by ancient pictures, that the garment the first Benedictines wore was white, and the *scapular* black. That *scapular* was not of the same shape that those of the same order do use at present: it was more like the jerkins worn by mariners, saving that it was not open before, but only a little in the sides. That sort of garment had been long before the common garment of the poor and of peasants. (Mon. Ang. Pref.)

The “Specimen Monachologiæ” clothes the Benedictine monk in *breeches*; a black woollen *robe* covering the whole body and feet; *hood*, loose, obtuse, oval, and broad; *scapulary*, plain, of a breadth of the abdomen; *girdle*, broad; a black *cowl*, descending to the ankles; inner *tunics*, in general, black; *shirt* narrow at the wrist. But in the house the monk laid aside the hood, girded the *scapulary*, and wore a crested or two-fold cap upon his head. (Fosbrook’s Brit. Mon. 382.)

We may hope, that this reasonable indulgence to the monastics of Glaston continued to be enjoyed by them till the dissolution. In truth, it was not granted before it seems to have been absolutely necessary. “Quod reliquum est, si quæras aliquid de situ Glastoniæ, humido sane loco esse positum, omnes certiores te facient; ad modum equidem multorum aliorum, religioni dicatorum, ædificiorum. Quam ob rem Innocentius IV. visum est hujus cœnobii monachis privilegium concedere pileis sese obtegendi” (of covering their heads with caps) “dum sacris interessent, ne alias frigore capita obrigerent.” (Hearne, John Glast. præf. liv.)

Specific as “the rule of St. Benedict” was, with respect to the costume of the monks of his order, yet *personal vanity*, the tenant alike of the cloister, the cottage, and the

court, seduced them, in the course of time, into a gross violation of it. They could not, indeed, blaze in the tournament, or glitter in the royal circle; but in the field as sportsmen, on the road as travellers, in their visits to other monasteries, and in their way to distant shrines, they had frequent opportunities (and they did not fail to use them) of exhibiting their persons in a garb far more becoming than the sombre dress of the monastic cell.

The inimitable Chaucer, that master-artist in humour and pathos, in brilliant description and pointed satire, seized on this foible of the cotemporary Benedictines, and sketched a picture of a cloistered coxcomb in colours so vivid, and with touches so particular and characteristic, that we cannot for moment doubt its rigid resemblance to the original, in the middle of the fourteenth century. Who will say that the Glaston monk did *not* sit for the portrait?

- "An outrider that loved venerie, (*hunting,*)
- "A manly man to ben (*be*) an abbot able;
- "Full many a deinte hors hadde he in stable;
- "And when he rode, men mighte his bridel here
- "Gingleing in a whistling wind as clere,
- "And eke as loude, as doth the chapel bell.
- "I saw his sleeves purfiled (*fringed*) at the hond (*hand*)
- "With gris, (*fur,*) and that the finest of the lond.
- "And for to fasten his hode, (*hood,*) under his chin
- "He had of golde y-wrought a curious pinne;
- "A love-knotte in the greater end ther was.
- "His head was balled, and shone as any glas;
- "And eke his face, as it had ben anoint;
- "He was a lord full fat, and in good point.
- "His eyen (*eyes*) stepe, (*deep-set,*) and rolling in his hed;
- "That stemed (*smoak'd*) as a forneis of led (*lead.*)
- "His botes (*boots*) souple, his hors in gret estat;
- "Now certainly he was a fayre prelat!
- "He was not pale as a forpined (*withered*) gost:
- "A fat swan loved he best of any rost, (*roasted meat.*)
- "His palfrey was as browne as is a berry."*

Let it not be thought that this representation of *monkish beauism*, in the fourteenth century, is an exaggeration of the satirist. The solemn remonstrances of some of the higher ecclesiastics against such folly and inconsistency bears full testimony to the accuracy of the description. (Vide Reyneri Append. tertiam partem, Scrip. lxxv. p. 195; de *enormi disformitate* in vestibus, equitaturis, et lectisterniis.)

* Warton's Hist. English Poetry, vol. vii. p. 284, edit. 1824.

No. 14. HENRICI III. CHARTA.

This charter recites and confirms the preceding one of Henry II., and adds certain other privileges to those already conferred on the Monks of Glaston. *First*, That throughout all their domains they should have the return of *all royal writs*; that is, that these processes, when they issued from the sheriffs, should be directed for execution immediately to the abbots, through their own bailiffs, and be returned by them, without passing through the hands of the officers of the bishops of Bath and Wells, who were very anxious to obtain the right of this intermediate interference. (John Glast. p. 226, et infra.) *Secondly*, that the monastery should have the privilege of pleading *de namio vetito*; that is, if a distress should be made on the *averia*, their milch or husbandry cattle, they might resist the levy, on the plea of its being an *illegal one*. There was a *lawful naam*, or reasonable distress, against which legal provisions made no defence; and there was a *naam unlawful*, for which they afforded a remedy. The privilege, here granted to the convent, consisted in their being permitted to plead against any distress whatsoever, whether reasonable or not, that it was *namium vetitum*, an *unlawful naam*, and consequently made at the *peril* of the person intruding on their property. (Horn's Mirror, lib. ii.) *Thirdly*, That they should not be prosecuted or impleaded in any of the inferior courts, but only in those in which the king presided in person, or in such as were held by his chief justices. *Fourthly*, That in their manors of Deverel Langport in Wiltshire, Newton Castle, and Bocland, in the county of Dorset, and Wrington in the county of Somerset, the abbots, monks, and church of Glastonbury, and all their tenants and dependents, should be exempt, for ever, from the *expeditation of their dogs*, and from all the penalties of *forest law*; and that, in case an offence in this behalf should ever be proved against them, the punishment should be exactly proportioned to the crime, and not of an arbitrary or excessive kind. This was an immunity of such magnitude, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as to deserve particular mention.

The strong passion for the chase, which characterized our Anglo-Norman monarchs, had induced them to frame a body of forest law, for the preservation of the objects of their favourite amusement, of the most sanguinary and irrational complexion. The mild code of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence did not recognize this appropriation of the gifts of nature to the exclusive use of a single despot, nor denounce any merciless inflictions upon its innovation; nor can a vestige be found of such a spirit of cruelty, in any of the laws of Ina, Alfred, Edward, Edgar, Athelstan, or Ethelred, which have been handed down to our own times. (Lambarde's Archaionom. Cant. 1644.) The Anglo-Danish kings, indeed, appear to have been more careful, as well as somewhat severe, in their institutions respecting the beasts of chase; but still the pastime of hunting was not made, exclusively, a royal sport; the *freeman* was permitted to enjoy it, and the only prohibitions were, abstaining from killing the

game, and refraining from hunting in the royal forests. (Canuti Regis. Manwood's For. Laws, App. and Leges Canuti in Lambarde Archaionom. p. 125, sect. 77.) Forest law did not assume a terrible aspect, till William the Conqueror had seized the sceptre of England. It was then first digested into that ferocious code, which pressed with intolerable weight upon the subject for nearly a century and a half; and which, though infinitely humanized and modified in the intervening ages, still disgraces the common and statute law of a country that boasts itself to be free. The cruelty of William's forest institutions is thus described in an early Monkish author, "pro feris homines mutilavit, exhaeredavit, incarceravit, trucidavit; et si quis cervum vel aprum caperet, oculis privatur." (Mat. West. p. 9; Sax. Chron. p. 191; Ang. Sac. i. p. 258.) Rufus went even beyond his father, in the severity of his inflictions and exactions, as far as regarded forest law. (Knyghton ap. Dec. Scrip. Turs. l. ii. c. 7; Eadm. Hist. Nov. p. 48.) Henry I., of whom better things might have been expected, was equally rigid in this respect. (Will. Malm. p. 179; Will. Neub. l. i. c. 3.) *Omnem ferarum venationem totius Angliæ sibi peculiarem vendicavit. Pedes etiam canum qui in vicinio silvarum morabuntur, ex parte præcidi fecit; et vix paucis nobilioribus ac familiaribus, privilegium in propriis saltibus venandi permisit.* (Orderic. Vital. l. ii. p. 823.) Stephen made promises to his subjects to relax forest law, but was too busily employed to fulfil them. Henry II. actually stripped it of some of its terrors; but they were again revived in the reign of his son Richard I. In the year 1128, the Chief Justice in Eyre, and two other judges, made an *iter* through England, to take cognizance of offences committed in the forests. Wheresoever they came, they issued this formidable notice:—"The King declares, that if any one forfeit to him concerning his venison, or his forests, in any thing, he is not to trust to this, that he shall only be punished in his goods, as hitherto; for if, after this time, any one forfeit and be convicted, he shall have full justice done upon him, as it was in King Henry, our grandfather's, time; that is, he shall lose his *eyes* and his *virility*." And again, "It is to be noted, that he who takes venison in the king's forest, and shall be thereof attainted, shall be in the king's mercy as to the losing of his eyes and virility." (Brady's Hist. Eng. v. i. Append. p. 100.) The barons at Runnymede, when they wrung from John, the successor of Richard I., *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foresta*, did much in favour of civil liberty, and in relieving the subject from the galling yoke of forest laws; but it is clear, that all its burthens were not removed, as some press upon us at the present day; and the charter before us, in exempting a part of the possessions of the Abbey at Glaston from the operation of forest laws, and the *expeditation* of the dogs on these privileged places, clearly evinces, that many of its odious features disgraced the penal code of Henry III.

The *expeditation* of the dog was an excision of the balls of the fore feet, by which the animal was prevented from pursuing the beasts of the chase. (Du Fresne in voc. *Expeditatio*. *Genuscissio*.) The lords of manors appear, at this period, to have had the power of enforcing this regulation on their own demesnes, or of exempting their tenants

from its observance. This may be inferred from the following extract from a grant made by Robert de Gaunt to the canons of Bridlington in Yorkshire, containing a permission for these ecclesiastics to keep, under certain regulations, four dogs, with unmutilated feet. "Habebunt eciam iidem canonici ad prædictas vacarias, quatuor canes cum *integris pedibus*, "duos ad unam, et duos ad alteram, solutos noctibus, et ligatos diebus; qui, si inventi "fuerint soluti, a prima hora diei usque ad vesperem, custodes eorum erunt in forisfacto "Domini, et canes in misericordia ejus." (Mon. Ang. tom. ii. p. 165. a. 50.)

No. 15. *NOTA ad BELLUM de BANOCKBURN, &c.*

Among the many extravagant and vapid accounts of miracles, with which the monkish writers abound, some are occasionally to be met with, conceived with a degree of genius, and related not without spirit and taste. The pleasing and graceful fictions of the East, which had accompanied the earliest introduction of literature into our country, made a deep impression upon the artless and credulous minds of our ancient writers, and, now and then, gave a brilliant tinge to the dull creations of their own fancy; and the romantic exaggerations of the Crusaders, in an after age, penetrating within the cloister, infused into some of the marvellous relations of the conventual chroniclers a portion of their own interesting spirit. An example of this lively story-telling is, we think, afforded in this account of the visit of the two unearthly knights to the sacrist of Glaston Abbey; which brings to the recollection, the relations of the descent of Castor and Pollux to the aid of the Roman army, and the ignominious driving out of Heliodorus from the Temple of Jerusalem by the miraculous agency of the two vindictive angels.

It is not unlikely, that the favoured monastic, to whom this vision is said to have appeared, might have been a *Scotsman*, as many ecclesiastics of this country were received as permanent inmates of the Abbey of Glaston, and indulged with *corrodies*, (or specific allowances of meat, drink, and clothing, by the abbot. (Hearne, pref. John Glast. p. 53.) The battle of Bannockburne, one of the most brilliant in the annals of Scotland, was fought in the reign of Edward II. A. D. 1314, between Robert de Bruce and the English king. The complete and dismal defeat of Edward obliged him instantly to fly into his own country, loaded with shame and dishonour.

No. 16. *CHARTA ADAMI LE EYR, &c.*

It is difficult, or rather impossible, for the Romish Church to exonerate herself from the charge brought against her, by the learned, cool, and caustic Conyers Middleton, in his celebrated "Letter from Rome," that "all her ceremonies appeared plainly to have been

“copied from PRIMITIVE PAGANISM.” The proofs of it are as manifold as they are notorious, to those who are acquainted with the particulars of her ritual. The worship of images, the use of incense, the holy water, the aspersions with the consecrated element, the offerings at the shrines of saints, the votive tablets, and representations of members of the human frame, on which miraculous cures have been performed; the speaking, weeping, and perspiring images; the processions and canonizations, the miracles and relics, the sanctuaries, gradations of priesthood, and sacerdotal vestments of papacy; are all borrowed from classical antiquity, and as minutely described by the ancient Greek and Roman writers, as if they had been representing the Catholic observances of the present day. The grafting of these pagan rites, indeed, on the christian system, is a fact acknowledged by many of the most esteemed authors of the Romish church. *Aringus* boldly defends the popes for the adoption of such ceremonies into the Catholic ritual, on the principle, that it was necessary, in order to conciliate the esteem, and avoid offending the prejudices, of the converts from heathenism:—“Ac maximi subinde pontifices quamplurima, prima quidem facie dissimulanda duxere, optimum videlicet rati tempore deferendum esse; suadebant quippe haud ullam adversus gentilitios ritus vim, utpote qui mordicus a fidelibus retinebantur, adhibendam esse; neque ullatenus enitendum ut quicquid profanos saperet mores, omnino tollaretur, quinimo quam maxima utendum lenitate, sacrarumque legum exparte intermittendum imperium arbitrantur.” (Rom. Subter. tom. i. l. 1. c. 21.) And Polydore Virgil, after describing the *votive gifts* of the ancients to their temples and altars, not only acknowledges that his *own church* pursued the same practice; but, with a somewhat dangerous incaution, attributes to it the character of *superstition*. (De Invent. Rerum, l. 5. 1.) There is, however, no particular of the Roman Catholic ritual more unequivocal in its descent from paganism, than the custom of *illuminating, with candles and lamps*, their places of worship, images, and altars, on festivals, anniversaries, and other solemn occasions. In the second volume of Hearne’s *Johan. Glas.* p. 358, is an article, entitled, “Consuetudo luminarii seu cereorum, in ecclesia Glastoniensi per sacristam loci, ad diurnum officium exhibendorum,” directing the weight and number of wax tapers and lamps to be lighted within the church, and its chapels, and before their altars, at certain seasons therein specified. Among these directions, are the two following: “De cereo accendendo ante Ymaginem beatæ Mariæ. Hæc sunt festa in quibus, præter consuetudinem, accendi debet cereus medius super trabem,* ante ymaginem beatæ Mariæ. In Circumcisione Domini: In Octavis Purificationis: In

* *Trabes* or *Perticæ*: these were beams, which projected from the back and sides of the altar, ornamented, on the great festivals, with reliquaries of gold and silver, or with uncovered relics themselves. (Du Cange, voc. *Pertica*.) In an ordinance of Abbot Chynnoke, who succeeded Walter de Monyngton, in 1374, we find a direction for the sacrist to provide, on the anniversary of the deceased Walter, “unum cereum unius libræ et dim. in summitate trabis capellæ beatæ Mariæ in singulis missis ibidem arsurum, et per annum sexies renovandum.” He is, also, to find two torches of 23lb. weight, to burn at the high altar, “in elevacione sacramenti,” during every year, on the feasts of Easter-day, and the Assumption of the Virgin. John Glast. p. 276.

“ Octavis Assumpcionis beatæ Mariæ: In Octavis Nativitatis ejusdem—Sciendum etiam
 “ quod multi de prænominatis, qui in ecclesia Glastoniensi requiescunt, singulos cereos
 “ habent, ante locum suæ sepulturæ; videlicet, Edgarus, Brithwold et Brithive, Robertus
 “ in Meridie; Willelmus in Aquilone; Abbates in Capitulo; Edmundus senior in
 “ Aquilone, et Edmundus junior in meridie *ante majus altare.*” It was to maintain,
 annually, lights of this description in the chapel of St. Mary, on her five principal
 feasts; in St. Dunstan’s chapel, on Easter and Christmas days; in the parish church of
 St. John the Baptist, and in the chapel of St. Benignus, throughout the whole year; that
 the charter in the Appendix, to which these remarks refer, was granted; a document that
 immediately suggests the *pagan origin* of this “*consuetudo luminarii,*” either in the ancient
 Egyptian anniversary of the lighting of torches, *καὶ τῇ εορτῇ ἐνομαί κεῖται λυχνόκαιη,*
 Herod. l. ii. 62); or, in the more recent religious observances of the classical Romans:
 “*placueret et lychnuchi pensiles in delubris.* (Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 34. 3.) *Vidi cupidinem*
argenteum cum lampade. (Cic. in Verr. 2.) *Cupidines ii. cum suis lychnuchis et*
lucerna. (Grut. Inscip. 177. 3.) It is but little to the credit of this imposing, but
 unmeaning, branch of the Romish ritual, that it is a practice for which the primitive
 writers of the church severely reprobated the unenlightened pagans. “*They light up*
“ candles to God,” says Lactantius, “*as if he lived in the dark: and do not they deserve*
“ to pass for madmen, who offer lamps to the Author and Giver of light?” (Hospin. de
 Orig. Templor. l. ii. 22. Mid. Let. from Rome, 22.) The “*consuetudo luminarii*” of
 Glaston Abbey commences with a notification that, besides the paschal wax, which amounted
 to one hundred and twenty-one pounds and a half, there were different kinds of wax lights,
 the first of a larger size, viz. of three pounds each; second, for processions, of one pound
 each; third, lights of half a pound weight each; and fourth, those of a less size, weighing a
 quarter of a pound each. (John Glast. 358.) Lights, of half a pound each, (in addition
 to the customary illumination,) were directed to be used “*pro veneratione reliquiarum,*”
 from the first vespers to the second compline, on the following feasts: The feast of St.
 Guthlac, of St. Philip and St. James, of the Invention of the Holy Cross, of St. George, of
 St. Dunstan, of St. Barnabas, of St. Swithen, of the Translation of St. Benedictus, of St.
 Mary Magdalene, of St. Christopher, of St. Pantaleon, of St. Athelwold, of the Inventio
 of St. Stephen, of St. Oswald the King, of St. Lawrence, of St. Thomas the Apostle, of
 St. Stephen, of St. Thomas of Canterbury, of St. David, of St. Winwalber. (Ib. 362.)

No. 17. *EXTRACTS from a TERRIER, &c.*

The MS. from which these extracts are made, presents nothing particularly interest-
 ing, except the notices which are here given to the reader. These, however, are curious;
 as one records the interment of Abbot Nicholas Frome, in 1456; notes the material which

formed his tomb (the blue lias of Shapwick); and points out the spot in which he was buried (the nave of the great church.) And another informs us, to whom the manor of Greynton (a part of the Abbey possessions) was sold, shortly after the dissolution of this religious house, and describes the *form* by which the purchaser obtained possession of his property. The account, also, of the ample, large, and sumptuous abbatial house, built at Weston, by Abbot John Selwood, about 1470, gives a pretty clear idea of the *aula*, or manerial residence, in the fifteenth century. It had its mansion of respectable dimensions, its principal chambers, and chapel, handsomely ornamented with fretted ceilings, (*laquearia*,) and stained glass, (*vitreum*;) its kitchen, proper offices, surrounding walls; its stables, grange, orchard, barton, &c.; and an appendage, which was generally attached to monastic mansions of this description—its *pandoxiarium*, or guest-house, for the reception, supply, and repose, of the expected visiter, or accidental traveller. The note, too, which respects Weston is very creditable to the memory of Abbot Richard Bere; who seems to have been a very liberal, judicious, and conscientious man. This last feature of his character is evident, in the pains which he bestowed (*instante elaboravit*) to provide a due supply for the spiritual wants of the scattered inhabitants of the wide manor of Weston, by dividing it into the portions of Weston, Othery, and Middlesowey, and appointing a separate perpetual vicar to the cure of each of the three distinct vicarages,

No. 18. *ACKNOWLEDGEMENT of SUPREMACY.*

Henry had already been acknowledged the *supreme head* of the Church of England by the prelates and clergy in their convocation, in the twenty-second year of his reign, (Burn. Ref. vol. i. p. 144 and 239;) but, on the 27th March, 1534, a formal submission, on their part, was sent by them to Parliament, acknowledging “that all convocations had “been, and ought to be, assembled by the king’s writ; and promising, in *verbo sacerdotii*, “that they would never make, nor execute, any new canons, or constitutions, without “the royal assent to them.” The separation from Rome (continues Burnet) was made in the former session of Parliament; but the king’s supremacy was not yet fully settled. This was reserved for the next session, that sate in November, from the 3d of that month, to the 18th of December. The first confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the clergy, that “the king was the *supreme head, on earth, of the Church of England*, “which was to be annexed to his other titles. It was also enacted, that the king and his “heirs and successors, should have power to *visit and reform* all heresies, errors, and other “abuses, which, in the spiritual jurisdiction, ought to be reformed.” (Ib. 157.) The operation of the Act took place early in 1535. “After the Parliament had ended their “business,” (observes the Historian of the Reformation,) “the bishops did all renew “their alliance” (allegiance) “to the king, and swore, also, to maintain his supremacy

“ in ecclesiastical matters ; acknowledging that he was the supreme head of the Church of England, though there was yet no law for the requiring of any such oath. The first act of the king’s supremacy was, his naming Cromwell his vicar-general, and general visiter of all the monasteries and privileged places.”—“ The next thing that was every where laboured with great industry was, to engage all the rest of the clergy, chiefly the regu- lars, to own the king’s supremacy ; to which they generally submitted.” (Hist. Reform. vol. i. page 181, 182.)

In the October following this acknowledgment of the king’s supremacy, “ the great visitation of monasteries” began ; which was committed to several commissioners, Leighton, Leigh, and London, and many others. (Ib. 183.) “ Their power” (as Fuller observes) “ was partly *inquisitive*, to search into the former lives of *religious* persons ; partly *impositive*, to enjoin them stricter rules for their future conduct. The eighty-six articles (of inquiry) did so vex them, (the monastics,) that many who had hopes of other subsistence, cast off the cowls and veils, and quitted their convents. These visiters were succeeded with a second sort of public agents, but (working in a more *private manner*) encouraging the members in monasteries to accuse each other. Whereupon many, being accused, did recriminate their accusers, &c. Others being conscious to themselves, prevented accusing by confession.” A general intimation was given to all houses, how acceptable a surrender would be to the king ; and many resigned. (Church Hist. p. 564, et infra.)

It is very creditable to the memory of Richard Whiting, and his monks, that they were neither to be frightened nor cajoled into an act which their conscience condemned. The abbot’s refusal to surrender, indeed, cost him his life, in 1539 ; but it has stamped his name with imperishable respectability.

It is curious to observe, how the opinions of a writer are frequently, though, perhaps, unconsciously to himself, modified by the nature of the subject of which he treats ; how he *lends* himself and his principles to a favourite topic ; and blinds his moral sense to the real character of persons and actions, when he is advocating the results effected by the one or the other of them. Burnet was an honest, a liberal, and a humane man ; but, when speaking of Henry VIII., (one of the most ferocious and filthy tyrants that ever lived,) ardent in the cause of the Reformation, (as he well might be,) he not only loses sight of the peculiar atrocity of the king’s general conduct, but seems to consider him, in his most cruel and flagitious acts, rather as an object of commiseration than abhorrence. Having told us, “ it does not appear that cruelty was natural to him ;” he afterwards remarks, “ but, though he always proceeded upon *law*,” (proh pudor !) “ yet, in the last ten years of his life, many instances of severity occurred, for which he is rather to be *pitied*, than either imitated, or *sharply censured*.” (Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 181.)

No. 19. *VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS, &c.*

In pursuance of the powers vested in Henry, by the Act for establishing the king's supremacy, "instructions" were drawn up, and signed by the king's own hand, for the purpose of ascertaining what were the possessions of the church, and what the value might be of that rich prize, which he already grasped at in anticipation—*monastic property*. These

"Instructions" were "devysed by the kinges highness, &c." to obtain "the hole, true, and juste yerely values of all the possessions, maners, londes, teñts," (tenements,) hereditaments, and "pffets," (profits,) "as well spūall" (spiritual) "as temporall, appertenyng to any maner of dignitie, monasterie, priorie, church collegiate, church conventual, psonage, vicariage, chauntrie, fre chapell, or other dignitie, office, or p̄motion," (promotion,) "spiritual, within the realme, Wales, Cales, Berwyk, and Marches of the same, as well in places exempt as not exempt; which his pleasure is, that such as shall have charge by his comyssion to survey the same, shall effectually, with all uprightness and dexteritie, folowe, and ensue, as they will answer unto his Magestie at their p̄ells" (perils). *Valor Ecc. temp. Hen. VIII; auctoritate regia institute. Parliamen. Records.*

The instructions were rigidly executed; and a strict inquiry instituted, at the same time, into the lives, manners, pursuits, and conversation, of the monastics; the tone of their loyalty; their sentiments on the king's supremacy; their superstitious cheats, gross impositions, and false miracles. The results of their inquiries were transmitted, as quickly as obtained, to the lord vicegerent Cromwell. The effect of this unwelcome scrutiny may be imagined. The religious houses were thrown into utter consternation, and immediately foresaw their approaching and final ruin. Wisely, however, determining to make the best of a bad bargain; conscious, perhaps, in some instances, of demerit; and, in more, of having secretly originated and inflamed the rebellions and insurrections which had harassed the kingdom for the preceding two years; and allured by the promises of pensions, and other advantages, held out to the abbots, monks, and priors, who should voluntarily surrender; the great majority of the religious houses came speedily into the terms proposed by the king; and before the conclusion of the year 1540, the stupendous fabric of *English monachism*, which, for full six centuries, had been alternately admired, feared, envied, or hated, sunk into the dust; never, we fervently pray, to rise again!

No. 20. *The CERTIFICATE, &c.*

This is the last of the public instruments, which we find connected with the Abbey of Glaston. Shortly after this return, grants, sales, and dilapidations commenced its pro-

perty was divided; and its august buildings given over to the fury of the spoiler. What the exact value of this property might have been at the time of the dissolution, and what the amount of the Abbey's annual income would be, if estimated at the present rate of money, it is very difficult to determine; since the totals of the various returns of its possessions, which were handed in to the crown during the progress of the Reformation, are all at variance with each other; and whatever the *real* total might have been, we have no data so comprehensive, as to fix, with certainty, the proportion which it would bear to modern landed or personal property. With respect to the annual value of the temporalities and spiritualities of the Abbey, we have the following statements: Speed, £3508:13s.:4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; Dugdale, £3331:7s.:4d. ob.; and the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, (No. 19, in our Appendix,) £3508:13s.:4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Independently, however, of these estimates, there is another survey of the Glaston Abbey possessions, still more inexplicable, in the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Hen. VIII. auctoritate regia institutus*," printed by Government in 1810, vol. i. p. 142 to 148. The title of this is as follows:

"Anno R. R. Henrici VIII. xxvii^o. Et tempore Dñi Riçi Whityng nūc abbatis ibm monasterium Glaston. declaraco. annui et integri valoris tam oim terr. et tentor. ac al possessionū. tempālium qm̄ exit. oim spūal. eidm̄ monastio spectan. viz. ut taxat. fuer. exāiatu p. Reerendu. in Xto. prem et dūm Johēm Clerke epm̄ Bathon. et Wellen. et Willm̄ Storton militem cū al. commissioner. Dñi reg. ut sup^a et pūt infer^s. liquet."

This account reaches to p. 147; and the total appears to be only £331:2s.:9d. Then follows another short schedule, beginning with the words,

"Jurisdīco Glaston. Valor Beneficor. et Cant. ut postea pticlr. pz;"

the total of which is, £122:6s.:8d. q. making, with the other amount, the small annual sum of £453:9s.:5d. Why there should be these differences in the respective totals, it is impossible to say with any exactness; though, perhaps, they may be, in some degree, accounted for, from concealment of property at one time, and detection of it at another; from the intermediate alienation or acquisition of lands; from the falling in or re-granting of leases; or from the haste, carelessness, or mistakes, of those who were employed in taking the different valuations. But, by whatever means these discrepancies happened, or however they may be endeavoured to be accounted for, it would appear, that we may fairly allow to the Abbey of Glaston, at the time of the dissolution, a clear yearly income of £3300. The question, then, is, how much would this sum amount to in modern money? Some have supposed, that it might be multiplied by twenty, others by fourteen, and others only by seven, in order to arrive at the probable total. A writer, however, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lx. p. 26, has, we think, given a hint, which may direct us to a result more satisfactory than these general calculations. He says, "a tolerable idea of the vast wealth of this famous and splendid monastery (Glaston) may be obtained from the following circumstance: Grose relates, that the

“ Abbey of Ramsay, in Huntingdonshire, was possessed of £7000 per annum ; yet, at
 “ the dissolution, the annual revenues of this house were estimated at but £1983 ; which
 “ shews *how much the estates of religious houses were underrated in these valuations.*
 “ Now, supposing all to be rated proportionably low, the income of Glastonbury, £3515,
 “ must have been upwards of £12,000 per annum.” Admitting the principle of this
 gentleman’s calculation to be correct, all that remains to be done is, to compare the pre-
 sent prices of the great articles of life with their respective costs in the time of Henry
 VIII. and then multiply the sum of £12,000 by the number of times which the present
 prices exceed those of the middle of the sixteenth century, and the amount will give
 us, nearly, the income of Glaston Abbey at the time of its dissolution.

In 1535, a quarter of oats, 2s. : 8d. In 1537, ditto, 3s. : 4d. ; ditto beans, 6s. : 8d.
 In 1551, a quarter of wheat, 8s. ; ditto malt, 5s. : 1d. ; ditto oats, 8s. ; a load of straw,
 5s. In 1552, a quarter of barley, 5s. ; a tun of wine, £5. In 1554, a quarter of wheat,
 8s. ; ditto rye, 6s. : 8d. ; ditto malt, 5s. In 1557, a quarter of wheat, 8s. ; ditto of
 oats, 10s. After harvest in London : a quarter of wheat, 5s. ; ditto malt, 6s. : 8d. ;
 ditto rye, 3s. : 4d. In the country : ditto wheat, 4s. ; ditto malt, 4s. : 8d. ; ditto rye,
 2s. : 8d. ; and a penny loaf weighed 56 ounces.

In 1533, it was enacted, that butchers should sell their beef and mutton *by weight*—
 beef for an halfpenny per pound, and mutton for three farthings ; which being devised for
 the great commodity of the realm, (as it was thought,) hath proved far otherwise ; for at
 that time, 1533, fat oxen were sold for 26s. : 8d. ; fat wethers, for 3s. : 4d., and fat
 calves for the like price ; a fat lamb for 12d. The butchers of London sold one penny
 pieces of beef, for the relief of the poor, every piece two pounds and a half ; sometimes
 three pounds for one penny ; and thirteen, sometimes fourteen, of these pieces for 12d.
 Mutton eightpence the quarter, and an hundred weight of beef for 4s. : 8d. (Fleet-
 wood’s Chron. pretiosum, page 114—116.) On comparing the above prices with the cost,
 in the present day, of the articles to which they referred, we shall find that one penny,
 in 1533, would purchase about sixteen times as much of any one of these commodities as
 the same sum would procure in 1826 ; and we may, therefore, fairly estimate, we think,
 the £12,000 in Henry VIIIth’s time, available to the purposes of an expenditure of
 sixteen times that sum in modern times ; and, consequently, that the income of Glaston
 Abbey, at the period of its dissolution, was equal in value to an income of £192,000 in
 the year in which we live.

The wealth, however, of Glaston Abbey, did not consist entirely in its extensive landed
 possessions ; its numerous manors, granges, advowsons, vills, fisheries, &c. : its personal
 property, also, was very considerable, in the ornaments of its church, and the contents of
 its treasury ; in rich shrines, precious jewels, gold and silver images, gorgeous habiliments,
 decorated relics, and ready cash. Of all these costly articles, a regular inventory was
 made, by commissioners appointed for that purpose ; and the goods and money themselves,

together with their schedule, delivered to the king, who acknowledged their receipt by his sign manual, at the foot of the paper, in the following characters,

Richard Pollarde

An imperfect manuscript is still preserved, given in the Appendix to the new edition of Mon. Ang. No. 1, containing a particular enumeration of this description of treasure, from several of the dissolved monasteries; and, among the rest, of various items which had been found and seized at Glastonbury. The last-mentioned are as follows; though, as the MS. is mutilated, we may well suppose, that many more articles from the same place appeared in the original return, which are not included in the present document.

"Item: delyvered more unto his Majestie, the same day," (25th May, in the 31st year of his reign,) "of the same stuffe, a *superaltare*, garnished with silver and gilte, called the *greate saphire* of Glasconburye.

"Item: delyvered more unto his Majestie, the same day, of the same stuffe, a *grete pece of an unicorne-horne*, as it is supposed.

"Item: delyvered more unto his Majestie, the same day, of the same stuffe, a pece of "mother of perle, like a shell.

"Item: delyvered more unto his Highnes, the same day, of the same stuffe, eight "branches of faire currall" (coral).

"*Gilte plate*," (i. e. double gilt.)

"Item: delyvered more unto his Majestie, the same day, dyverse parcells of gilte "plate, of suche stuffe as came to his gracys use, from the west parties, weinge ii thou- "sande vi hundred thirtie and eight unces.

"*Parcel gilte*," (i. e. single gilt.)

"Item: delyvered, the same day, unto his Majestie, dyverse parcells of parcell gilte "plate, of the same stuffe, weinge a thousand five hundred unces.

"*White plate*, (silver.)

"Item: delyvered more unto his Majestie, the same day, dyverse parcells of white "plate, of the said stuffe, weinge eight hundred fourtie and foure unces.

"Sum total of all the foresaide parcells of silver, viz. in gilte, and parcell gilte, and "white, extendeth to seven thousande thre hundrith fourtie and one unces and thre qurs.

"Item: delyvered unto the King's Majestie, the xviii day of October, an. xxxi. (regni), "diverse parcells of gilte plate, brought by Richarde Pollarde and Thomas Moile, "esqrs. from the late attaynted monasteries of Glasconbury and Readinge. Sum in unces, "a thousande two hundred fourtie and seven unces, *di*.

"Item: delivered unto his saide Majestie, the same daie, an. predicto, dyvers parcells "of parcel gilte plate, by the saide Richarde Pollarde and Thomas Moile, esqrs. of the

"same stuffe that came frome the monasteries of Glasconbery and Readinge, weinge
"foure hundred fourtie and nyne unces."

Then follow numerous items of silver crosses, gems, beryl cups, goblets of serpentyne garnished, silver basins, silver chalices, silver cruets, a silver ship, ornamented agates, counterfeit precious stones, pearls, jeweled mitres, silver candlesticks, gilt salt-cellars, silver ewers; "a staffe, garnished with silver, called Thomas Bekkett's staffe;" silver patens, sconces, &c. weighing three thousand and forty-eight ounces; the plunder, however, not of Glaston and Reading abbies alone, but of several other religious houses, on which the spoilers had laid their unsparing hands.

The first and second articles, enumerated in the above items, have something of curious and interesting history connected with them. The *superaltare*, it seems, was an immense *sapphire*, encased in silver, and ornamented with a variety of other precious gems; placed, on high and festal days, on the summit of the great altar of the Cathedral church. This had been originally given, among other presents, to St David, by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, when the saint visited that city, in the sixth century. On his return to England, Saint David brought the precious gift to Glaston Abbey, and deposited it in the church; where it was exhibited, among other relics, for a great length of time, to the numerous devotees who visited this hallowed spot.* (John Glas. p. 84, 85.) Tempestuous times, however, occurring in an after age, (probably, at the period of the Danish devastations,) the monks, anxious for the safety of this highly-valued jewel, buried it in one of the portals leading into the church of the blessed Virgin. Here it lay, unknown to all, until the time of Abbot Henry de Blois, in the middle of the twelfth century. He, fortunately, discovered the treasure; and, having re-set and re-decorated it, restored it again to the Abbey church; where, together with the coffer in which it had been presented by the Patriarch to St. David, it remained preserved,

"Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,"

inflaming the piety of the worshippers, till it passed into the immense *pawnbroker's shop* of Henry VIII. (See, also, John Glas. p. 168.)

The second item, "the grete pece of an unicorne's horne, as it is supposed," appears to have been the half of the ivory horn which was deposited on the high altar of St. Mary's church, by King Edgar, in testimony of a grant which he had made to the monks of Glaston Abbey, six hundred years before its dissolution. Of this we have spoken more particularly in our Illustrations of the Articles in the Appendix, No. 5.

That the pillage of these precious memorials of the superstition, or piety, of the votaries and monks was carried on, in the most violent and destructive manner, is suffi-

* The veneration in which the *superaltare* was held, may be estimated from this circumstance: that Pope Innocent VI. granted an indulgence of ten days to every one who made a pilgrimage to it. Index Chartarum John Glast. p. 385.

ently evident, from the above-quoted curious manuscript return ; in which numerous instances occur, of articles, broken, mutilated, and imperfect ; and of charges incurred for their repair and restoration, before they were presented to the king.

No. 21. *SELECTIONS and EXTRACTS from the CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, &c.*

These very curious documents consist of several bundles of the original accounts of the churchwardens of Glastonbury, and upwards of two hundred leases and counterparts, referring to the property of the parish ; the counterparts out-numbering the leases in the proportion of four to one. The oldest dated *counterpart* was executed in 1301 ; the oldest lease in 1321 : but, as there are several of both, *without a date*, and, apparently, in an earlier hand writing, it is reasonable to conclude, that their antiquity is higher than that of the others. The accounts do not follow in regular succession. Those preserved are only a portion of a vast number of rolls, originally containing a consecutive series of *compotus*, from the commencement of this mode of keeping the parish accounts, till the time of James II., when this method was discontinued. The whole are in the custody of Messrs. Prat, solicitors for the parish of St. John the Baptist ; to whose research, care, and indefatigable pains, the parish and the public are exclusively indebted, for the preservation of these curious remains of antiquity. They found them at the bottom of the ancient and curious *fan-chest* in St. John's vestry, mingled with a multitude of old orders of removal, orders of bastardy, notices of vestry, excrements of bats, and every other species of filth ; and, in many cases, melted together, as it were, by the damp, and so firmly adhering to each other, as not to be separated. An honourable zeal, however, for the interest of the parish, and respect for such a singular antiquarian treasure, (aided by sagacity, skill, and consummate patience,) have enabled them to recover, methodize, and render legible, a considerable quantity, both of the accounts and the legal documents ; and a liberal wish to oblige the writer, and gratify the reader, of the present publication, has induced them to furnish the contents of this last article of our Appendix.

AN HISTORY
OF
The Abbey of Glaston;

AND OF THE
TOWN OF GLASTONBURY.

CHAPTER I.

*Traditions. Introduction of Christianity into Britain. Its
Prominence at Glaston.*

It has been somewhere said, with equal justice and elegance,
that "prejudices are only the transitions of error, which have learned
"round the truths they envelope; and that, in expelling them altogether,
"we are sure to cast away something that has a claim to be retained."
The remark may be applied, with the strictest propriety, to *Traditions*:
their nuclei are facts, overclouded, indeed, and almost hidden, beneath
the mass of exaggerations, absurdities, and falsehoods, which ignorance,
or credulity, or superstition, or rivalry, may have heaped upon them;
but, when relieved from this accumulation of unnatural adjuncts, presenting

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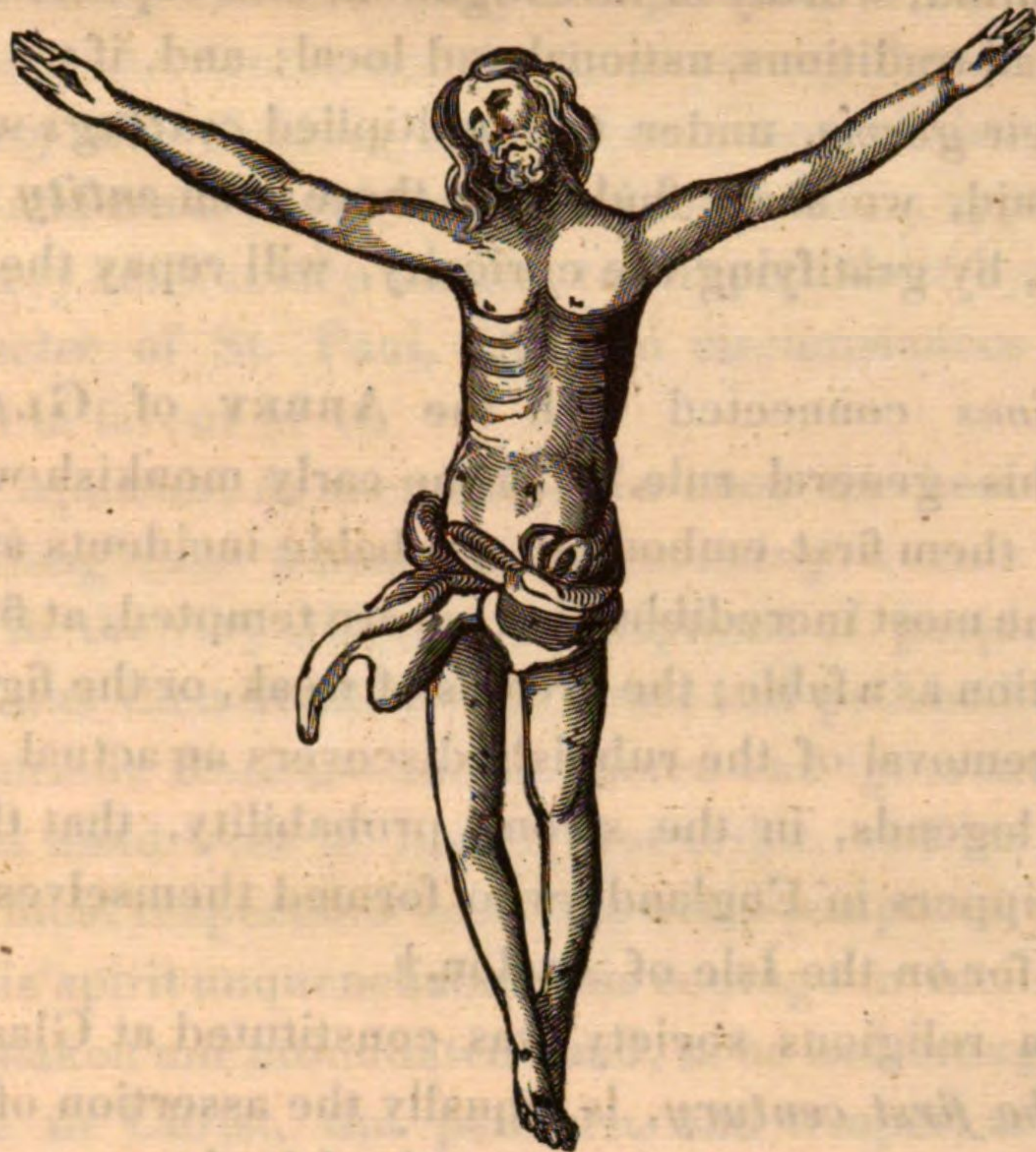
THE ABNEY OF ELASTON

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CHAPTER I.

Traditions. Introduction of Christianity into Britain. Its Promulgation at Glaston.

It has been somewhere said, with equal justness and elegance, that "*prejudices* are only the accretions of error, which have formed "round the truths they envelope; and that, in rejecting them altogether, "we are sure to cast away something that has a claim to be retained."

The remark may be applied, with the strictest propriety, to *traditions*: their *nuclei* are facts; overwhelmed, indeed, and almost hidden, beneath the mass of exaggerations, absurdities, and falsehoods, which ignorance, or credulity, or superstition, or cunning, may have heaped upon them; but, when relieved from this accumulation of unnatural adjuncts, presenting

realities to the mind, worthy of investigation, and capable of proof. Such is the nature of all traditions, national and local; and, if we have perseverance to seek their *germs*, under the multiplied *coatings* with which they have been overlaid, we shall find, that there is an *entity* in the center of them all, which, by gratifying the curiosity, will repay the trouble of the developement.

The *traditions* connected with the ABBEY of GLASTON form no exception to this general rule.* In the early monkish writers, indeed, where we find them first embodied, probable incidents are so mixed up with accounts the most incredible, that we are tempted, at first, to consider the whole narration as a fable; the dreams of weak, or the figments of artful, men: but, the removal of the rubbish discovers an actual *foundation* for their romantic legends, in the strong probability, that the first body of christian worshippers in England, who formed themselves into a church, is to be looked for on the Isle of Avalon.†

That such a religious society was constituted at Glaston, *before the conclusion of the first century*, is equally the assertion of *tradition*. It has, indeed, in a similar way, been involved in the grossest fictions, but there is reasonable cause to believe, that the *naked fact* is far from dubious; and that this sacred spot was illuminated by the glorious sun of revelation, soon after the Roman conquests, under Claudius, had offered an opportunity to the first preachers of the gospel, to promulgate its glad tidings to the inhabitants of Britain.‡

* Mr. Eyston, in our Appendix, No. 1, gives so ample, clear, and correct an account of these *traditions*, that we feel relieved from the necessity of particularly noticing them. His industry, indeed, has collected together so much of the recorded history of the Abbey, and we have anticipated so many particulars connected with it, in our *explanations* and *remarks*, that little is left for us to do, (as far as concerns the monastery,) than to touch upon a few of its more remarkable domestic occurrences; and to bring forward, more prominently than the above mentioned writer has done, the characters of two or three of its abbots, deserving, either from their celebrity or virtue, something better than a mere cursory mention.

† Est ergo ecclesia illa omnium quas quidem noverim in Anglia, vetustissima, et inde cognomen sortita. Wilkin. Con. vol. iv. p. 696.

‡ There cannot be a doubt of the presence of the Romans at Glastonbury, during their earliest transactions in Britain; and of their occupation of it as long as they continued in our country. It lay

That our country was thus early evangelized, is admitted by a crowd of our most learned writers; nor do those among them, who consider the *Great Apostle of the Gentiles* as the instrument of this happy communication of light and truth to our benighted forefathers, appear to want arguments, of a very satisfactory nature, to support their hypothesis.

The *character* of St. Paul, and the circumstances of his life, are certainly much in favour of it.

Of all the Apostles, *he* seems to have been the best qualified for the difficult and dangerous labour of enunciating a new system of faith and practice, to the very different descriptions of people, into which the gentile world was then divided—the acute and polished Greek—the civilized and luxurious Roman—and the fierce and ignorant Barbarian: for, the gifts of his mind were of the highest order, and his literary acquirements of the most respectable cast: his zeal, tempered with knowledge, was ardent; his spirit unquenchable; his courage invincible; his fortitude neither to be shaken nor intimidated: and, as he had brought every thought into obedience to Christ, the patience, and temper, and mildness, that marked all his actions, and seasoned all his words, gave him the mastery over the most violent, rugged, and untoward dispositions.

Of the happy application of these rare talents, to the performance of the high duties to which he had been called, we have an interesting and improving account in the Acts of the Apostles, and in St. Paul's own inestimable Epistles; and they both evince, how admirably adapted this glorious

in the direct line of their march, while pursuing their military operations in South Britain, from the time of Claudius downwards; and in that of their trade in metals, from Cornwall and Devonshire, to the more south-eastern ports, as long as they worked the mines of the West of England. Various traces of Roman roads, also, may be detected in different places, all pointing to the spot; and many Roman coins have been turned up, either on the Abbey inclosure, or at the foot of the Tor Hill. A fine Vespasian, of the latter locality, is in the possession of Thomas Roach, esq; of Glastonbury: we have an Adrian in our collection; and the Rev. J. Skinner, J. F. Reeves, esq; and other gentlemen possess many other coins, indisputably Roman, the product of the district in question. We do not, however, venture to assert, with Whitaker, that the Romans had a regular station at Glastonbury; but we think it is self-evident, that, provident and sagacious as they confessedly were, they would never have suffered so strong a feature of country as the Tor Hill to be in the possession of any one, save their own legionary soldiers; or left it without a castellum, or castra æstiva, to overawe the neighbouring country, and protect the mingled Roman and British population that dwelt at its foot.

man was, for his peculiar task, *the conversion of the Gentiles*. But, both accounts are silent, as to the last seven or eight years of the Apostle's life; and none of his transactions are a subject of scriptural record, after his first confinement at Rome, in the reign of the Emperor Nero.

How, then, did St. Paul occupy the period which elapsed between his liberation from imprisonment and his return to the capital of the world, to receive the crown of martyrdom, in the fourteenth year of Nero? Assuredly, he did not slumber in inaction, or relax in the performance of his great Master's work; but resuming his efforts, with renewed zeal, and strengthened spirit, again labouring, "in season and out of season," and "forgetting" "those things which were behind, and reaching forward unto those things" "which were before, he still pressed toward the mark for the high calling" "of God in Christ Jesus."

But, taking for granted this renewal of the Apostle's indefatigable exertions in the cause of the gospel, another question naturally presents itself to the mind—*where* would he re-open his sacred commission; to what quarter of the world would he direct his steps, for the blessed purpose of enlightening those "who sat in darkness and the shadow of death," and bringing them to the knowledge of the Lord? Upon the satisfactory answer to this question, depend the *probability* of St. Paul's preaching in Britain, and the *likelihood* of the reception of the gospel at Glaston, as early as the close of the first century.

That St. Paul did *not* return to the East, on his liberation at Rome, seems clear, from many reasons. He had already been abundant in his labours in that quarter; had planted the gospel in various parts; and settled christian churches in divers places. *This*, too, was the theatre on which his numerous fellow labourers in the vineyard were carrying on their beneficent work, with equal zeal and success; and no "door" was now open to him *there*, for the fulfilling of that specific ministry, to which he had been specially appointed—the salvation of those who had hitherto never heard of Christ.

Independently, however, of this argument, it may be fairly implied, we think, from the *Apostle's own language*, that, from the period when he was conveyed as a prisoner to Rome, in consequence of his having appealed

to Cæsar, to the time of his death, the regions of the East were not again gladdened by his presence. In the beautiful and affecting account of his farewell meeting with the elders of the church of Ephesus at Miletus, after having reminded them, in a brief, but pregnant, sketch, of his zeal, humility, trials, and integrity, in preaching the gospel in Asia, and, more especially, among themselves; he adverts to his purpose of going to Jerusalem; confesses his conviction of its being a destination of the utmost jeopardy, though he *knows not* the forms of danger by which he is to be assailed; and introduces his last oral injunctions and advice to them, in these words of solemn pathos—"And now behold! *I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.*"* He does not express himself with doubt and hesitation, as he had just before done with respect to his impending trial at Jerusalem; but, positively and decidedly. He solemnly declares his final separation from them, from that time forth, as a *certain fact*, determined by the will of God, and, as it should seem, communicated to his own mind by the Holy Spirit.

If, then, the Apostle saw the Ephesian elders *no more* after his departure from Miletus, it is self evident that, for the last eight years of his eventful and laborious life, he *never* could have been again in *Asia*, because, such was the mutual attachment between him and his Ephesian converts, (as is manifest, both from the history in the Acts, and from St. Paul's Epistle to them from Rome,) that it appears to be almost impossible, he should have been in their neighbourhood, without renewing his personal intercourse with such dear disciples; to witness their proficiency in faith and grace; and to encourage, confirm, and establish them in well doing, by a renewed exhibition to them of his own holy example.

Concluding, therefore, that St. Paul did *not* return into Asia, between his imprisonment and death, it seems reasonable to infer, that he devoted his labours, for the remainder of his life, to the *western* parts of the then known world, and included *Britain* within the sphere of his preaching. Evidence is not wanting to prove the truth of so interesting an hypothesis.

* There are the best grounds to interpret this expression *generally*, as referring to the *whole* eastern quarter of the world.

CLEMENS ROMANUS, who was contemporary with the Apostle, expressly tells us, that he preached righteousness through the whole world ; and in so doing, went ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖμα τῆς Δύσεως, to the utmost bounds of the west, implying (as Stillingfleet has sufficiently proved) the *British seas and islands*.*

JEROME, in the fourth century, an illustrious christian writer, delivers it as a point of ecclesiastical history, “ that St. Paul having been in “ Spain, went from one ocean to another ; and that his diligence in “ preaching extended as far as the earth itself ;” and observes, in another place, that, “ after his imprisonment,” he “ preached the gospel in the “ western parts ;” by which, says Stillingfleet, as before, the *British islands* were especially understood.†

And, finally, THEODORET, in the fifth century, profound in ecclesiastical antiquities and church history, says, that “ St. Paul, after his “ release at Rome, went to Spain, and from thence carried the light of “ the gospel to *other nations* ;” an expression, which (when coupled with another passage, wherein he particularly mentions the *Britons* as converted by the Apostles) seems to admit of no other interpretation than the *British islands*.‡

But, to bring the argument in nearer contact with the subject of our History, it is a circumstance of strong probability, that, if St. Paul were the harbinger of the glad tidings of the gospel to the Britons, he would first deliver them to the inhabitants of the district, with which we are at present more immediately engaged.

The southern parts of Britain had been reduced into the form of a province before the year of our Lord 63;|| and not long after this period,

* Orig. Britan. p. 38. Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. p. 8. Eusebius Pamphilus, in the fourth century, a man of immense erudition and equal industry, gives it as a fact, that some of the Apostles passed over the ocean to those *which are called the British Isles*. Demon. Evan. l. iii. c. 7, p. 113. Stillingfleet has evinced, that St. Paul would be the apostle who undertook this mission.

† Hieron. in Amos, c. 5 ; et de Scrip. Eccles.

‡ Theod. tom. iv. Serm. ix. p. 610. In 2 Epist. ad Tim. iv. 17. In Psal. cxvi. p. 870.

|| This is clear from Tacitus ; who tells us, this was effected, as to the *nearest* part of the island, when Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula were governors here : and between them and Suetonius Paulinus were Didius Gallus and Veranius. (Vit. Agric. c. 14 ; Sueton. in Vesp. c. 4.)

the neighbourhood of Glaston was both protected and awed (if we may admit the opinion of a learned friend, and the proofs by which he supports it*) by one of the most powerful Roman settlements in our country. The superior discipline and arms of the invaders had finally prevailed; the tumults of war subsided; the pursuits of peace had begun to engage attention; and the arts of civilization, imparted by the politic conqueror, were gradually diffusing themselves among the softened and improving Britons. The ground, in short, was well prepared for the seed of the gospel; and there needed only an able sower, to educe from it a rich harvest of christian faith. That the Apostle of the Gentiles should avail himself of such a goodly prospect, we cannot but believe; and, as there seems to have been a particular facility afforded to his exertions in the south-west of Britain, by the presence of some christians among the Roman legionaries in that quarter,† we may (without incurring the charge of presumptuous or absurd speculation) consider it as highly probable, not only that St. Paul, at some period between the fifth and fourteenth

* We allude to the opinion of our excellent friend, the Reverend John Skinner; who boldly removes the Camalodunum of Tacitus from its long acknowledged locality, to the site of his own rectory, at Camerton, in Somerset. The proofs by which he establishes the truth, or, at least, the strong probability, of his hypothesis, may be reduced to the following heads; upon which we shall not dilate, as it is the intention of this diligent antiquary to submit them himself to the public in a more ample form.

First proof: The affinity of the names between Camerton and Camalodunum, and the agreement of the local circumstances of the former with those of the latter, as described by the historian.

Second: The agreement between the two places, as to general situation and country.

Third: The coincidence of the Roman settlement at Camalodunum and that at Camerton being equally without regular lines or fortifications.

Fourth: The circumstance of Camerton having in its neighbourhood a village called Temple-Cloud, which coincides with the *temple* dedicated to the Emperor *Claudius*, at Camalodunum, the *Templum Claudii*.

Fifth: The distance of Camerton from Mona (about two hundred miles) accords perfectly well with the statement of Pliny, as to the distance between Camalodunum and that island; whereas the spot hitherto considered as the site of this Roman station does *not* agree with Pliny's account.

These proofs are very much strengthened by the Roman and Roman-British products of Camerton, and its immediate vicinity; by more or less perfect remains of villas, baths, and crypto-porticoes; fragments of vessels of various forms, and of different degrees of skill in their manufacture; numerous implements of ornament and use; and between two and three thousand coins, from the earliest Cæsar, to the lowest of the British usurpers of the purple.

† Stillingfleet, ut sup. 44, 45. Rapin i. 28.

years of Nero, preached the gospel in Britain, but that (partially confirming the truth of the *traditions* which have occasioned this discussion) he actually unfolded, to the Gentile inhabitants of the vicinity of Glaston, the saving truths of that religion, so strikingly portrayed in the glowing language of a vigorous writer :

“ A religion that drew aside the curtain of heathen ignorance, and
 “ laid open to the view the genuine nature of God, the genuine nature
 “ of man, and the duties and rewards resulting from both. It placed a
 “ true and real Divinity at the head of creation ; a Nature, eternal in dura-
 “ tion, unlimited in power, and unconfined by space ; an Intelligence,
 “ unerringly wise, and unweariedly provident ; and a Will, infinitely just,
 “ unspeakably kind, and inconceivably pure. And it represented man
 “ to have been once exactly fitted to his sphere of action—all moral har-
 “ mony within, and all natural order without ; the central point of this
 “ lower creation, and a probationer for a happy eternity in a higher. It
 “ then reversed the glass ; and shewed him no longer moving in the orbit
 “ of duty, and receiving light and warmth from the Divinity, but volun-
 “ tarily stooping to sin, and necessarily subjected to wretchedness—his
 “ body diseased, his understanding darkened, and the little empire of
 “ his passions and appetites all risen in rebellion against his reason. It
 “ found his mind perplexed with doubts, and his soul distracted with
 “ fears ; conscious of weaknesses, that required the assistance of some
 “ kind intercession ; and sensible of guilt, that needed the aid of some
 “ friendly atonement : but vainly casting a wistful eye for one and the
 “ other, through all the compass of created nature ; sinking, therefore,
 “ in melancholy under the weight of sin, and shuddering with horror at
 “ the world unknown. And it displayed this kind intercessor, it pointed
 “ out this benevolent atoner, to the eye of despairing man : One fully
 “ qualified to mediate, from the purity of his will ; and One absolutely
 “ enabled to atone, from the dignity of his nature. A man interceding
 “ for the ruined manhood, and a God appeasing the offended Godhead ;
 “ a friend descending from the throne of Heaven, and a Saviour conduct-
 “ ing us to the happiness of it.”*

* Whitaker Hist. Man. ii. p. 186: edit. Oct. 1773.

Such was the Christian faith, delivered and established, in the first instance, at Glaston; *not* through the medium of ascetics, or by the delegates of Popes, but (if our argument be admissible) by the inspired lips of a holy Apostle. As yet, neither obscured nor corrupted, it did *not* assume to annihilate the passions and affections of man's compounded nature; but, duly to regulate the one, and give a proper direction to the other: *not* to withdraw him from the society of his fellow-creatures; or to release him from the offices and charities of mingled life; or to impose upon him the senseless obligation of a perpetual, unprofitable abstraction: but, to make him unwearied in well doing, in the world wherein God has placed him; to call every amiable feeling, worthy principle, and latent germ of good within him, into vigorous, benevolent action; to lead him to the knowledge and fulfilment of the multiplied reciprocal duties of his mortal state; and to impress upon his soul, with a force that should animate as well as convince, the great eternal truth—that no life can be pleasing to God, which is not useful to man.*

* The Monkish and Roman Catholic writers, from the earliest to the latest, have striven hard to establish it as a fact, that Britain was evangelized through the medium of one of the popes. See Capgrave, Alford, Reyner, Dodd, Milner, Lingard, &c. The *writings* of the first of these authors, poor John Capgrave, (who was an Augustine monk at Canterbury in the fourteenth century,) have not been treated with the most profound respect, in consequence of this and other false assertions. “Arviragus” (says Dr. Musgrave, in his *Antiq. Belg. Brit.*) “hoc tempore floruit, qui tamen cœnobii Glastenburiensis conditor (quod inepte voluit, in *cacatis chartis*, egregius ille fabulator Capgravius) nequaquam est habendus.” Such, however, are the vicissitudes in the value of books, that these *cacatæ chartæ* are now almost *chartæ aureæ*, from the immense price of Capgrave's work; which, in many respects, is extremely valuable; as it contains the lives of some Saxon saints, which, if not preserved in it, would have totally perished.

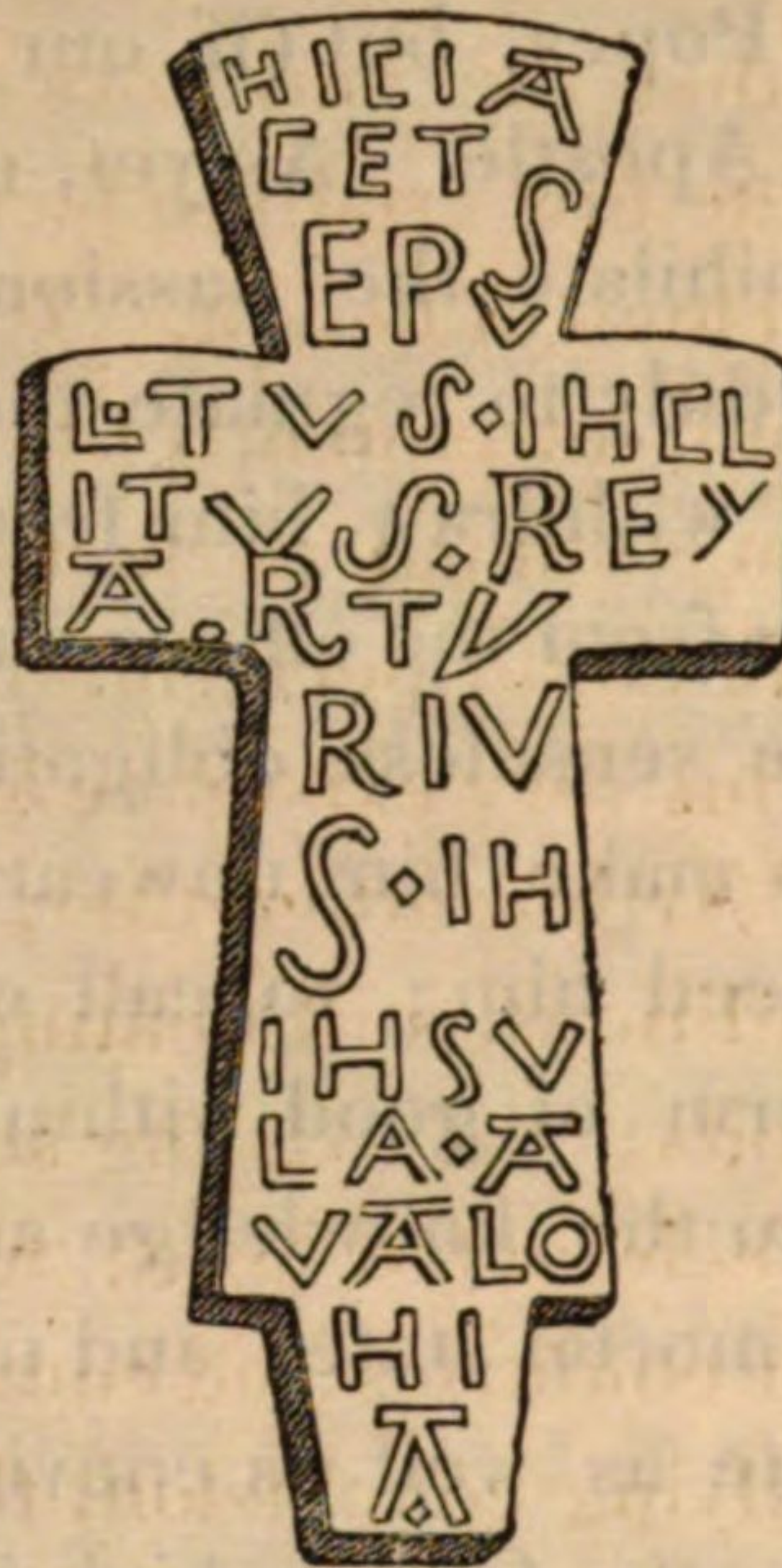
Spenser alludes to these legendary accounts, of the introduction of christianity into Britain, in his “Fairy Queen:”

“Good Lucius,
 “That first received christianitie,
 “The sacred pledge of Christ's evangelie;
 “Yet true it is, that long before that day,
 “Hither came Joseph of Arimathie,
 “Who brought with him the holy grayle, (Christ's blood,) they say,
 “And preacht the truth; but since it greatly did decay.”

Book ii. 10, 53.



A



B

CHAPTER II.

*Arthur. Warton's Poem. A Miracle connected with Arthur.
A Convent at Glaston.*

THERE is no character of British story more familiar to our knowledge, or interesting to our minds, than the renowned ARTHUR. Innumerable associations, indeed, endear him to the recollection of Englishmen: our childhood has been delighted with the tales of his matchless deeds, his demolition of giants, and triumphs over enchanters; with the splendour of his court, and revelry of his round table; and taste, in after life, adverts, with frequent and always renewed pleasure, to

“ Uther's son,
“ Begirt with British and Armoric knights,”

as the hero of the "Fairy Queen," and the subject on which Milton ("long-choosing") had once meditated to "build the lofty rhyme."*

It is very unfortunate, however, for the clear fame of this morning-star of chivalry, that the narrators of his deeds have miserably obscured it, by involving the few credible facts, connected with his name, in an almost impenetrable cloud of fiction. It may be truly said, indeed, that his panegyrists (as is not infrequently the case) have undone him; and, in endowing him with super-human perfections, and attributing to him achievements more than man could perform, have not only made his legend ridiculous, but rendered his very existence an unsettled problem.† To deny, however, the reality of Arthur altogether, seems to be unwarrantable scepticism. Numerous traditions, still floating over the spots which were the scenes of Arthur's exploits; the existing songs of bards, who were coeval, or nearly so, with this celebrated hero; and some of the earliest chronicles of our own and other countries; all combine to vindicate his identity; and to prevent the mortifying conclusion, that we have, for ages, been lavishing our admiration upon a mere creation of the fancy. It must still, notwithstanding, be confessed, that, with respect even to the most probable accounts of Arthur, there hangs around them a tissue of contradictions and inexplicable circumstances, which requires to be removed, before we can obtain a distinct view of his actual story. By some of those who have narrated his adventures, he is represented as any thing, rather than amiable or endearing—sanguinary, terrible, inexorable: and, by others, gentle, though mighty; as merciful as brave; as courteous as undaunted; as deserving the highest eulogy which can be conferred on mortal—"that God "has not made, since Adam was, the man more perfect than Arthur."‡

* Dicam—

Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude Iögernem,
Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Goriöis arma,
Merlini dolus.

Epist. Damon l. 161.

† Gildas does not mention Arthur: Milton doubted his existence. *Hist. Eng. Kennet. vol. i. p. 34* And Genebrand infers, from Bede, *Arturum magnum nunquam extitisse. Chron. l. 3. ap. Usher, p. 522.*

‡ Brut. G. ab. Arthur 2 W. Archaiol, p. 299. Turner's *Hist. Ang. Sax. vol. i. p. 102.* The ancestry of Arthur entailed virtue on him; for he was descended, in a right line, from Joseph of Arimathea. John Glast. p. 173.

But, independently of these clashing accounts, with regard to his personal qualities, there is a kind of *ubiquity* attributed to him, which it is impossible should have belonged to a British chieftain, in the age in which he lived, and under the circumstances in which he was placed. We find him, in the records of his story, exercising his rule, and following his victories, not only in Wales, and Somerset, and the northern counties of England, but in the plains of Bretagne, the vallies of Sicily, and mountains of Spain; as being here and there and every where, if not at the same moment of time, yet with a celerity that is quite incompatible with the limited powers of human activity. How, then, are these different pictures to be reconciled with each other; and these varying accounts to be harmonized, and reduced to probability? We confess, we see but one method of effecting it; and though it may possibly be considered, by others, rather as severing, than untying, the knot, yet, to ourselves, there appear to be reasons which may well justify such an explication. Our opinion, briefly, is, that *there were more Arthurs than one*; that the denomination was an appellative, and not a proper name; that it designated a personal office or character, rather than an individual; and that, like the Pharaoh of the Egyptians, the Melech of the Assyrians, the Bacchus and Hercules of the Greeks, and the Cæsar of the Romans, the name Arthur was applied, towards the close of British story, to several chieftains, pre-eminent in power or personal qualities, who, either contemporaneously, or in quick succession to each other, threw themselves before the falling fortunes of their countrymen; and, for a time, checked the triumphs, and resisted the encroachments, of the invading Saxons. The notion, we conceive, is not a little strengthened by the derivation of our hero's name. The Celtic word *a-arth* or *oo-arth* (from whence the word *wrath* is obviously descended) implies the ideas of rage, fierceness, unconquerable courage, and those savage virtues, which, in an early or disorganized state of society, are regarded as the most valuable, and as constituting, in those who possess them, the best claim to rank and command.*

* The Welsh Triads themselves acknowledge more Arthurs than one. Cambro-Briton, vol. i. 204. And the very name of the hero's father, *Oo-ther* or *Uther*, is nothing more than a corruption of the common appellative.

No man was better qualified to have sifted and settled the difficulties of Arthur's history than the

That one of these brave defenders of his country, a petty prince of the western parts of Britain, and bearing the distinguishing appellation of Arthur, from his superior warlike qualities, was actively and successfully employed, for a long time, in the counties that bound the Severn to the south, and in the eastern and north-eastern parts of Somerset, we have not the slightest doubt. We readily concede to him, also, the glory of discomfiting the Saxon Cerdic, and slaughtering his followers, at the bloody battle of Mons Badonica, in the immediate neighbourhood of Bath. Nor do we hesitate to give credit to the monkish writers, and Leland, the great vindicator, or rather assertor, of Arthur's fame, when they describe him as visiting Glaston, during his frequent presence in those parts, and as having been deposited in the cemetery of that place, after his fatal conflict with Mordred. All this is probable ; and vouched, as we find it to be, by different authors, and at various times, wears the semblance of authentic history. The account of his last exploit, indeed, the battle above mentioned, and its results, when reduced to their natural proportions, and fixed to their proper localities, cannot be objected to as inconsistent with strong probability. Mordred, the unnatural nephew of Arthur, for some cause not sufficiently ascertained, had united himself with the Saxons in arms against his uncle ; and landed in the south of Devon, to attack him, as it should seem, in the heart of his territories. He found Arthur, however, too well prepared, and too powerful, to be openly assaulted ; and prudence suggested to Mordred an immediate retreat, rather than an unequal combat. The rebel, and his allies, accordingly, turned their hasty steps towards the Severn Sea, and the north-east of Somerset, with the intention, no doubt, of reaching and possessing themselves of the strongest place belonging to Arthur in that county, Camlan, Cameleton, or Camerton. But, the vindictive pursuer was close on the footsteps of his degenerate nephew, and ere he could effect his treacherous purpose, the battle joined on the field of Camlan: it was furious and bloody, but terminated in favour of the cause of virtue and honour. Mordred fell in the fight, and Arthur received

late curiously-learned Mr. Ritson. He had made considerable collections for this purpose, which (miserabile dictu!) he destroyed, in one of the paroxysms of that unhappy malady, by which he was occasionally afflicted.

his mortal wound; but that his forces were triumphant appears to be certain, from the orderly ceremonial of the deceased hero's interment; for, had the issue of the battle been unfavourable to his army, neither leisure nor opportunity would have been found for his regular funeral, nor for a march, with his remains, of fourteen or fifteen miles, across the country, to the church of Glaston, where they were deposited.*

No hero of problematical existence, or undefined character, has ever enjoyed so much posthumous fame as the British Arthur. Poets and historians are equally his eulogists. Fancy has strewn her flowers over his tomb, and learning has dedicated many and many a laborious page to his honour; but, perhaps, the fairest chaplet that adorns his memory, has been woven by the imagination of a bard of comparatively modern times; gifted far above his fellows with genius, fancy, and taste; and possessing, in rare combination, the recondite knowledge of the profound antiquary, with the elegant acquirements of the accomplished classical scholar.†

"The Grave of King Arthur.

"STATELY the feast, and high the cheer;
 "Girt with many an armed peer,
 "And canopied with golden pall,
 "Amid Kilgarran's* castle hall,
 "Sublime in formidable state,
 "And warlike splendour, Henry sate;

* If the Arthur we have described were really buried at Glaston, (and we can scarcely resist the numerous concurrent testimonies in favour of the fact,) the circumstance will add probability to the opinion of his last battle having been fought at Camerton, rather than in Cornwall. For it is quite irrational to suppose, that, according to the monkish accounts, his body should have been taken from the field of slaughter to the coast; put on board a vessel; brought to Bridgewater bay; debarked there; and then carried fifteen or twenty miles to the place of interment. All this, however, must have been done, had he fallen in Cornwall, and been buried at Glaston.

† Warton's Poems, London, 1791, p. 93.

"* The castle of Kilgarran, where this discovery is supposed to have been made, now a romantic ruin, stands on a rock, descending to the river Teive, in Pembrokeshire; and was built by Roger de Montgomery, who led the van of the Normans at Hastings."

" Prepar'd to stain the briny flood
 " Of Shannon's lakes with rebel blood.

" Illumining the vaulted roof,
 " A thousand torches flam'd aloof:
 " From massy cups, with golden gleam,
 " Sparkled the red Metheglin's stream:
 " To grace the gorgeous festival,
 " Along the lofty-window'd hall,
 " The storied tapestry was hung:
 " With minstrelsy the rafters rung,
 " Of harps, that with reflected light
 " From the proud gallery glitter'd bright;
 " While gifted bards, a rival throng,
 " (From distant Mona, nurse of song,
 " From Teivi, fring'd with umbrage brown,
 " From Elvy's vale, and Cader's crown,
 " From many a shaggy precipice,
 " That shades Ierne's hoarse abyss,
 " And many a sunless solitude,
 " Of Radnor's inmost mountains rude,)
 " To crown the banquet's solemn close,
 " Themes of British glory chose,
 " And to the strings of various chime,
 " Attemper'd thus the fabling rhyme:

" 'O'er Cornwall's cliffs the tempest roar'd,
 " High the screaming seamew soar'd;
 " On Tintagel's† topmost tower
 " Darksome fell the sleety shower;
 " Round the rough castle shrilly sung
 " The whirling blast, and wildly flung
 " On each tall rampart's thundering side
 " The surges of the trembling tide;
 " When Arthur ranged his red-cross ranks
 " On conscious Camlan's crimson'd banks,
 " By Mordred's faithless guile decreed
 " Beneath a Saxon spear to bleed!
 " Yet in vain a Paynim foe
 " Arm'd with fate the mighty blow;
 " For when he fell, an elfin queen,
 " All in secret, and unseen,

" † Tintagel or Tintadgel Castle, near Bossiney, on the northern coast of Cornwall, where King Arthur is said to have
 " been born, and to have chiefly resided. Some of its huge fragments still remain, on a rocky peninsular cape, of a prodigious
 " declivity towards the sea, and almost inaccessible from the land side.

" O'er the fainting hero threw
 " Her mantle of ambrosial blue;
 " And bade her spirits bear him far,
 " In Merlin's agate-axled car,
 " To her green isle's enamelled steep,
 " Far in the navel of the deep:
 " O'er his wounds she sprinkled dew
 " From flowers that in Arabia grew;
 " On a rich enchanted bed
 " She pillow'd his majestic head;
 " O'er his brow, with whispers bland,
 " Thrice she wav'd an opiate wand;
 " And to soft music's airy sound,
 " Her magic curtains clos'd around.
 " There, renew'd the vital spring,
 " Again he reigns a mighty king;
 " And many a fair and fragrant clime,
 " Blooming in immortal prime,
 " By gales of Eden ever fann'd,
 " Owns the monarch's high command:
 " Thence to Britain shall return,
 " (If right prophetic rolls I learn,)
 " Borne on Victory's spreading plume,
 " His ancient sceptre to resume;
 " Once more, in old heroic pride,
 " His barbed courser to bestride;
 " His knightly table to restore,
 " And brave the tournaments of yore.'

" They ceased; when on the tuneful stage
 " Advanc'd a bard, of aspect sage;
 " His silver tresses, thin besprent,
 " To age a graceful reverence lent;
 " His beard, all white as spangles frore
 " That clothe Plinlimmon's forests hoar,
 " Down to his harp descending flow'd;
 " With Time's faint rose his features glow'd;
 " His eyes diffus'd a soften'd fire,
 " And thus he wak'd the warbling wire.

" 'Listen, Henry, to my rede!
 " Not from fairy realms I lead
 " Bright-rob'd tradition, to relate
 " In forged colours, Arthur's fate;

" Though much of old romantic lore
 " On the high theme I keep in store :
 " But boastful fiction should be dumb,
 " Where Truth the strain may best become.
 " If thine ear may still be won
 " With songs of Uther's glorious son,
 " Henry, I a tale unfold,
 " Never yet in rhyme enroll'd,
 " Nor sung nor harp'd in hall or bower ;
 " Which, in my youth's full early flower,
 " A minstrel, sprung of Cornish line,
 " Who spoke of kings from old Lochrine,
 " Taught me to chant, one vernal dawn,
 " Deep in a cliff-encircled lawn,
 " What time the glistening vapours fled
 " From cloud-envelop'd Clyder's* head,
 " And on its sides the torrents grey
 " Shone to the morning's orient ray.

" ' When Arthur bow'd his haughty crest,
 " No princess, veil'd in azure vest,
 " Snatch'd him by Merlin's potent spell,
 " In groves of golden bliss to dwell ;
 " Where, crown'd with wreaths of mistletoe,
 " Slaughter'd kings in glory go :
 " But when he fell, with winged speed,
 " His champions, on a milk-white steed,
 " From the battle's hurricane,
 " Bore him to *Joseph's tower'd fane*,
 " In the fair *Isle of Avalon* ;
 " There, with chanted orison,
 " And the long blaze of tapers clear,
 " The stoled fathers met the bier ;
 " Through the dim aisles, in order dread,
 " Of martial woe, the chief they led,
 " And deep intomb'd in holy ground,
 " Before the altar's solemn bound.
 " Around no dusky banners wave,
 " No mouldering trophies mark the grave :
 " Away the ruthless Dane hath torn
 " Each trace that Time's slow touch had worn ;
 " And long, o'er the neglected stone,
 " Oblivion's veil its shade has thrown ;

" * Or Glyder, a mountain in Caernarvonshire.

" The faded tomb, with honour due,
 " 'Tis thine, O Henry, to renew !
 " Thither, when conquest has restor'd
 " Yon recreant isle, and sheath'd the sword ;
 " When peace with palm has crown'd thy brows ;
 " Haste thee to pay thy pilgrim vows :
 " There, observant of my lore,
 " The pavement's hollow'd depth explore ;
 " And thrice a fathom underneath,
 " Dive into the vaults of death,
 " There shall thine eye, with wild amaze,
 " On his gigantic stature gaze ;
 " There shalt thou find the monarch laid,
 " All in warrior-weeds array'd ;
 " Wearing in death his helmet-crown,
 " And weapons huge, of old renown.
 " Martial prince, 'tis thine to save
 " From dark oblivion Arthur's grave ;
 " So may thy ships securely stem
 " The western frith : thy diadem
 " Shine victorious in the van,
 " Nor heed the slings of Ulster's clan :
 " Thy Norman pikemen win their way
 " Up the dun rocks of Harald's bay :*
 " And from the steeps of rough Kildare
 " Thy prancing hoofs the falcon scare :
 " So may thy bow's unerring yew
 " Its shafts in Roderic's heart imbrue.†

" Amid the pealing symphony
 " The spiced goblets mantled high :
 " With passions new, the song impress'd
 " The listening king's impatient breast :
 " Flash the keen lightnings from his eyes ;
 " He scorns awhile his bold emprise ;
 " E'en now he seems, with eager pace,
 " The consecrated floor to trace ;
 " And ope, from its tremendous gloom,
 " The treasures of the wondrous tomb ;

" * The bay of Dublin. Harald, or Harsager, the fair-haired king of Norway, is said, in the life of Griffudh ap Conan, prince
 " of North Wales, to have conquered Ireland, and to have founded Dublin.

" † King Henry is supposed to have succeeded in this enterprise chiefly by the use of the long bow, with which the Irish were
 " entirely unacquainted.

"E'en now he burns in thought to rear,
 "From its dark bed, the ponderous spear,
 "Rough with the gore of Pictish kings:
 "E'en now fond hope his fancy wings,
 "To poise the monarch's massy blade,
 "Of magic-temper'd metal made;
 "And drag to day the dinted shield
 "That felt the storm of Camlan's field:
 "O'er the sepulchre profound,
 "E'en now, with arching sculpture crown'd,
 "He plans the chantry's choral shrine,
 "The daily dirge, and rites divine."

Long previously to Arthur's interment at Glaston, there had been a frequent intercourse (according to the monkish writers) between the chieftain and the religionists of that place. He had granted them lands, conferred on them privileges, and often honoured their society with his presence.* One of his visits, however, to the holy spot, is marked by an adventure, of too singular a nature to be passed over without especial mention; particularly as it may, possibly, be thought to constitute one of the best proofs, which the Papal Church can avouch, of the verity of her doctrine of the *real presence*.

It seems that, in the early times of which we are speaking, there was a *nunnery*, as well as a *monastery*, at Glaston, situated at the foot of *Weariall hill*, and in close contact with the other religious establishment.† Here,

* Cum demum Glastoniam adveniret, ibidem quater viginti monachos pro anima ejusdem instituit, possessiones et territoria, ad eorum sustentacionem, aurum, argentum, calices, et alia ornamenta ecclesiastica largiens habundanter. John Glast. p. 76.

† It appears, from Dr. Lingard, that *double* monasteries of this description, or a convent of monks or canons, annexed to a nunnery, were common in England, in the early Anglo-Saxon times. "During the first two centuries," says he, "after the conversion of our ancestors, the principal monasteries were established on this plan; nor are we certain, that there existed any others of a different description. They were held in the highest estimation: the most distinguished of the Saxon female saints, and many of the most eminent prelates, were educated in them; and, so edifying was the deportment of the greatest part of these communities, that the breath of slander never presumed to tarnish their character. The monastery of Coldingham, *alone*, forms an exception." Ang. Sax. Church, 120, 22. Upon which passage, an acute critic makes the following observations:—"The hardihood of this assertion excites, we must confess, our admiration. Dr. Lingard is not unacquainted with an antient tract attributed to Bede, from which it plainly appears, that practices the most repugnant to

too, the historian tells us, Arthur frequently "slept and abided, smitten "with the amenity of the place." Reposing, one night, upon "his royal "couch," in this favourite retreat, an angelic form appeared to him, commanding him to proceed, at the dawn of day, to the oratory of the blessed Mary Magdalen at Bekery, a small island in the neighbourhood, and to attend diligently to what he should behold. After some intervening extraordinary circumstances, Arthur entered the chapel, and was placed by the priest, about to officiate, in a situation from which he might have a clear view of all that passed. The minister began to invest himself, when, suddenly, the Virgin Mary appeared, with the infant Jesus in her arms, and condescendingly assisted in adjusting his robes. The mass commenced: the priest read to *the offertory*, and the "benignant lady" immediately handed to him the child which she carried. He placed it near the chalice, on the *corporal*; elevated it at the words, "this is my body;" deprived it of life, and then returned it, a corpse, to the sacred cloth. Arthur partook of the slaughtered victim; which, after the mass was concluded, became a living child again, and flew, sound and uninjured, to his mother's arms. It is not to be marvelled at, that the British chieftain, who seems, hitherto, to have been a little sceptical, on the point of *transubstantiation*, could not resist this sensible evidence of its truth: he instantly became a penitent, and "vowed" that, from this moment, he should not only be a firm believer in the doctrine, but would comply with

"monastic purity were not unknown among the female inmates of the Saxon cloister. He is aware "that nunneries were converted into brothels by some of the Anglo-Saxon princes, and that infanticide "was no unfrequent consequence of this prostitution. St. Boniface reproaches Ethelbald of Mercia "with his libertinism; and adds, 'Quod hoc scelus maxime cum *sanctimonialibus et sacratis Deo* " "*virginibus* per monasteria commissum sit.' The whole nation of the Angles, he subjoins, imitate "their sovereign in his wickedness, and this general depravity leads to the frequent commission of "child murder; 'quia dum illæ meretrices, sive sæculares, sive *monasteriales*, male conceptas soboles in " "peccatis genuerint, eas sæpe maxima ex parte occidunt.' Other Saxon kings were not more exem- "plary than Ethelbald. We are told, on the same unimpeachable authority, that Osred of Northum- "berland, and Ceolred of Mercia, had passed their lives 'in stupratione et adulterio *nonnarum*'— " "per monasteria nonnarum *sacratas virgines* stuprantes.' We shall not prosecute the subject farther. "Enough has been said to shew that the virgins of Coldingham were not the *only* exception from the "general purity of manners and strictness of conduct attributed by Dr. Lingard to our Anglo- "Saxon nuns." Edin. Rev. No. xxxiii. p. 18, 19.

every request which might be made to him, for the promotion of the honour of the Virgin and her child.*

But, dismissing these "pious frauds," we proceed to remark, that, some time before the period of Arthur's pretended conversion, the religionists at Glaston had adopted the monastic system, and followed, at that day, and for half a century afterwards, the Egyptian rule, according to the institutes of Pachomius.† What these regulations were, as adapted to our own country, we have no means of ascertaining. As practised in the East, they were sufficiently comfortless. The monks were to sleep three in a cell, not horizontally, but on sloping boards: they were to eat and drink with their hoods on, to prevent them from looking at each other: while at table, they were not to speak, or cast their eyes around them. Six and thirty times, in the four and twenty hours, they were to repeat their prayers; and, finally, no one could be admitted to their order, who did not pass a painful prior noviciate of three tedious years.‡

This description, indeed, may not, possibly, apply, universally, to the British monasteries, or rather convents; but there seems to be no reason for doubting, that it affords a pretty correct view of the state of that of Glaston, at the close of the sixth century.

* Cum autem pervenisset ad hostiæ perceptionem, eundem puerum, Dei filium, assumpsit, percepit, masticavit; ipso percepto, et communione facta, apparuit loco, quo prius sedens illæsus et integer ille Agnus Paschalis absque omni maculâ. John Glas. p. 77, et infra.

† John Glas. p. 88.

‡ Stellartius de Reg. et Fund. Monacho. p. 115, et infra.



CHAPTER III.

Monkery. Monastic Rule at Glaston. Ina Character of Monks.

It is a part of the natural character of man, the result of mingled perverseness and imbecility, to abuse or deform all the blessings which a bountiful Providence has been pleased to bestow upon him. To enjoy in reason, or apply with prudence, the many advantages within his grasp, is a secret which he has yet to learn; and, while the great mass of public life exhibits one wide waste of attainable felicity, the little sphere of the individual's conduct is marked by the same ill success in the acquisition of good, in consequence of his wilfully perverting the means, which were intended to ensure to him the enjoyment of it.

The greatest blessing ever conferred upon man was the Christian Revelation; and in the ratio of its pre-eminence and importance, has been his abuse of the inestimable gift. No sooner had the period of its immediate promulgation passed away, than he began to mix and contaminate it with his own passions, prejudices, and follies. Pride and uncharitableness, ambition and the secular spirit, were incorporated with a system, whose very essence is humility, prostration of soul, moderation in all things, and active practical virtue; and a spurious, motley, and pliant religion was formed, which either invited its votaries to the courts of princes and the councils of statesmen, in the pursuit of wealth, dignity, and influence; or directed them to forsake the haunts of men; renounce the charities of social life; and, by counteracting nature, and annihilating feeling, to aspire after an unattainable spiritualization, in solitude and silence. The annals of Papal christianity, for centuries after the junction of the cross and sceptre, in the reign of Constantine the Great, afford a full illustration of the first of these perversions of our holy faith; and the deserts of the East, with their anchorets and pillar saints, are a practical comment on the latter aberrations from good sense and sober piety.

The exercise of solitary enthusiasm, however, was not long a popular madness. There is a social principle in man, which impels him to his kind, and bids him seek for companions, even in his absurdities and vices. Some visionary individuals, indeed, to gratify their singular pride, and astonish their ignorant admirers, continued their frightful system of personal privation and infliction, entirely cut off from all social intercourse; and have never been without their imitators, from the celebrated *Simon Stylites* to the *fakeers* of the present day; but the generality of religionists who had adopted these irrational notions of christian duty, formed themselves, before the conclusion of the fourth century, into select societies, separate from the busy world around them; established a rule for the occupation of their time, and the regulation of their services; and appointed presidents over their respective communities, to preserve order and enforce obedience. Such was the origin of MONKERY: small and insignificant in its commencement; but destined to exercise a

mighty influence over human affairs, for more than ten centuries. Like the cloud seen by the servant of the prophet, it rose no bigger than a "man's hand;" its expansion, however, was rapid and wide, and in a few ages it overspread the whole christian world with almost total darkness.

Anthony, in the fourth century, (afterwards canonized for this, and other equally worthy deeds,) appears to have been the first who reduced this great machine to a specific form, and gave it a regular action; and his example, says Mosheim, "was followed with such rapid success, that, in a short time, the whole East was filled with a lazy set of mortals, who, abandoning all human connections, advantages, pleasures, and concerns, wore out a languishing and miserable life, amidst the hardships of want, and various kinds of suffering, in order to arrive at a more close and rapturous communion with God and Angels."*

So quick is the growth and spread of error, that, before the conclusion of the fourth century, monachism had found its way into Britain;† and, probably, early in the fifth, its discipline was received and established at Glaston. Before this period the conventual religionists who resided there, must have formed, what is denominated by Du Cange, a *laura*; that is, a society whose members, dwelling in separate hovels around their humble church, and voluntarily submitting themselves to the authority of a superior, led a sequestered life of constant abstinence and mortification; and of alternate labour, prayer, and silent contemplation.

We have already seen, that the first regular discipline, adopted at Glaston, was the Egyptian rule of Pachomius; but this did not survive the conclusion of the sixth, or the commencement of the seventh, century. The Popes had sufficient sagacity to perceive, that the monastic system was capable of being converted into an engine of unlimited energy in the gratification of their ambition, and the extension of their authority. The monks stood aloof from the sympathies and interests of their fellow creatures; and, consequently, neither acknowledged nor felt any tie, that bound them to the promotion of social happiness; while their abstraction, austerity, and external sanctity, conferred upon them a sort of fascinating power over the minds of the weak, the ignorant, and the super-

* Ecc. Hist. vol. i. p. 377. † Henry's Hist. Eng. vol. i. p. 227, 8vo. edit.

stitious, who will ever form the far greater portion of the secular community. Hence it was, that the sovereign Pontiffs very soon took the monks under their immediate protection, and into their intimate confidence. They granted to them privileges; fenced them round with immunities; and eventually exempted them from the jurisdiction of their provincial bishops. To extend the system, and increase the number of these useful agents, would, of course, be a point of anxious attention to the Popes; and, as early as the year 596, forty Benedictine monks, with Augustine at their head, were dispatched into Britain, by Gregory the Great,* for the double purpose of calling the unconverted natives to christianity, and reducing the monastics, who were already established there, to a greater uniformity in discipline, and to a more complete dependence on the Tiara than had hitherto been the case with them.

It is to this period, or, at least, shortly after the arrival of Augustine in Britain, that we must look for an alteration in the religious rule of the Glaston monks.† The Egyptian profession was renounced; and a *modification* of the Benedictine discipline established among them. We say a *modification* of it, for it seems clear, that the rule, in its complete and severest form, was not generally adopted before the time of Dunstan; who may be properly called its founder in our own country, from the reformation which he made in the code itself, and in the domestic regulations of the monasteries which professed it. Indeed, if reliance may be placed on a writer deeply skilled in the antiquities of the English Church, it would appear, that a very lax system of conventual life prevailed in Britain, long after the arrival of Augustine, and quite up to the period of Dunstan's reformation; for Warton, in a note on Osborne's life of that ecclesiastic, remarks, that the monasteries in England, previously to his time, were little more than convents of secular clerks, who, amply endowed,

* According to Dr. Milner, the Pope had intended to undertake this office in person. "Gregory the Great undertook to preach the gospel to our Saxon ancestors; but being *prevented by force*, sent his deputies, St. Augustine and his companions." (End of Controversy, p. 158.) What the coercive obstacle was, does not appear.

† "Unde hiis temporibus in monasterio Glastoniensi coepit primo eadem regula exerceri quod prius fuerat more coenobiorum Ægypti." Joh. Glas. 88.

and regulated by certain institutions agreed upon among themselves, enjoyed all the privileges of the other clergy, and even entered into the married state.*

If the view which we have given of the monastic establishment at Glaston be correct, it is manifest, that the learned Stillingfleet labours under a mistake, when he attributes the *foundation of the Abbey* to King Ina. The language of Ina's charter, which we have given in the Appendix, contradicts the supposition. He clearly recognizes in it a monastery as already existing at Glaston, and even mentions the name of the abbot who presided over it. That he increased its possessions greatly, we have no doubt; and, without crediting the monkish fictions of gold, and silver, and gems, being poured upon the church, with a profusion utterly impossible in the eighth century, we may reasonably admit, that the King of Wessex, deeply imbued with the perverted Christianity of the times, and holding the ancient church of Glaston in peculiar reverence, favoured its monastery with a most ample patronage, and, perhaps, rebuilt the sacred edifice: but we cannot regard him either as its founder, or reformer; either as originally establishing it, or making any alteration in its existing discipline. Neither can we believe that he first obtained the Papal protection of Glaston Abbey, by soliciting it through his letters, and then by his personal application, at the Court of Rome.† Long before the eighth

* Osberne de Vit. S. Dunstan, Ang. Sac. pars 2nda, p. 91, *note*. This quite agrees with what Osberne himself says, that in the time of this saint's infancy, (which was three centuries and a half after Augustine,) the genuine monastic life was not known at Glaston; and that an implicit obedience of monks to their superior was not as yet practised. "Eâ tempestate Glastonia regalibus stipendiis addicta, Monasticæ Religionis penitus ignara. Nondum enim in Angliâ communis ratio vitæ colebatur; non usus diserendi proprias voluntates hominibus affectabatur." *Ib.* page 91, text.

† "I do not question," says he, "that King Ina founded a monastery there, where before had been an ancient British church." *Orig. Brit.* p. 26.

‡ "De hinc prædictus rex Ina literas, regali signaculo signatas, summo pontifici direxit, in quibus omnia prædicta continebantur, simul cum quodam cippo aureo, ac aliis donis regalibus, supplicans, ut Glastoniensem ecclesiam, cum pertinenciis et libertatibus suis, in proteccionem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesæ susciperet, et ipsam auctoritate apostolica imperpetuum confirmaret. Eodem eciam anno idem rex Romam personaliter adiit, et privilegium, apostolico signaculo corroboratum, redeundo Glastoniam apportavit." *Joh. Glast.* 101.

century the Pontiffs had seen the importance of attaching the monks to their interest, and had availed themselves of their co-operating influence ; and we cannot suppose they would have neglected to enlist in their service, till the time of Ina's supplication, the earliest, if not the most numerous, body of monastics in Britain.

But though the claim of Ina to the foundation of the Abbey of Glaston be inadmissible, his character, notwithstanding, is too illustrious, to be dimmed by the abstraction of such pretensions from it ; for whoever applies himself (as an amiable, elegant, and eloquent writer observes*) to mark the limits of human action ; to set boundaries to individual selfishness ; to establish the provisions of justice in defence of the weak or injured ; and to rescue the criminal from punishments of caprice or favour ; is a character entitled to the veneration of mankind. This Ina did ; and in his code of laws, which have been handed down to our own times, we recognise a mind (considering the period in which he lived) of no common stature : a mind, acute, active, vigorous, deeply impressed with the sense of justice, and the love of virtue ; which, had it enjoyed the advantages of the Roman emperor, would not have been second to that of Justinian, in the science of legislation, and the art of government.†

That the sanctions of this legal code were universally wanted in the kingdom of Wessex, at the time of its promulgation, is apparent, from the accounts which early history has transmitted, of the lawless and disordered state of society, in that quarter of the realm, in the seventh century. It is no great recommendation of the monastic system, that the inmates of the cloister did not, by any means, form an exception to the general licentiousness of the period. “ Not even the cloistered monks,” remarks a very competent judge,‡ “ were exempt from the general contagion, as appears from the unanimous confession of all the writers of this century, that are worthy of credit. In those very places which were consecrated to the advancement of piety, and the service of God, there was little else to be seen than ghostly ambition, insatiable avarice, pious

* Sharon Turner's Hist. of the Ang. Saxons, vol. i. p. 56.

† Ina's laws are found in Wilkins's Leges Sax. p. 14, et infra.

‡ Mosheim's Ecc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 171.

“frauds, intolerable pride, and a supercilious contempt of the natural rights of the people, with many other vices *still more enormous*.”

The picture, it must be confessed, is a frightful one; but, independently of the recorded accounts from which it is sketched, its rigid resemblance to the original must be self-evident to the thinking mind. The results of every system, which is built up in opposition to the ordinances of Providence, the fundamental principles of nature, and the sober conclusions of right reason, must be bad. Its appearance may be specious at first; but a little time will discover its innate deformity. Monks had commenced on the plausible pretence of “doing God service;” but it was to effect this under a form unnatural, unreasonable, and useless to the purposes of general good. The germ, therefore, was unsound; and the product would, of course, be base. The bad principle at its core gradually infected every part of its substance; and, in the course of a few years, converted the swollen mass into a lump of corruption.



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CHAPTER IV.

Legends of Saints. St. Dunstan. Benedictine Monks at Glastonbury.

It tells but little to the honour of the Papistical Church, that, instead of being “built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets,” with Jesus Christ himself as its “chief corner-stone,” one of the main pillars on which it stands should be composed of “hay and stubble,”—the false miracles and impossible adventures of a group of saints, whose names, for the most part, would have been forgotten, and their very existence unacknowledged, had they not been recorded in the puerile legends of the Monkish writers; or forced upon the observation of mankind by the Roman Catholic calendar.

That many of the characters which have thus been honoured with

canonization were actually fictitious, the mere creations of a crafty priesthood to delude an ignorant and superstitious laity, is too notorious to be denied;* and that the marvellous events connected with such of them as could fairly claim "a local habitation and a name," are too monstrous

* The charge is a serious one, and the subject important; we judge it right, therefore, to support the one, and illustrate the other, by the following quotation from Middleton's Letter from Rome:

"In another place, I have taken notice of an altar erected to St. Baccho; and in their stories of their saints, have observed the names of Quirinus, Romula and Redempta, Concordia, Nympha, Mercurius: which, though they may, for any thing that I know, have been the genuine names of *Christian martyrs*, yet cannot but give occasion to suspect, that some of them, at least, have been formed out of a corruption of *the old names*; and that the adding of a modern termination, or *Italianizing the old name of a Deity*, has given existence to some of their present saints: thus the corruption of the word Soracte (the old name of a mountain mentioned by Horace, in sight of Rome) has, according to Mr. Addison, added one saint to the Roman calendar; being now softened, *because it begins with an S*, into St. Oreste, in whose honour a monastery is founded on the place; a change very natural, if we consider that the *title of saint* is never written by the Italians at length, but expressed commonly by the single letter S, as S. Oracte: and thus this *holy mountain* stands now under the protection of a *patron*, whose being and power is just as imaginary as that of its old guardian Apollo—

Sancti custos Soractis Apollo.

Virg. *Æn.* 9.

"No suspicion of this kind will appear extravagant to those who are at all acquainted with the history of Popery; which abounds with instances of the grossest forgeries, both of *saints* and *relics*, which, to the scandal of many even among themselves, have been imposed for genuine on the poor ignorant people. It is certain, that, in the earlier ages of christianity, the *Christians* often made free with the *sepulchral stones of Heathen monuments*, which being ready cut to their hands, they converted to their own use; and turning downwards the side on which the old epitaph was engraved, used either to inscribe a new one on the other side, or leave it, perhaps, without any inscription at all, as they are often found in the Catacombs of Rome. Now this one custom has frequently been the occasion of ascribing *martyrdom* and *sainthood* to persons and names of mere *Pagans*.

"Mabillon gives a remarkable instance of it in an old stone, found on the grave of a Christian, with this inscription:

"D. M.

"IVLIA EVODIA

"FILIA FECIT

"MATRI.

"And because in the same grave there was found likewise a *glass vial*, or *lacrymatory vessel*, tinged with a reddish colour, which they call *blood*, and look upon as a certain proof of *martyrdom*; this Julia Evodia, though undoubtedly a *heathen*, was presently adopted both for *saint* and *martyr*, on the authority of an *inscription*, that appears evidently to have been one of those above mentioned, and borrowed from a *heathen sepulchre*. But whatever the party there buried might have been, whether

to be credited, by a mind in a sound and sober state, will be assented to by every one, who is competent to form a rational opinion on any subject submitted to his consideration. But, the deformity of these "strange tales" is not confined to their incredibility; they bear a noxious poison within them; they are often as offensive to delicacy, as to common sense; and, not unfrequently, either shock or corrupt the religious principle, by actual blasphemy.

We would willingly make as many allowances as possible for the fabrications of these monstrous legends, and urge the obvious excuse, that they were manufactured in times of darkness, ignorance, and superstition. In the infant, we can expect only crude conceptions, and awkward efforts: nor must we look for the products of an age of exercised thought, varied knowledge, and matured taste, in the "darkness visible" of the first dawn of literature. Though, perhaps, we may fairly attribute some portion of the mass of monkish falsehoods to that craft, which fraudulently invent what it wishes to be implicitly believed; yet it seems natural to suppose, that the far greater part was related, because it was credited by the writers themselves; who, simply and honestly, recorded only the delusions of an inflamed imagination, or the meagrim of a delirious enthusiasm.

But, whatever apology may be made for the cunning or imbecility of the manufacturers of these mingled tissues of absurdity and impiety yet none, surely, can be offered, for the Romish church and popish clergy of more recent times; who, by their calendar and services, their patronage and recommendation, immortalize, and give currency to, the grossest legends; and deliberately put the sanction of their seal to folly, filth, and mendicity.

"heathen or christian, it is certain, however, that it could not be *Evodia herself*, but her mother only, whose name is not there signified.

"The same author mentions some *original papers*, which he found in the Barbarine Library, giving a pleasant account of a negociation between the Spaniards and Pope Urban the VIIIth, in relation to this very subject. The Spaniards, it seems, have a *saint*, held in great veneration in some parts of Spain, called *Viar*; for the farther encouragement of whose worship they solicited the Pope, to grant some *special indulgences* to his altars; and upon the Pope's desiring to be better acquainted first with his character, and the proofs which they had of his *sainthood*, they produced a *stone* with these *antique letters* S. VIAR. which the antiquaries readily saw to be a small fragment of some old Roman inscription, in memory of one who had been *Praefectus VIARum*, or *overseer of the highways*."

One of the most illustrious of these canonized mortals, and surrounded by as splendid a halo of virtues and wonders as any on the list, was St. Dunstan, the paragon of Anglo-Saxon saints, and the glory and boast of Glaston monastery. "His attachment to the place, indeed, was natural; for he had been born in its vicinity, and educated within its walls."* But the instruction or discipline of the Abbey had not been so agreeable as to impress him with any great taste for a cloistered life; and, though visions and miracles had marked him for the highest ecclesiastical dignities, the charms of the Court were more attractive than the cowl, to his early manhood. His ambition was great; and he chose the theatre, for its exercise, most likely to gratify its views: but he was disappointed in his outset; the minions of Edwin became jealous of Dunstan's superior talents and attainments; they calumniated him to the king, and he was driven from the presence of his sovereign. A still more distressing trial awaited him: he fixed his first and strong affections on a fair Anglo-Saxon maiden, whom he met with in the rural scenes to which he had retired; and, in the visions of youthful fancy, probably pictured a scene of retired domestic bliss, which should more than recompense him for the lost unsubstantial gaudes of a palace. But Elpheagus, his relation, had determined that Dunstan should be a monk; and urged him, by all the terrible considerations that gloomy superstition could suggest, to relinquish the intended alliance, and renounce the world. Dunstan was staggered, but not overcome; and resisted, for a time, the oft-repeated advice of an authoritative and revered relative. Nature was, however, unequal to a protracted conflict between love and an alarmed conscience, and he sank into a long and, apparently, desperate illness. It was in this interval of disease, when the languid frame and weakened spirit become dead to the world, its affections and prospects, that the mind of Dunstan underwent the desired change. He rose from the bed of sickness, not only prepared to comply with the wish of Elpheagus, but determined to adopt a form of profession, as rigid and

* Osberne in Vit. Dun. p. 91, 92, Ang. Sac. p. 2. The Biographer tells us, that it was customary, at this time, to receive the better order of children into the Abbey, for instruction; and that this tuition was in the hands of certain learned men, who had migrated from Ireland, and settled, for that purpose, at Glaston.

frightful as it was novel and unnatural. He hastened to Glaston; enrolled his name in its fraternity; and constructed a cell, or rather cavern, for his habitation, (called by some of the monkish writers a *destina*,) five feet long, two and a half wide, of the height of a man, and lighted by a trap-door on its top.* His singularities attracted notice; his austerities commanded reverence; and notoriety and admiration, he well knew, would prove the sure means of accomplishing those vast views of influence and power in the church, which his newly-modified ambition had substituted, in the place of his earlier aspirations after political advancement. His celebrity soon reached the knowledge of the king; and, by his special invitation, Dunstan found himself again at court, with the monarch himself his devotee, and the powerful Turketul, the chancellor, his warm friend. An appointment to the abbacy of the monastery of Glaston speedily followed his introduction to Edmund; and, almost as early as Edred (the successor of Edmund) came to the throne, Dunstan was taken into the bosom friendship of the new king, and received the highest proof of his confidence, by being *entrusted with his treasures*. Nor did the favour of Edred rest here: he wished to secure to Dunstan the reversion of the archbishopric of Canterbury, after the death of the aged Odo. Dunstan was coy, and dallied awhile with the king, before he acceded to his wish. A vision, however, settled his conscience on the subject; and he now saw before his eyes the prospect of speedily obtaining the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the kingdom. But another reverse of fortune awaited the ambitious abbot: his patron Edred died; and, on the very day of his successor's coronation, Dunstan incensed Edwin, beyond all forgiveness, by wounding, and that publicly, his dignity, his honour, and his conjugal affection. The king, however, rose in his wrath; and Dunstan fled before it, laden with the double charge of having personally insulted his sovereign, and embezzled the treasures of Edred, which had been deposited under his care.† The tragedy of Elgiva's mutilation and death was performed;

* The saint was a *little man*, and therefore would be the less inconvenienced by the small dimensions of his dwelling: *quantitate quidem corporis parvulum*. Osberne, p. 91. It was in this cave that he had his celebrated interview with the devil.

† Wallingford observes, "Suspectus erat Edwino Dunstanus, omni tempore, eo quod tempore Eadredi

and the process, either of assassinating, or breaking Edwin's heart, was effected, by the worthy coadjutors of Dunstan, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, while the abbot himself was an exile: but, no sooner was young Edgar seated on his brother's throne, than he hurried back to England; resumed his influence at court; became, successively, bishop of Winchester and London; and at length, in 960, obtained the summit of his wishes, in receiving, from the lips of John the XIIth, the Papal benediction, on being advanced to the see of Canterbury. He retained his dignity for thirty years, directing all the influence of high situation, to the two great objects of his gloomy ambition,—that of converting all the clergy into monks, and filling the nation with Benedictine institutions. His life, as a delightful writer expresses himself, authorises us to affirm, that he patronized the Benedictine rule, as a popular instrument of his unmeasured ambition. The policy was obvious. Could he succeed in ejecting the regular clergy from the monasteries, and fill them with the votaries of the new rule, his power would be ramified into every part of England, and be every where rooted in the hearts of men whose existence sprang from him, and could continue but by his support. The people, induced to reverence the new monks, for their assumed sanctity and severe regularity, would be subject to their influence. Thus the crafty project ended in governing the nation by the new order, of which every member was, by gratitude, interest, and prudence, attached to Dunstan, as its founder or patron. He obtained the full project which

"thesauros patrum suorum custodisset; sub cujus suspicionis obtextu," &c. There is strong reason to believe the suspicion was well founded; from the great sums which Dunstan lavished on his favoured Abbey of Glaston. Dr. Lingard, (History of England,) in his zealous respect for Dunstan's character, has been very uncandid, with regard to that of Edwin. He tells us, that "the two abbies of Glastonbury and Abingdon, the fruits of the zeal of Dunstan, were dissolved by his resentment; and the monks, care-fully trained in the duties of their profession, cast on the world, without friends or support." The inaccuracy of this bold historical statement will be manifest to any one, who will be at the trouble of looking into the Monast. Anglican. It will be there found, that Edwy was the friend and patron of Ethelwold, the abbot of the latter, who was the pupil and favourite of Dunstan; that he continued to enjoy the king's confidence, after the flight of Dunstan; and that Edwin made frequent and large donations to his convent. Neither did Glaston suffer from the wrath of the king. Elswi obtained the abbacy, on Dunstan's degradation; and was enriched, during his presidency, by the king and his courtiers, with grants to the amount of fifty-eight hides. Mon. Ang. nov. edit. No. 1, Append.

he sought. He was the sovereign of England while he lived, and he was sanctified after his death, by enthusiasm so frantic, that superstition seldom gave the Deity more adoration than it offered up to Dunstan.*

We entirely agree with this excellent writer, that the grand motive of Dunstan's patronage of the Benedictine order was, the accomplishment of views of immeasurable ambition; to the attainment of which, all the great and little actions of his life, from early manhood upwards, his munificence and charity, his visions, miracles, and prophecies, were entirely subservient: but, in his regulation of the monasteries which he formed, and more especially, in his persecution of the secular and married clergy, in the old ones, and in his insisting, in *their* cases, either on repudiation or expulsion, we cannot doubt, that he was influenced by feelings far less lofty and imposing in their nature, than the aspirations of ambition. *He hated the married state with a mortal hatred.* From the moment that he sacrificed the fair Anglo-Saxon maiden, and all his visions of conjugal felicity, to the Moloch of superstitious fear, he scowled, with dark malignant envy, upon all those whose happier fate had permitted them to enjoy the sanctified delights of married life—the endeared and endearing companion, friend, and help-meet—the deeply-interesting pledges of consecrated love—and the cheerful and united household, forming a little world of happiness for itself, and cultivating, within the sacred inclosure, all the best charities of the human heart. Independently, however, of the sting of an early disappointed affection, which rankled in the breast of Dunstan, and goaded him into a perpetual warfare with connubial felicity, another galling event of his life had been occasioned by the holy state, to which he was so inimical. He tore Edwin, it is true, from the embrace of his wedded wife, on the day of his coronation; but the atrocious act was followed by his own degradation, flight, and the sequestration of his property. This added fuel to the flames of his animosity; and we may imagine him, during his exile, contemplating,

“With jealous leer malign,

“And eye askance,”

the unfortunate secular clergy, whom he had doomed to be the partakers

* Turner's Hist. Ang. Sax. vol. i. p. 395.

of his own frigid and cheerless lot; and indulging the thoughts, and muttering the curses, of the first great disturber of human happiness:

“Live while ye may,

“Ye happy pairs, enjoy, till I return,

“Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed.”

The plan, matured in his mind abroad, was carried into execution as soon as he came home; and all the secular clergy, and married monks, were mercilessly compelled to put away their wives, throughout the whole district which acknowledged the influence of Dunstan's power.

From this period, we may date the actual introduction of the Benedictine order into Glaston Abbey, under a rule purified and improved by the abbot himself, and denominated “St. Dunstan's concord of rules.” The confraternity was recast; the monks who were bound to the world by any human ties, were expelled; and their places supplied, by those who acknowledged no other affections than what the Pope, or Dunstan, or the cowl, should inspire; a more numerous succession of officers and subalterns, from the abbot to the kitcheners, was appointed, and a more comprehensive system of services and formalities adopted, than had been observed in the establishment at any prior period; all of which, probably, prevailed, with no great variation, till the dissolution of the monastery. To enrich and adorn his favourite, was Dunstan's next care; and, by working successively on the superstition of Edgar, and the imbecility of Ethelred, he procured such additions to its domains, as rendered Glaston Abbey one of the most considerable monasteries in England, in landed possessions.*

* The following form of the admission of a monk into Glaston Abbey, by the Pope's legate, little more than a century after Dunstan's demise, may here be inserted for its curiosity. It was extracted from the *Liber Albus*, p. iii. in the audit-room of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, inspected by the obliging permission of Wm. Melliar, esq; registrar of the Dean and Chapter of Wells.

“Admissio monachi Glaston. Nicholaus dei gratia Tustul. ep̄s apostolice-sedis legatus universis
“Christi fidelibus ad quos pervenerit presens scriptum salutem in Domino: ad vestram volumus notitiam
“pervenire q'd cum apud Glaston. presentes essemus, quidam clericus ad nos ibidem accessit nobis
“supplicans humiliter et devote ut ipsum faceremus ibi recipi in monachū. et in fratrem: nos itaque
“petitioni annuentes ipsius venerabilem fratrem nostrum Joscelinum Bathonien. et Glaston. epis-
“copum qui in eodem manerio vices gerit abbatis monuimus diligenter ut eum ibidem recepti faceret

The abbot looked, doubtless, with peculiar complacency on the work which he had effected at Glaston; at the removal of those from it, who were hateful to his soul; at the gloomy grandeur and rigid solemnity which it now displayed; and the universal veneration with which it was regarded. It was the place where he had received the first elements of instruction, and perfected his studies; and where he had originally assumed that habit, which had been the passport to his present elevation. It may, therefore, be believed, that it was often and strongly in his recollection; the subject of many a reverie by day, and many a dream by night; and it is not impossible, that, in some nocturnal slumber, fancy might have framed the vision of its future glory, which his biographer has attributed to him. But, whatever might have been his anticipations of fame to himself, and high character to his monastery, by the reformation which he wrought here and elsewhere; it is certain that both were sullied, shortly after the adoption of his unnatural rule, by the conduct of those whom he had subjected to it. The manners of monks were not to be altered by change of dress, name, or ordinances; and shortly after his demise, the monastic system, which Dunstan had so sedulously laboured to sow throughout the land, produced a moral harvest, of which the following extract from Mosheim affords an appalling, but, perhaps, not an unexpected, view.

“All the writers of this age complain of the ignorance, licentiousness, frauds, debaucheries, dissensions, and enormities, that dishonoured the greatest part of the monastic orders, not to mention the numerous marks of their profligacy and impiety that have been handed down to our times.* However astonished we may be at such gross irregularities among a set of men whose destination was so sacred, and whose profession was so austere; we shall still be more surprised to learn that

“in monachū et in fratrem qm̄ ad petitionem nostram eum libenter admisit cujus admissioni prior et conventus ejusdem monasterii gratum prebuerunt assensum Nos autem ad instantiam predicti episcopi presentes litteras fieri fecimus et sigilli nostri impressione muniri. Dat. apud Bathon. ii Idus Aprilis.”

* See Jo. Launoï, *Assert. in Privileg. S. Medardi*, cap. xxvi. sect. vi. op. tom. iii. part II. p. 499; and Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, tome iii. cap. xxxii. p. 331.

“ this degenerate order, far from losing aught of their influence and
 “ credit on account of their licentiousness, were promoted, on the con-
 “ trary, to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and beheld their opulence
 “ and authority increasing from day to day. Our surprise, indeed, will
 “ be diminished, when we consider the gross ignorance and superstition,
 “ and the unbounded licentiousness and corruption of manners, that
 “ reigned in this century among all ranks and orders of men.* Ignorance
 “ and corruption pervert the taste and judgment even of those who are
 “ not void of natural sagacity, and often prevent their being shocked at
 “ the greatest inconsistencies. Amidst this general depravation of sen-
 “ timent and conduct; amidst the flagitious crimes that were daily perpe-
 “ trated, not only by the laity, but also by the various orders of the
 “ clergy, both *secular* and *regular*; all such as respected the common
 “ rules of decency, or preserved in their external demeanour the least
 “ appearance of piety and virtue, were looked upon as saints of the
 “ highest rank, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. This
 “ circumstance was, no doubt, favourable to many of the monks who
 “ were less profligate than the rest of their order, and might contribute,
 “ more or less, to support the credit of the whole body. Besides, it
 “ often happened, that princes, dukes, knights, and generals, whose
 “ days had been consumed in debauchery and crimes, and distinguished
 “ by nothing but the violent exploits of unbridled lust, cruelty, and
 “ avarice, felt, at the approach of old age, or death, the inexpressible
 “ anguish of a wounded conscience, and the gloomy apprehensions and
 “ terrors it excites. In this dreadful condition, what was their resource?

“* For an account of the astonishing corruption of this age, see Blondel, *de Formula, regnante*
 “ *Christo*, p. 14. Boulainvilliers, *de l'Origine et des Droits de la Noblesse*, in Molet's *Memoires de*
 “ *Literature et d'Histoire*, tome ix. part I. p. 63. The corruption and violence that reigned with im-
 “ punty in this horrid age gave occasion to the institutions of chivalry or knighthood, in consequence
 “ of which, a certain set of equestrian heroes undertook the defence of the poor and feeble, and par-
 “ ticularly of the fair sex, against the insults of powerful oppressors and ravishers. This order of
 “ knights errant certainly became very useful in these miserable times, when the majesty of laws and
 “ government had fallen into contempt; and when they who bore the title of sovereigns and magistrates,
 “ had neither resolution nor power to maintain their authority, or to perform the duties of their
 “ stations.

" What were the means by which they hoped to disarm the uplifted hand
 " of divine justice, and render the Governor of the world propitious?
 " They purchased, at an enormous price, the prayers of the monks to
 " screen them from judgment; and devoted to God, and to the saints, a
 " large portion of the fruits of their rapine; or entered into the monastic
 " order, and bequeathed their possessions to their new brethren. And thus
 " it was that monkery perpetually received new accessions of opulence
 " and credit."

CHAPTER V.

Monkish History. Disputes with the Holy See. Henry the Fifth.

Edward the Third's Visit to Clarendon Abbey.

The annals of monastic institutions afford, for the most part,
 but few materials for entertaining narration. They are like those vast
 extents of sand and barrenness, in which the waves are so sparingly scat-
 tered, that the eye, passing through the vastness, can find no object
 through the wearying distances which separate them from each other.
 Here and there, indeed, a character presents itself, or an event occurs,
 which may, for a moment, arrest the attention, or interest the curiosity;
 but in general, a dull monotony pervades all the existing accounts of the
 ancient religious houses; and to those whose taste cannot be gratified
 by the repetition of false miracles, and pious frauds, the pages of their
 histories, as far as they regard particular monasteries, are always tedious
 and soon disgusting.
 The fault, however, is more in the subject than in the writer; for
 when they wing a wider flight, and quit the petty concerns of these
 sequestered retreats, for the busy theatre of public life, they are sufficiently
 animated, reasonable, and interesting; and deservedly resorted to, as



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CHAPTER V.

*Monkish Historians. Disputes with Wells. Henry de Blois.
Edward Ist's Visit to Glaston Abbey.*

THE annals of monastic institutions afford, for the most part, but few materials for entertaining narration. They are like those vast extents of sand and barrenness, in which the *oases* are so sparingly scattered, that the gasping traveller perishes with thirst, ere he can journey through the wearying distances which separate them from each other. Here and there, indeed, a character presents itself, or an event occurs, which may, for a moment, arrest the attention, or interest the curiosity ; but, in general, a dull monotony pervades all the existing accounts of the ancient religious houses ; and to those whose taste cannot be gratified, by the repetition of false miracles, and pious frauds, the pages of their historians, as far as they regard particular monasteries, are always tedious, and soon disgusting.

The fault, however, is more in the subject than in the writers ; for, when they wing a wider flight, and quit the petty concerns of these sequestered retreats, for the busy theatre of public life, they are sufficiently animated, reasonable, and interesting ; and deservedly resorted to, as

constituting one of the best sources of information which we possess, respecting the civil, political, and military events of the times of which they have written.

Nearly a century and a half elapsed after the death of Dunstan, without bringing forth (as far as we have information) a single personage, (with the exception of Herlewinus,) or a solitary occurrence, immediately connected with Glaston Abbey, worthy of particular notice. Its successive abbots were feeble or mischievous men; and its domestic transactions, without novelty, variety, or interest. Envidable in one respect, they were secured by their character and mode of life, from partaking in, and being disturbed by, the military and political tumults of unsettled and uncivilized times; and knew nothing of disputes or conflicts, save those petty ones which took place within their own walls, or such as they waged with their diocesan, for the right of appointing their abbots, or for the appropriation of their disputed churches. Independently of these instances of minor bustle, the records of Glaston consist, almost entirely, of notices of donations to the house; of gifts to the altar; of pittances to the monks; of bequests of fine habits to the priests; and of the establishment of obituary masses, for the souls of the abbots, or their relatives.

Towards the middle of the twelfth century, however, we meet with a character that forms an exception to this long succession of uninteresting abbots. This was Henricus Blesensis, or Henry de Blois, nephew of Henry I., and brother of King Stephen; a man who stood out in high relief from the age in which he lived, and who seems to have been an anticipation of the admirable Crichton. When Henry of Huntingdon characterises him as a *certain novel monster*, composed of perfection and corruption, the monk and the soldier;* he adverts to only half the attributes of this singular man; for, he was a politician of the first water, and both a liberal patron, and an ardent votary, of letters. "Oh! that all the "bishops of our age," exclaims Giraldus Cambrensis, "were like this "prelate; as conspicuous for nobleness of mind, as for dignity of birth."†

* Nam autem sedet in loco illorum, Henricus, nepos Henrici Regis, qui futurus est novum quoddam monstrum, ex integro et corrupto compositum, scil. Monachus et Miles. de Epis. Ang. Sac. p. ii. 700.

† De Jure et Stat. Menev. Eccle.

In another tract he speaks of him, as expending his vast revenues in public works, which would do honour to the most enlightened patriot in the most enlightened times; in erecting sumptuous edifices, in draining morasses, in building aqueducts, making high-roads, and repairing public ways.* If we could exculpate him from the charge of ingratitude to his royal brother, Henry de Blois would better deserve these strong panegyrics: but, though the motives which influenced his political conduct, are not, perhaps, at this distance of time, to be clearly determined; yet the fact of his deserting Stephen, in the hour of his need, and going over to Maude, certainly *appears* to be quite inconsistent with the character of a good or great man.

As far as his conduct regarded Glaston Abbey, however, of which he had been created abbot, as well as bishop of Winchester, by Henry I. it was uniformly creditable to himself, and beneficial to the establishment.† His additional buildings to it were numerous and magnificent; his gifts were many and precious; but they were preceded by a still higher proof of his regard for the convent and its honour—a reformation in the manners and discipline of the monks, who had miserably departed from the observance of Dunstan's "Concord of Rules." Having effected this, he proceeded to external improvements; and erected a mansion within the sacred inclosure, sufficiently extensive, sumptuous, and strong, to be called a *castle*; a belfry, a chapter-house, a cloister, a lavatory, a refectory, a [dormitory, an infirmary with its own chapel, an ample entrance gate of freestone,† a vast brewhouse, and a long range of stables, as

* De Vit. Sex. Epis.

† John Glas. 166, et inf. note p. 48. It appears that neither his elevation to the see of Winchester, nor his higher legatine dignity, could estrange his attachment from Glaston monastery, which he held with his other preferments to the end of his life. "Emensis igitur tribus annis" (says Adam de Domerham) "post suscepcionem administracionis Abbacie memoratus vir in Episcopum Wintonensem est promotus, nichilominus tamen curam Glastoniensis ecclesie, quam tam sincero affectu deligebat, tam Regis quam Summi Pontificis assensu, omnibus diebus suis administravit. Insuper auctoritate Romanæ sedis per totam Angliam legacione fungebatur, eamque doctrinis suis et institutis admodum illustravit. Relictis tamen tam quæ in legacionis officio gloriose consummabat, veniamus ad ea, quæ fecit in Glastoniensi monasterio eo quod circa hæc nostra versatur intencio." Adam de Dom. vol. ii. p. 315.

† Ex lapidibus quadris. Ad. de Dom. ii. 316.

well as a series of necessary buildings, on all the manors belonging to the monastery. Though his long presidentship of forty-five years would allow sufficient time for these constructions, had he been entirely or chiefly employed upon them, yet, when we consider the active part which he took in the busy politics of his unsettled times, we must regard him as a paragon of activity and vigour, and allow, with his eulogist, that these multifarious works evinced his industry, as well as testified his greatness of mind.*

Nor was Henry de Blois' liberality exhausted by such expensive external additions to the Abbey, and by the many costly presents which he made, to the church and altars, of gold, silver, tapestry, and vestments; he wished to implant, or at least to revive, among its inmates, that taste for literature, which seems to have been a strong feature in his own character; and which he, possibly, had been taught, by the Roman orator, to consider as the best means of bringing the human mind, from a rude and gross state, (*nec sinit esse feros,*) to refinement and moral beauty. He accordingly took measures for the transcription of a long list of books, then of popular celebrity, which were placed in the library of the Abbey, for the use of the monks. In the present state of literature, these volumes would not, probably, be selected as the best adapted to enlighten the intellect, or extend the range of thought; but, in the middle of the twelfth century, *he* would have been considered as no mean proficient in learning, who had perused, or even *could* read, their pages.†

* Quæ omnia proceritate suâ, arte sive materiâ, illustris viri testantur industriam, loquuntur magnanimitatem. Ib.

† *De Libris quos Henricus fecit transcribere Glastonia.*

Libros eciam pro moribus in formandis transcribere fecit, qui tam valore quam decore ceteros de armariolo Glastoniæ usque in præsens excedunt universos, quorum nomina sunt hæc.

Sub Martino Priore hos libros, videl. Bibliotecam unam.

Plinium de Naturali Historia.

Cassiodorum super Psalterium.

Tria Missalia magna.

Duo Lectionaria in Conventu.

Breviarium in domo Infirmorum.

Jeronimum super Jeremiam et Ysaïam.

All these munificent acts, and high local favours, were, doubtless, regarded with a deep sense of obligation by the monks of Glaston; but none of them, perhaps, made so strong an impression on their gratitude, as certain personal kindnesses, conferred in the form of additions to their larder, or varieties in their bill of fare. It is the observation of the historian of Henry de Blois' largesses to Glaston Abbey, that a competent provision for corporeal necessities has two salutary effects; "it prevents murmurs, and gives an alacrity in the performance of duties." Of both these consequences Henry was aware; and in order to secure the reformation which he effected, by this further tie, he bestowed upon the

Originem super Epistolas Pauli ad Romanos, et Jeronimum super Epistolam ad Galatas, et ad Ephesios, et ad Titum, et ad Philemonem, volumen unum.

Vitas et Collaciones patrum.

Breviarium Hospitum.

Antiphonarium.

Partem unam Moraliū.

Ciprianum—Registrum—Paradisum.

Jeronimum contra Jovinianum, et Ambrosium contra Novacianos, in uno volumine.

Septem volumina de Passionibus Sanctorum per totum anni circulum.

Vitas Cæsarum—Gesta Britonum.

Gesta Anglorum—Gesta Francorum—Pascasium.

Radbertum de corpore et sanguine Domini, et sentencias quasdam, in uno volumine.

Librum Abbatis Clareverensis de amando Deo, et librum Magistri Hugonis de Sancto Victore de XII gradibus humilitatis, et de oracione, unum volumen.

Fisionomiam, et Lapidarium, et librum Petri Alfunsii, unum volumen.

Retoricam primam et secundam, unum volumen.

Quintilianum de Causis.

Epistolam Augustini de oracione Dominica, et super Psalmum, *Miserere mei Deus*.

Benedictionale unum Episcopale.

Decreta Ivonis Cartonensis Episcopi.

Jeronimum super XII Prophetas, et Lamentaciones Jeremiæ, unum volumen.

Augustinum de Trinitate.

Augustinum super Genesim.

Domino Willelmo Priore hos fecit idem Henricus transcribi.

Ysidorum Ethimologiarum.

Paterium.

Augustinum de verbis Domini.

Hugonem de Sacramentis.—Cassianum de Incarnacione Domini.—Anselmum, "Cur Deus Homo."

Ad. Dom. ii. p. 317.

monks, in addition to their ancient accustomed allowances, the sum of ten shillings weekly, *ad recreationem conventus*; the products of the mill at Street; twenty pounds of pepper; twelve bacon hogs; and, on certain anniversaries, a large supply of salmon, honey, and wine.*

The state of regularity which Henry de Blois had established in Glaston Abbey, did not long survive his decease. During the short presidentship of his successor—Robert, prior of Winchester, a worthy and virtuous man—it would not, probably, be interrupted; but the almost total destruction of the buildings in the reign of Henry II. and the confusion of the affairs of the monastery, in consequence of the calamity, introduced sad disorder and laxity in the manners of the monks; which were neither lessened, nor reformed, for the next hundred years. During this long period, a sort of *bellum internecinum* subsisted between the Abbey, and the successive bishops and deans and chapter at Wells, equally disgraceful to all parties; and more than once, producing personal conflict between the contending ecclesiastics.

Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?

The causes of dispute, indeed, were manifold, and of considerable importance to the belligerent powers—no less than dignity and dominion. The monks of Glaston, as we have hinted in a former part of our volume, had been exempted, by papal authority, from episcopal jurisdiction; and claimed too, by charter, the appointment of their abbots, without the interference of the bishop, except as to the episcopal benediction upon the several nominations. Both these usurpations (as they were considered at Wells) on the prerogative of the diocesan, the bishops and their partisans stoutly resisted; and, not content with this defence of an infringement of their *rights*, as they asserted them to be, they waged offensive operations against the *property* of the monastery, by struggling, fiercely and incessantly, for a long series of years, to obtain possession of many of its manors, and of the advowsons of some of its churches. The conflict was carried on with bitter acrimony, and various success, till the reign of Edward I., when an occurrence took place, which appeared to be highly favourable to the

* Ad. de Dom. vol. ii. p. 319.

cause of the abbot and his monastery: this was a royal visit—the presence of Edward the First, and his consort, Eleonora, at Glaston, in the sixth year of his reign, to celebrate, in the monastery, the feast of Easter, “at his own expense.”

The particulars of this visit are not incurious. The royal personages, it seems, were received singly, and each with much solemn pomp. Shortly, however, before their arrival, a certain knight (deputy marshal of England) presented himself at the Abbey, wishing to do the honours of the house, (as was customary in other places,) to receive the expected visitors, and to provide for them and their train, while they continued there. But with this desire the abbot and convent positively refused to comply; alleging, that such an arrangement would be contrary to the privileges of the house, and of the Twelve Hides, which forbade any king, archbishop, bishop, judge, sheriff, bailiff, &c. to exercise any official authority within that jurisdiction. This notification was immediately followed by the abbot's appointment of his own officer, the sheriff of the Twelve Hides, to fulfil the duties of the earl marshal, on this important occasion. This difficulty being overcome, and the regal pair established in their temporary abode, another addition was made to the party by the arrival of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Holy Thursday; who, after the hour of *prime*, was ushered into the Abbey with all becoming respect. On the same day, he celebrated a holy chrism (*sanctum crisma confecit*): this office properly belonged to the diocesan, but he was in foreign parts; and, though the Wells faction (who were present, it seems) strenuously exerted themselves, that their archdeacon should administer the oil and balsam, the archbishop cut the matter short, (*contencionem diremit*), by directing that he should merely present to the monks, who were to perform their own services, in their own convent. On the vigil of the Passover, the archbishop, with the consent of the abbot and convent, ordained the king's vice-chancellor to the deanery of Glaston, and admitted his Majesty's treasurer, and two others, to the priesthood. The solemnities, also, of the Passover itself were performed, in person, by the metropolitan. But, a great difficulty now occurred, threatening to destroy the enjoyment of the party. The king had previously notified his intention, that he should

hold the assizes on Easter Monday, at the place where he might happen to be on that festival; and his justices were very desirous that Glastonbury should be the spot. Alarmed at this threatened encroachment on their independent jurisdiction, the abbot and monks lost no time in supplicating his Majesty not to carry his intention into execution; proving to him, that such a step would be in direct violation of the liberties and immunities enjoyed by their church, under the charters of his royal progenitors, the former kings of England. Edward had the good sense, or good feeling, to comply with their petition; and, expressing himself as more desirous of extending than abridging their privileges, he ordered the assizes to be held at Street, without the boundaries of the Twelve Hides. Nor was this a proverbial or unmeaning one; for, on the very same day, an occurrence took place, which evinced the high respect entertained by the English Justinian, for the established rights of his subjects. One Philip Cogan, a little exhilarated, probably, by the festivities of the season, fell into dispute with the body guard of the king; and, in defence of himself, against "such fearful odds," drew his *cultellum*, or large knife; an act by which he incurred the crime of *læsa majestas*, and the punishment of the loss of his right hand. The culprit was seized and incarcerated by the guard. The spirited abbot, however, John de Taunton,* immediately vindicated

* John de Taunton, who ruled Glaston for seventeen years, was a very respectable character; a man of letters, piety, and discretion. He purchased several manors and advowsons for the monastery; added many and considerable buildings to the existing edifices; presented many ornaments and vestments to the church; and gave to the library the following works:—*Questiones veteris et novæ legis*. Cum Augustino super Genesim; et ecclesiasticis dogmatibus; et *Enchiridion cum floribus Bernardi*, libros sapienciales glossatos. *Postillas* (notes or annotations) super *Jeremiam et minores prophetas*. *Concordancias Bibliæ*. *Postillas Alberti super Mathæum*, et super *Lamentaciones Jeremiæ*, cum *summa de pænitentia*, et aliis quibusdam *postillis*. *Postillas super Marcum*. *Postillas super Johannem*, cum *tractatu super epistolas per annum*. *Glosam veterem et novam Fratris Thomæ super Evangelia*. *Moralitates super Evangelia*, et *epistolas per annum*, cum *Postillis super Apocalipsim*, et *epistolas canonicales*. *Augustinum de Trinitate*, et *de consensu Evangeliorum*. *Epistolas Pauli glosatas*. *Augustinum de civitate Dei*. *Kylwardesly super literam sentenciarum*. *Quæstiones de malo et mortalibus criminibus*, disputatas a fratre Thoma. *Librum de perfeccione spiritualis vitæ*, et *primam partem magnæ Theologiæ*, editæ a fratre Thoma, cum *concordanciis decretorum et decretalium*. *Primum partem secundæ partis Summæ Thomæ*. *Secundam partem Summæ Thomæ*. *Terciam partem Summæ Thomæ*. *Quartum partem Summæ Thomæ*. *Librum qui dicitur LA PERSPECTIVE*. *Distinctiones Mauricii*. *Libros naturales in duobus voluminibus*. *Librum de proprietatibus rerum*. John Glast. p. 252.

the privileges of his monastery, and, without a check from royal interference, ordered his own bailiffs to release Philip, and to exact a recompense for his false imprisonment. A like instance of exertion on the part of the abbot, and of moderation on that of the king, occurred immediately afterwards; when, on an application by the former to his Majesty, the kings' *clerk of the measures*, who was accustomed, in every other place, to ascertain their legal dimensions, received a prohibition from Edward, to exercise his office within the liberties of the convent. These little interruptions to the harmony of the party being amicably settled, the royal visit terminated with a second exhumation (on the Wednesday morning) of the remains of King Arthur and Guenever his wife, with the ceremonies and occurrences related by Mr. Eyston, in his "*Little Monument*," &c.*

The hospitality of the abbot and convent, to the king and his party, was rewarded by the remission of a fine, which had been adjudged against them as due to the crown; and by a continuance of his favour to the establishment, during the whole of his long and vigorous reign. The animosity of the Wells faction, also, was checked, for a time, by this countenance of the court, but not annihilated. The flame broke out afresh; the old disputes revived; and, though Adam de Sodbury, in the reign of Edward II. conceived he had terminated them, at the expense of more than one thousand marks,† yet the old leaven continued to work and heave, more or less perceptibly, till the great destroyer Henry VIII., by extinguishing the cause of the quarrel, prevented any future effect of it.

* Append. N. i. p. 51. John Glast. p. 246. Glaston Abbey was honoured by another royal visit in the fourteenth century. Adam de Sodbury was then abbot, and received Edward III. and his consort, Philippa, in 1331, at the Abbey, on St. Thomas's day; and expended upon them, says the Annalist, to the value of eighty pounds. On departing, his Majesty presented to the refectory three silver cups, with one still more magnificent, and an embossed water jug, of the same metal. John Glast. 204.

† Ibid, p. 267.



F

CHAPTER VI.

Improvement in the Character of English Monks. Friars.

Wickliffe.

OUR view of English Monastery has hitherto been of a dark and, we may add, of a very unpleasing description; for, there are few things more humiliating to the mind, than the contemplation of human nature, so completely perverted and degraded, as systematizing folly and iniquity; sanctioning bad principles and loose conduct, under the name of religion; and affecting to do God service, by a course of action directly opposite to his holy nature and revealed will. We may now, however, relieve the sombre cast of our picture, by throwing in a stream of light, and removing from the canvass some of its most disgusting objects.

At the conclusion of the fourteenth century, the character of English monachism presented a far more amiable aspect than it had hitherto worn; and the duties of the conventual profession, if not better understood, were at least more diligently observed, than they had been in any previous age. "In the thirteenth century," says Mosheim, "the monastic

“orders, who wallowed in luxury, were, by the corrupting influence of
 “their ample possessions, lulled in a luxurious indolence. They lost
 “sight of all their religious obligations; trampled upon the authority of
 “their superiors; suffered heresy to triumph unrestrained; and sectaries
 “to form assemblies in several places; in short, they were incapable of
 “contributing in any respect to promote the true interests of the church,
 “and abandoned themselves, without shame or remorse, to all manner
 “of crimes.”* But a better spirit pervaded these establishments, from
 about the period of Edward the Third’s reign. Professional obligations
 began to be more generally felt and acted on; the morals and decencies
 of conduct more strictly adopted; literature more attended to; and the
 churches, under the patronage and care of the abbies, supplied with better
 and more efficient pastors than had been heretofore the case.†

The monks, indeed, *might* possibly have arrived at this improved and
 improving state, without the stimulus of any external circumstance; for, it
 is of the nature of evil to cure itself in the course of time; and experience
 has sufficiently sanctioned the old maxim, that, “when things come to the
 “worst, they *must* mend.” But there can be no doubt that this favourable
 change in the character of the English religious houses had, at least, been
 accelerated by certain events which preceded it; and which render the
 thirteenth and fourteenth centuries very memorable ages in the annals of
 our country—these were, the establishment of the mendicant orders, the
 cultivation of letters, and the preaching of Wickliffe.

We have already remarked, that the Popes had early seen, and availed
 themselves of, the prodigious advantage to be derived, to their own inor-
 dinate ambition, from the monastic system; that they had taken the monks
 under their peculiar care; supported them in their opposition to their

* Ecc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 191.

† It was about this period, that the Abbots of Glastonbury had accommodations at Oxford, for
 the instruction of those of the clergy whom they appointed as pastors of the churches under their
 patronage. In the episcopal registers of Wells (consulted by the favour of William Parfitt, esquire,
 registrar, &c.), in the time of Bishop Drokenford, (A. D. 1320,) are several *licentie studendi*, licenses
 to incumbents to be absent from their pastoral charge, for a year or more, in order to pursue their
 studies at Oxford. See fol. xx. part 1st.

diocesans; and fenced them round with privileges and immunities of an exclusive and important nature. For a time the monks were deeply sensible of the accumulated obligations; devoted in their attachment to the see of Rome; and steady in their efforts to advance its power and interests. The prosperity of the obliged, however, is too frequently the parent of their neglect, and forgetfulness, of those who have dispensed the favour. The monks, at ease in their own possessions, with enlarged revenues and increased influence, felt themselves at length independent, in a great measure, of their patron at Rome; and relaxed in their efforts to promote his views; more especially the important one of watching the growth of heresy, which was now germinating in England; and keeping the laity in a blind submission to the Papal power, which had already incurred the odium, or awakened the reflection, of many thinking men. The Popes, therefore, found it necessary to seek some new ally; and, before the middle of the thirteenth century, had established the four orders of *Preaching Friars*—the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustines; a body of men, who, having no fixed possessions; austere and sanctified in their manners; simple and abstemious in their diet; unwearied in their preaching and instruction; professing and manifesting an utter contempt of riches and honours; intimate in their intercourse with Rome, and depending solely upon the supreme Pontiff, were incapable of being seduced, from the range of duty allotted to them, by the smiles or frowns of fortune, the temptations of the world, or the blandishments of princes. The experiment was as successful, as well conceived. The friars soon threw a shade over the waning lustre of the monks, weakened their influence, and lessened their popularity. Their progress, indeed, was astonishing. “For the space of three centuries,” observes Mr. Warton, “two of these orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, appear to have governed the European church and state with an absolute and universal sway: they filled, during that period, the most eminent ecclesiastical and civil stations; taught in the universities with an authority which silenced all opposition; and maintained the disputed prerogative of the Roman Pontiff, against the united influence of prelates and kings, with a vigour only to be paralleled

“ by its success. They were, in short, before the Reformation, exactly
 “ what the Jesuits have been since. They were employed not only in
 “ spiritual matters, but in temporal affairs of the greatest consequence :
 “ in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace,
 “ and concerting alliances. They presided in cabinet councils, levied
 “ national subsidies, influenced courts, and managed the machines of every
 “ important operation and event, both in the religious and political world.”*

It could not fail that the monks should regard this newly-invented body of clerics with the most unmixed dislike. Directly opposed to them

* Warton's Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. ii. p. 179. The institution of preaching friars, like every other institution conceived in bad intention, and established upon corrupt principles, had not been long in operation, before it manifested the degeneracy of its origin, and its own native deformity. Besotted with the marked favour of the Roman pontiff, their pride, and arrogance, and self-conceit, knew no bounds. They had the presumption to declare publicly, that they had a divine impulse and commission to illustrate and maintain the religion of Jesus; they treated with the utmost insolence and contempt all the different ranks and orders of the priesthood; they affirmed, without a blush, that the true method of obtaining salvation was revealed to them alone; proclaimed, with ostentation, the superior efficacy and virtue of their *indulgences*; and vaunted, beyond measure, their interests at the court of Heaven, and their familiar connections with the Supreme Being, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints in glory. (See Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 204.) A society of this complexion afforded too tempting a subject to the wits and satirists of the fourteenth century to be passed over without castigation; and old Dan Chaucer, the perpetual blister of unworthy clerks, has put his seal of ridicule upon the whole order, in the following admirable portrait of an individual member :

“ A frere there was, a wanton and a mery;
 “ A limitour, (*confessor*,) a ful solempne man;
 “ In all the *orders four* is (*there is*) non that can
 “ So moche of daliance, and fayre langage.
 “ Ful sweetely hearde he confession:
 “ Ful pleasant was his absolution.
 “ His tippet was ay farsed (*always stuffed*) ful of knives,
 “ And pinnes for to given fayre wives.
 “ And certainly he had a mery note:
 “ Wel coude he singe and plaien on a rote, (*musical instrument*;)
 “ Of yeddinges (*story-telling*) he bare utterly the pris (*prize*);
 “ Ther n'as no man (*was not any man*) no wher so vertuous;
 “ He was the beste begger in all his hous (*convent*).
 “ Somewhat he lisped for his wantonness (*affectation*),
 “ To make his English swete upon his tonge;
 “ And in his harping, when that he hadde songe,
 “ His eyen twinkeled in his hed aright,
 “ As don (*do*) the starres (*stars*) in a frosty night.” *Cant. Tales.*

in principles and practice; in habits, manners, and pursuits; and violent in their strictures on the slumbering inmates of the cloister; and listened to with eagerness and approbation by the laity; the monastics soon perceived, that, unless some mode were adopted, either of strengthening their own cause, or weakening that of their enemies, they must, ere long, bid adieu to that influence which they had, for centuries, exercised over the public mind. They tried the effect of ridicule and abuse; they derided the persons, and vilified the characters, of the friars; and descended so low in their satire, as to ornament the sittings in the churches, the capitals of their pillars, and the bosses and corbels of their ecclesiastical buildings, with ludicrous, and sometimes indecent, caricatures of the mendicants and their preaching. But, this was an instrument equally in the power of their enemies; and these used it with more effect, because they had *now* the ear and confidence of the people. As the monks thus failed in lowering the character of the friars, it was obvious, that all which remained for them to do, was to endeavour to elevate their own; to act upon the adage, *fas est ab hoste doceri*; and, by reformed manners, stricter discipline, and a more industrious pursuit of learning, to convince the world that they were not the drones which they had been represented to be, and thus regain, if possible, the place they had formerly held in the esteem and veneration of the laity.

But, independently of this cause of improvement in English monachism, we may detect another, in that *taste for literature*, which had long existed on the Continent, and began to unfold itself, about this period, in our own country.

In the wreck of learning which the eversion of the Roman empire by the Northern nations occasioned, wide as the ruin was, yet every thing did not perish. Here and there a fragment of the elegant and beautiful was found floating on the dreary chaos, a memorial of the splendid past, and the promise and germ of future glory. Many among the spoilers were not without a feeling for the generous arts. They thirsted for instruction and improvement, and became the patrons of those who could dispense these blessings. Learning and science arose from the dust of destruction; not, indeed, (in the sublime imagery of Milton,) as "an eagle moving in his

“mighty youth, kindling an undazzled eye at the full mid-day beam, and
 “purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain of heavenly
 “radiance;” but, though sorely-smitten and shorn of their beams, still
 shewing the pulse of life, and not destitute of the hope of eventual restora-
 tion to their pristine strength. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the
 Saracens made some amends to Europe for the havoc they occasioned in
 her fairest countries, by imparting the results of their own genius and
 knowledge to the people they subdued, and by awakening curiosity and
 exciting intellectual exertion among them. England, indeed, from the
 mutable and distracted state of her internal politics, did not, for a long
 time, participate in the advantage; but, from the settlement of the Norman
 dynasty on her throne, her improvement in the arts and sciences, as far as
 their range then extended, was uniform and perceptible; and, by the four-
 teenth century, so great a degree of mental cultivation was apparent in all
 the better orders of society, and so large a class of writers in several
 departments of literature seen, as effectually to secure the period from the
 odious charge of being an ignorant age.

With this spreading light around them, becoming every day more search-
 ing and intense, it was impossible that the monks should long feel themselves
 secure in their own “darkness visible.” While all without were busy in the
 search of knowledge, in curious inquiry, and in intellectual investigation, it
 was in the very nature of things, that the inmates of the cloister should
 throw off their lethargy, and bestir themselves in the pursuit of that learning
 which was now becoming general, and which, if they did not acquire, they
 must be content to be despised. They *saw*, if they did not *feel*, “the
 “great spirit” that now pervaded the land, and bowed to its irresistible
 influence. Monasteries became places of more study, and purer devotion,
 than before; they opened their doors to the tuition of youth; they collected
 libraries;* they produced annalists and historians from their own body;

* In the middle of the thirteenth century, the monks of Glaston had got together a considerable
 number of books. The catalogue given by Hearne, from a Cambridge MS., fills twenty-two
 pages. It is entitled *Numerus librorum Glastoniensis ecclesiæ, qui fuerunt de librario anno graciæ 1247*; and
 consists of works of the following description:—Eight whole bibles, with the exception of the Evangelists,
 and the Epistles of Paul, and the minor prophets; parts of the holy scriptures, with glosses; numerous

and thus endeavoured to avoid the reproach which must otherwise have fastened upon them—that the instructors were less wise than the instructed.

Possibly, however, the cause most operative in the improvement of our ancient religious houses will be found in the shock which vibrated through the whole Papal Church in England, in the fourteenth century, from the preaching of John de Wiclif, aptly denominated “the morning star of the Reformation.”

This extraordinary man, destined by Providence to sow the seeds of a greater change in the religious opinions of mankind, than had taken place since the promulgation of the gospel, was born about the year 1324, in the parish of Wiclif, Yorkshire. Endowed with singular acuteness of intellect, and solidity of understanding; with an intrepid spirit, and inflexible honesty, and deeply imbued with all the learning of the age, he possessed every attribute, natural and acquired, for the great work which he undertook; and, perhaps, failed in completing it, only, through the general political distractions and tremendous civil wars, which followed and subsisted for nearly a century after his decease, and raised such a storm of passion in the general mind of the country, as drowned the “small still

copies of different works of St. Augustine, ditto of St. Jerome, ditto of St. Gregory the Great, ditto of St. Bernard, ditto of Origen, ditto of Bede, ditto of St. Ambrose; numerous homilies; Casiodorus; Peter Lombard; papal decrees; Paschasius; Arnulfus; Anselmus; Hugo's Topography of Hibernia; a tract of Guliard *a tauro torrida*; Seneca to Callio; Dissuasive of Valerius to Ruffinus to take a wife; Cassian on the Incarnation of Christ, good; Athanasius on the Trinity, good; Lives of the Fathers; certain useful sermons on the art of grammar; various works of Rabanus, Albinus, Ambrosius, and Priscian the grammarian; Isidore; epistles of Ciprian, Fulbert, and Seneca; Orosius, Hegesippus, Phreculphus, Titus Livius; a book of the Destruction of Troy, and the Acts of the Roman Emperors, good; William of Malmsbury; Bede, of the Deeds of the English; Gildas, of the destruction of Britain; Brutus, on the Latin tongue; Solinus; Sallust, two books; a book in the different dialects in England; English Sermons; the sufferings of Saints and Virgins (*i. e.* martyrologies); Lives of Saints, numerous; works of Alcuinus; a book on prognostics; Cicero, on Old Age and Friendship; the works of Boethius; works on physics, chiefly on medicine; parts of Plato's and Aristotle's works; ditto of Paphrius; Glosses on Virgil, and the Timæus of Plato; books of astronomy, astrology, and logic; works of Donatus; works of grammar; Remigius; two very ancient books on the word Eutiche; an ancient glossary on the signification of words; Glosses on Words of the Old and New Testaments; Junilius; Prudentius; Fortunatus; Prosper; Sedulius; Arator; Æneid, Georgics, and Bucolics, of Virgil, another ancient copy; Exposition of Service in honour of the Virgin; Persius; Claudian; Anticlaudian; the book of Arrianus, and the Life of St. Wilfred, in good verse; the book of Cato; Canutus; Æsop's Fables; Missals; a great Ovid, &c.

“voice” of reason, and put to flight all sober thought, quiet reflection, and true pious feeling.

The thunder of Wiclif's eloquence, and the powers of his pen, were first directed against the mendicant orders; whose corrupt principles he exposed in his sermons; and in his tract on “Able Beggary,” both ridiculed and lashed their vicious practice also.* But a nobler game soon offered itself to his notice. The English King, Edward III., had refused to do that homage to the Tiara, which the base-minded King John had imposed upon his royal successors. Urban, the pontiff, irritated by Edward's hardihood, notified to him, in 1366, that, if he persisted in his refusal, he should be cited to the court of Rome. The insolent message was immediately laid by his Majesty before the Parliament, who came to this memorable vote:—“That forasmuch as neither King John, nor any other king, could bring this realm or kingdom in such thralldom and subjection, but by common assent of Parliament, the which was not done; therefore, that which he did was against his oath at his coronation, besides many other causes. If, therefore, the Pope should attempt any thing against the King, by process, or other matters in deed, the King, with all his subjects, should, with all their force and power, resist the same.†” So direct an insult on the Pope was not to be overlooked by his satellites; the whole nest of hornets was instantly in motion; but *one* monk, in particular, stepped forth as the advocate of his Holiness, and attempted to vindicate his prerogative, with far more ingenuity and violence than any of his fellows. Wiclif dashed at once into the lists, to combat this champion of the pretended vicegerent of Christ upon earth; and soon levelled him with the dust. In a tract, *Determinatio de Dominio*, he nullified every argument of his opponent; and evinced, by reasoning and evidence, that the claim of the Pope, upon the monarchs of England, for their homage, was utterly illegal and unfounded.‡ His success spread his fame, kindled his spirit, and opened a wider field of action to his view. No longer contented with castigating monks and friars, or exposing the

* *Contra mendicitatem validam*; in English, Trin. Col. Lib. Dublin.

† Cotton's Abridg. of Records.

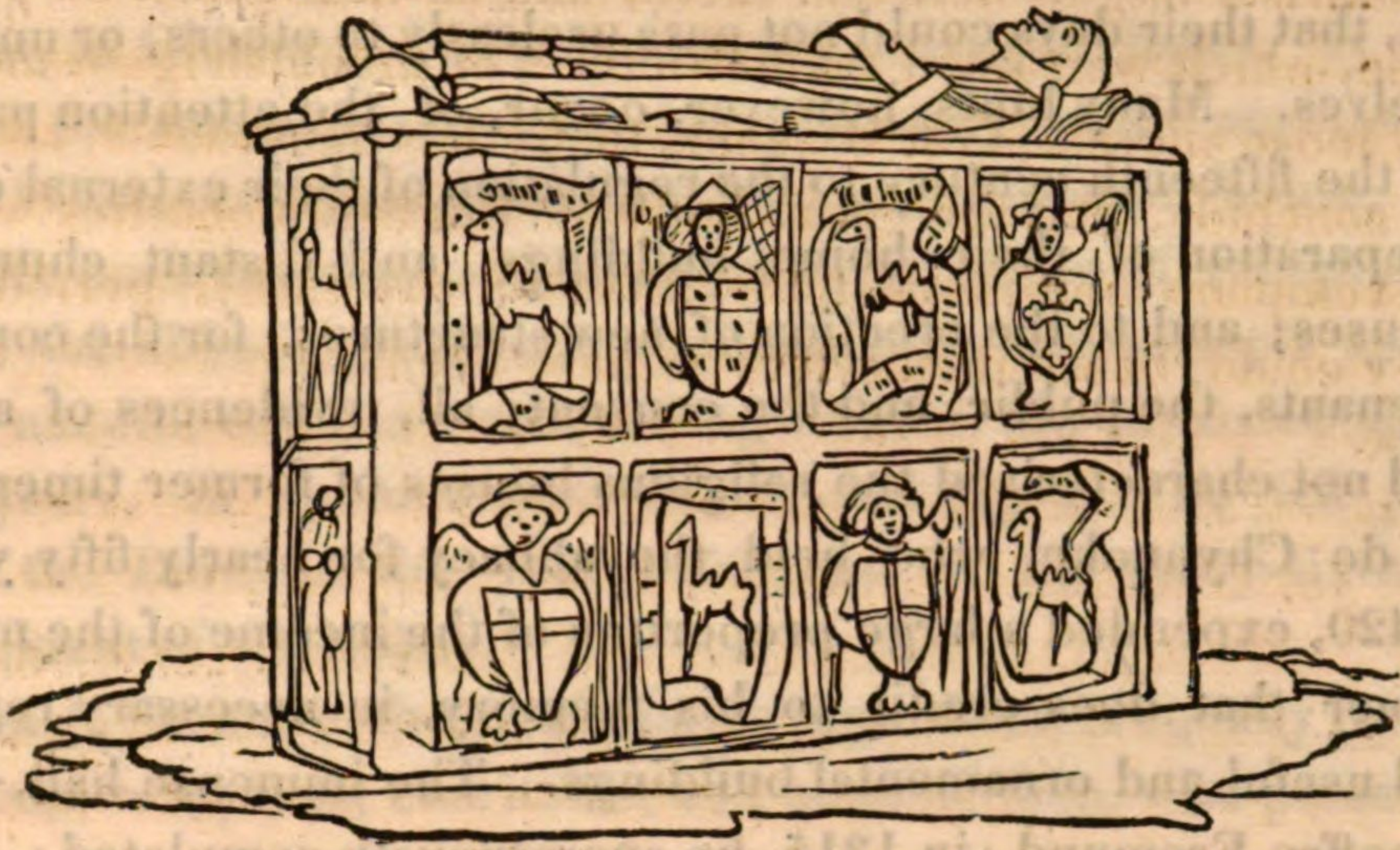
‡ Lewis's Life of Wiclif, p. 363.

falsehood of papal claims, he attacked the *doctrines* of the corrupted, and corrupting, church; examined its strongest holds, and shewed that they were feeble and rotten; laid open the foundations of its tenets, pretensions, and privileges, and proved that they were all "built on stubble."

Wiclif carried on his strenuous warfare against delusion and hypocrisy for twenty years; and died, at length, in peace, at his living of Lutterworth, on the 2d of January, 1384. Persecution by the papacy was his lot, of course, through life; but Providence fenced him in from harm, both from without and from within; he had powerful friends at court, and "light within his own clear breast," that cheered and animated him. The posthumous fury of his enemies was disgraceful and injurious only to themselves; and when, thirty years after his decease, they tore his bones from their grave, and buried them in a dunghill, they manifested at once their malice and their fears.

But though the great result of Wiclif's efforts, in the cause of pure christianity, did not decidedly develope itself, for more than a century after its harbinger had been called to his everlasting reward; yet many immediate good effects were the consequence of his active career, both on the laity and the clergy. The eyes of the people at large were opened to the false pretensions, impositions, and delusions of the Romish Church. They were taught to think and to reason on subjects the most important to their interest and happiness; and to compare, and determine upon, the relative value of the old system of instruction, and the "new teaching." While, on the other hand, the clergy of all descriptions were put upon the alert: they had an antagonist to encounter, who, secured from the fury of their bigotry, could be opposed only with his own arms—argument, reasoning, and learning. It was essentially necessary, therefore, to sharpen their ingenuity, to cultivate their talents, and to increase their stock of erudition. Upon the monks, who were involved in the general odium, the same necessity was imposed, as on the other priesthood of the Romish church. They unquestionably understood their peril; and strove to evade it, by obtaining the similar requisites of safety. Improvement among them, in every form, would be the natural consequence of such a perception; and though, doubtless, after the period under consideration, the

poets and satirists might, here and there, find an individual, or possibly a whole house, which warranted their strictures on monkish ignorance, indolence, and loose morals; yet it seems to be but reasonable, as well as candid, to conclude, that the great body of English monastics were now far more exemplary and respectable, than at any earlier period of their history they could boast themselves to have been.



G

CHAPTER VII.

*Abbots: John de Chynnoke, Nicholas de Frome, John de Selwode,
and Richard Beer. Erasmus.*

THE series of Glaston Abbots, from the opening of the fifteenth century to the æra of the Reformation, justifies, we apprehend, the notion, advanced in the last chapter, of a considerable monastic improvement in our country, as far, at least, as regards the subject of our History; for we cannot conceive that men, some of whom were venerable, and all respectable, would permit a neglected discipline, a loose morality, or a degrading apathy, to scandalize the establishment over which they presided. We have few notices extant, indeed, of the literary industry of the Glaston monks;* but, as they devoted much of their time to the education of the

* In the library of Henry Ellis, esq; of the British Museum, to whom the public is so much indebted for the treasures of English antiquities which he has spread before it, is a manuscript chronicle, by John Merylynch, a monk of Glaston Abbey, written in 1410. The early part relates to Glaston, but is a transcript from William of Malmesbury, with here and there a trifling interpolation.

numerous young persons who were committed to their care, it must be conceded, that their days could not pass uselessly to others, or unprofitably to themselves. Many hints, however, occur, of the attention paid by the abbots of the fifteenth century to the regulation of their external concerns; to the reparation of their home buildings, and distant churches, and manor houses; and to the erection of new structures, for the convenience of their tenants, the public, and the convent; all, evidences of an activity which had not characterised the religious houses of former times.

John de Chynnoke, who held the abbacy for nearly fifty years, and died in 1420, expended a large proportion of the income of the monastery, in a manner that does credit to his memory, in necessary repairs, and additional useful and ornamental buildings. The immense hall, begun by Abbot Geoffry Fromund, in 1315, he sumptuously completed; as well as the magnificent chapter-house, which survived the Dissolution, and bowed its head to the destroyer in the early years of Elizabeth. He raised the dormitory, and frater, from the disgraceful state of dilapidation in which they lay; and repaired and extended the noble cloister, judiciously placed to the south of the church, to catch all the sun afforded by our climate, and protected by glazed Gothic windows, to shield those who paced its "long-drawn aisles," from the wintry blast. Attentive both to the health and comfort of those over whom he presided, Abbot Chynnoke, in addition to many other liberal acts,* purchased, for the use, recreation, and exercise of the monks, several meadows at Hertymore, in the neighbourhood of their convent; and made over to them a rent of six pounds eight shillings, issuing out of the mills of Bathpool, which from thenceforth obtained the name of *the Pietancy* (or pittance) of *Abbot Lord John Chynnoke*.

Nor do his successors, Nicholas de Frome, and John de Selwode, appear to have been unworthy of him. The former, discreet and charitable, fulfilled the duties of a careful steward to his establishment, and a bountiful friend to the poor. He acquired, by purchase, a rent of £28 : 19s : 4d. out of lands at Smithfield, London; the manor of Northloade, value £24 annually; a rent, at Yadwike, of £3 : 6s. : 8d. ditto; in Hyndon, of 26s : 8d.; another, in Plysch, of 20s.; the same in Baltenesborough, of

* Inter cætera beneficia sua quæ fecit. John Glast. 277.

23s.; besides the lands and tenements of William Hakkit, of the value of 40s.; a rent, in Glaston, of 10s.; and many other purchases, by which he augmented the annual revenue of the monastery to the amount of sixty pounds. Whatever remained to be added to the chapter-house, he completed. He built the *domus misericordiæ*, or house of reception for the sick poor; the abbot's great audience chamber; the bishop's apartment; and other needful edifices: and, having lived to the advanced age of one hundred years, in undiminished health and vigour, he fell peaceably asleep in the Lord, in the year 1456, and in the thirty-sixth year of his government of the abbey.*

Of John de Selwode, the memorial, though short, is equally respectable. It marks him as a pious, charitable, and amiable man, who passed six and thirty years in an exemplary attention to the narrow range of duties which his secluded state of life imposed upon him.

The character of Richard Beere, who obtained the appointment of abbot, in January, 1494, seems to have been of a more active cast than that of his predecessor.† He, too, busied himself in adding to the monastery such buildings as were deemed necessary to its high character and almost unique perfection; and ended his improvements by executing a great and important work‡—the examination of all the muniments in the Abbey Exchequer; a perambulation and actual inspection of the Twelve

* *Naturali vigore sopito.* Joh. Glast. p. 28. Walter More succeeded Nicholas de Frome; but survived his appointment only a few weeks. In the *Append. to No. I. Mon. Ang. nov. edit.* is the prolix form of his election.

† Wood has the following notice of this abbot:—"1504. This year was a supplication made, in the venerable Congregation of Regents, for one Richard Bere, a Benedictine monk, to be graduated in divinity; but whether in the degree of bachelor, or doctor, it appears not; or whether he was admitted to either. 'Twas the same Richard Bere who was installed abbot of Glastonbury, on the death of John Selwood, the former abbot, 20th January, 1493 (after the election of another person named Thomas Wasyn, a monk of the same order, had been cassated by Richard Fox, bishop of Bath and Wells, on the 12th of November going before). This Richard Bere, who was well known and revered by Erasmus, (*Epist. lib. xviii. 46.*) died 20th January, 1524; whereupon Richard Whyting was elected abbot, in his place, on the 3d March following, there being then in the monastery of Glastonbury forty-seven monks. If you are pleased to know more of this Richard Bere, you may read what Leland saith of him, *Itin. iii. vol. folio 80.*" *Fasti Oxon. edit. Bloss. v. i. p. 12.* Beere's name is spelt five different ways.

‡ See Eyston's account, *Append. No. i. p. 32.*

Hides; and the formation (from the comparison of both) of a new *terrier* of the possessions of Glaston Abbey.* It was in the year 1503, and in the tenth year of his government of the monastery, that Richard Beere undertook this arduous labour; and, that he might effect it with the greatest possible accuracy, he summoned to his assistance his "most devoted and faithful counsellor," John Fitz-James, esq; a skilful lawyer, and seneschal, at that time, of the town of Glastonbury; William Lange, auditor and clerk of the stewards, or bailiffs; and Thomas Gunwyn, a cleric, deeply versed in the abbey archives. To these was committed, chiefly, the research among the *muniments*: but, for the actual survey of the property, and the settlement of the *terrier*, he engaged John Horner, a prudent man, and able surveyor, then bailiff of Whitstone; Thomas Somerset, and William Walton, clerks of the Abbey Exchequer, and Thomas Sutton, a monk and cellerarius of the convent; who drew up the *terrier*, from the particulars obtained, as well as the preface to it.† When completed, the document consisted of several volumes, each accompanied by a regular index.

The *terrier* states, that the Abbot started on his expedition on Wednesday the 10th of July, 1503, accompanied by the persons already mentioned, and a train of attendants, composed chiefly of the Abbot's officers, and inmates of the monastery. The point of departure was at Butash, a place marked by three ashes growing on the spot; where the tenants of Strete were summoned to do homage to their lord. These, joining in the procession, accompanied it to the next halting-place, Growthamstoke; where the bailiff of Budcley (who was in waiting with his *posse*) received the Abbot and company, dismissed the men of Strete, and led the perambulators to Middehard's bridge, (built in the time of St. Dunstan,) where the whole party partook of a collation of bread, beer, wine, and other articles, at the expense of the Lord Abbot. The first day's progress terminated at Pilton; where the abbots had a park and mansion. The proceedings of the second day were similar to those of the preceding

* Excerpt. a Ric. Beere Terrar. John Glas. 288. A large portion of this voluminous *terrier* (as Hearne says) has perished.

† "Et ego frater Thomas Sutton, humilimus, quamquam longe indignus, hujus sacri cœnobii professor, officium gerens cellerarii forinsici," &c. John Glas. 290.

one; the tenants of the several manors meeting the party at its entrance into them, doing homage to their seignoral lord, and accompanying him to the next boundary. This day's perambulation finished at Hartlake. After the fatigues of the third day, the Abbot and his attendants dined and reposed at Hakewere. On the fourth day, a dinner was given to them at the manor of Andresy. The fifth day's perambulation was begun at Parycemede; but as a great chasm occurs in the MS. in this part, the further proceedings of this and the succeeding days are wanting. Sufficient of the terrier, however, remains to shew, that both the undertaking itself, and the manner, minuteness, and accuracy, with which it was completed, were very creditable to the good sense, judgment, and diligence of the respectable Abbot.

But Richard Beere did not confine his attention exclusively to the concerns of his monastery, or the duties of his official station; he was known in the political, and respected in the literary, world. In the very year of his perambulation (1503), we find him filling the public and responsible situation of an ambassador (with certain associates) at Rome; paying his duty, and bearing the congratulations of Henry VII. and the English nation, to John Angeli de Medicis, Pope Pius IV., on his elevation to the pontifical throne; a proof of the estimation with which Abbot Beere was regarded at court, and of his capability of executing a commission, which required the courtesy of a well-bred, as well as the address of a clever, man. This view of his character, indeed, and of his general worth and taste for literature, is confirmed by a circumstance, that reflects more honour on him than the pomp of his envoyship, or the patronage of Henry VII.—the high respect and esteem with which he was regarded by one of the brightest ornaments of the sixteenth century, the celebrated Erasmus: a man who, if his *courage* had been at all proportioned to his transcendent talents, or his mind animated with a spark of Luther's fire, or Calvin's inflexibility, would have blazed with almost more than mortal splendour in the first rank of the Protestant Reformers.

The record of Erasmus' respect for Richard Beere, both as a man and a scholar, is preserved in his collection of letters; among which is one addressed to the Abbot from Basil, in 1524. It is written in the usual

elegant and playful style of his general correspondence ; and seasoned with that delicacy of compliment, which evinces a taste, of the finest kind, and a judgment, of the nicest discrimination. It is obvious, however, that this was not the language of flattery ; for we find Erasmus offering up to the critical skill and theological science of Beere, a sacrifice, whose value none but an *author* can appreciate—withholding a work from the press, which he had intended for publication, because it was not sanctioned by the approbation of the Abbot. How refreshing is it to catch such a gleam of sunshine, amid the storms that usually convulse and disfigure the world of letters ; to see the beautiful forms of candour, humility, and urbanity, yoked to the glittering car of commanding intellect, puissant genius, and triumphant learning.*

A tribute so honourable to the character of the *penultimate* president of Glaston Monastery, and the temper and understanding of the delightful Erasmus, cannot be too widely diffused. We give it, therefore, to the reader, without apology.

“ *Eras. Rot. Richardo Bere, Abbati Glasconiensi: S.*

“ Olim persuasum sum a *Richardo Pacæo*, qui mihi quum ageremus
 “ *Ferrariæ*, sæpe prædicabat tuam ergà literas benignitatem, venabar et
 “ ipse notitiam amplitudinis tuæ. Verùm ea venatio mihi parum successit,
 “ fortassis ab hoc, quod uterer *cæco* duce, videlicet, *Bernardo illo Andrea*
 “ *Gallo*, quondam *Arcturi* principis optimi, non optimo præceptore.
 “ Itaque, quoniam eram *cæcus* quia non noveram amplitudinem tuam, et
 “ *cæco* duce sum usus, factum est, ut ambo in foveam deciderimus.
 “ Præterea *Sacellanas* tuus qui prodierat ut nos salutaret, multa odiose
 “ disputaret, de libro quem adferebam: putabat enim esse argumenta
 “ *Hieronimi* quæ tractassem, stylo politiore, quasi divus *Hieronymus*
 “ mihi non satis politè loquatur. Verteram e *Græcis* quæ nunc vides
 “ addita Novo Testamento Græcè, ut tum erant. Mea versio posteaquam
 “ tibi displicuit, cæpit et mihi displicere. Alioqui addidissem supremum
 “ manum, et nisi dissuasisses, edidissem. Sed magis ipse mihi displicui,

* Erasmus, however, was not always thus gentle and tractable ; but constant goading will produce occasional kicks.

“ qui præter ingenium et morem meum, captassem amicitiam tanti patris.
 “ Nihil enim improbius hoc hominum genere, qui sordidè captant potentes,
 “ ut aliquid abradant vel invitis, nec hic animus ab ullo mortalium genere
 “ magis abhorret. Et fortassè tua amplitudo suspicatur me e sordidorum
 “ istorum esse numero. Ego te numquam amare desii, vel ob *Ricardum*
 “ *Pacæum*, dimidium animæ mei, cujus studia tua liberalitas olim adjuvit,
 “ vel ob *Zacharium Phrysius*, virum integerrimum, mihiq̃ue multis
 “ nominibus carissimum, qui tuam ergà se humanitatem suis ad me literis
 “ numquam desinit prædicare. Quod in tales amicos collatum est, in me
 “ collatum arbitror. Precor ut Christus amplitudinem tuam diu servat
 “ incolumem.

“ Datum Basileæ, octava S. Augustini, anno MDXXIV.”*

* Epist. lib. dec. Oct. epist. 46. A desire to know Beere had been first kindled, it appears, in Erasmus, at Ferrara, by Richard Pace, a friend of this great man; and one who had received particular favour and assistance, in his studies, from the Abbot. It should seem, also, that, when Erasmus was in England, he purposed paying his personal compliments at Glaston Abbey, and carried with him the intended publication, which he afterwards withheld from the press; but being under the direction of a *blind guide*, Bernard Andreas, a Frenchman, the unworthy preceptor of Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry the Seventh, he might have missed his destination, but that the Abbot's chaplain came out to meet and salute him. The thanks which Erasmus offers to Beere, on account of *Pace* and *Phrysius*, shew how much he regarded these friends, and how liberal and kind the Abbot had been to them. Of *Zachary Phrysius* we know nothing. In the collection of the epistles of Erasmus, in Jortin's Life of him, there is a long letter to *Hajon Hermann Frisius*, a learned young man, possibly some relation to Zachary, with an alteration in the orthography of the name. (Vol. iii. p. 99.) But of *Pace*, and the French coxcomb, Bernard Andreas, we have the following account in Jortin, from Knight, vol. i. page 136 :

“ Pace had been one of the most particular friends of Erasmus, and their acquaintance was of an
 “ early date. Pace was trained up at school, as we are told by Wood, at the charge of Thomas
 “ Langhton, bishop of Winchester, to whom he was *amanuensis*. The bishop being much pleased
 “ with his proficiency, sent him to Padua, to improve himself. There he met with Tonstall and W.
 “ Latimer; by whom he much profited. Upon his return, he settled at Queen's college in Oxford:
 “ thence he was sent for to court, his accomplishments rendering him very acceptable to Henry VIII.,
 “ who made him secretary of state, and employed him in matters of high concern. Though so much
 “ immersed in political affairs, he went into orders, and had some preferments given to him whilst he
 “ was employed in foreign embassies. Upon the death of Dean Colet, in 1519, he succeeded him at
 “ St. Paul's. Thus far the bright part of his life: for some years afterwards, whilst he was upon public
 “ business at Venice, he fell under the displeasure of Wolsey; for which two reasons are assigned;
 “ first, that he had showed a readiness to assist Charles duke of Bourbon with money, for whom the
 “ Cardinal had no great affection; and, secondly, that he had not forwarded the cardinal's designs.

“ of getting the papacy. Upon these two reasons he was sadly distressed by that great man; who
 “ stopped his allowance, and almost starved him, and pursued him with the utmost vengeance, so
 “ that it did at last bereave him of his senses; though he had some lucid intervals, in which he
 “ remonstrated to the king against his ill usage. But the cardinal was too hard for him, and he was
 “ confined in the Tower two years. He resigned his two deaneries of St. Paul’s and Exeter a little
 “ before his death; and retiring to Stepney for his health, he there died, and was buried in 1532,
 “ not being quite fifty years old. Leland’s Encomium, on his return from Venice, contains an ele-
 “ gant and just character of him.

“ Erasmus, as he had a great opinion of Pace for his candour and sweetness of temper, so he
 “ was much afflicted at his misfortunes, and could never forgive the man that caused them. And it
 “ much rejoiced him to hear that he had recovered himself, and was restored to his places again, &c.

“ As Pace succeeded Colet in the deanery of St. Paul’s, it had been well if he had used
 “ his caution, too, in absenting himself from court, after the cardinal came to be prime minister.
 “ Colet had too much of the humble christian, and of the reputed heretic, to be favoured by Wolsey,
 “ and therefore avoided being concerned with him. Having told Erasmus, in a letter, that
 “ Wolsey had the supreme command, he adds, that he himself was going to retire from the world.

“ There is extant a remarkable letter of Pace to the King, written in the year 1527, wherein
 “ he very honestly gives his opinion concerning the divorce. Fiddes himself tells us that Pace always
 “ used a faithful liberty to the cardinal, which brought him at last to confinement and distraction.”

Of Bernard Andreas we have these particulars in the same work :

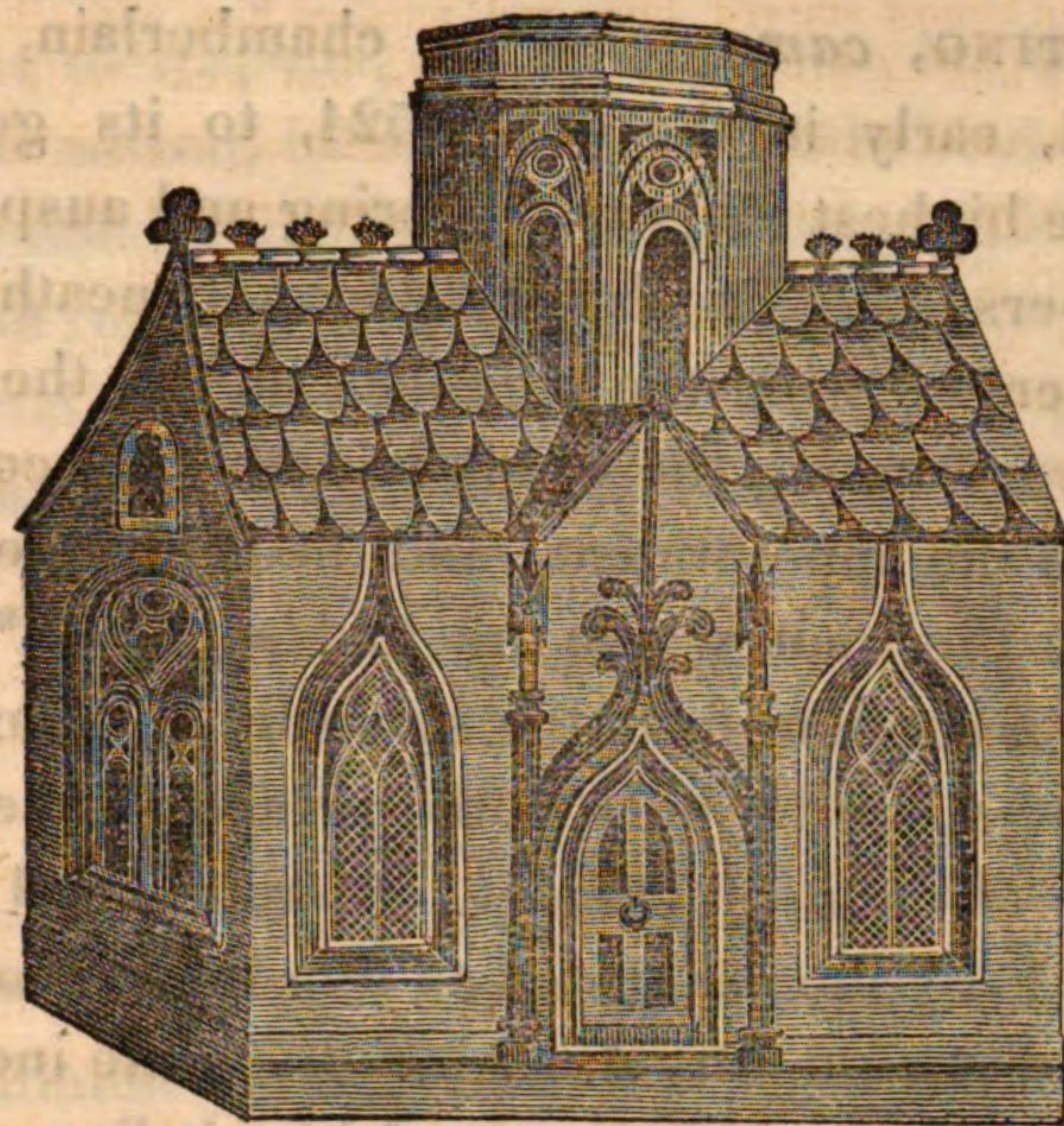
“ Linacer was ill used by one Bernard Andreas, tutor to Prince Arthur. Linacer had translated
 “ Proclus, and dedicated it to Henry VII.; and this sycophant told the king, that Proclus had been
 “ already translated by another hand: and so it had, but in a wretched manner. The king, hearing
 “ this, was so prejudiced against Linacer, that he ever after abhorred him as an impostor.” Jortin adds,
 “ thus indeed Erasmus hath related the story;” and Knight follows him. But Erasmus was mis-
 “ taken in some of the circumstances. Linacer was also preceptor to Prince Arthur; and to him he
 “ dedicated his version of Proclus. Mattaire hath published the dedication, Ann. Typog. i. 253;
 “ and at page 42 is the following extract from Knight. “ Erasmus once lodged in London with
 “ Bernard Andreas, the old tutor to Prince Arthur, poet laureate, and historiographer to Henry the
 “ Eighth, in Augustine Friars, and dined in the same convent; for which Bernard demanded too
 “ large a sum, and quarrelled with him; till Lord Mountjoy, for the sake of Erasmus, was forced
 “ to make him satisfaction of twenty nobles. Upon this, Erasmus could hardly ever after endure him;
 “ and also bore hard upon him for envying Linacer. *Quod uterer*, says he, *cæco duce*, &c. He calls
 “ him a *blind guide*, (the poor man had really lost his eyes;) and it seems likely to be upon him, that
 “ we must understand the biting epigram of Erasmus, made upon a blind corrector of tragedies :

“ Cur adeo, lector, crebris offendere mendis?

“ Qui castigavit, lumine captus erat.”

Knight, p. 118.

Erasmus honoured our country for some time with his residence in it. He was Margaret professor
 of divinity at Cambridge, Greek professor at Oxford and Cambridge, and minister of Aldington in
 Kent.



H

CHAPTER VIII.

Abbot Richard Whiting. His Execution. Dissolution of the Abbey of Glaston. Remarks on Monachism.

THERE are few characters on record, crowded as the page of history is with strange vicissitudes, and unexpected reverses, whose fortunes exhibit a more striking example of the instability of human prosperity, than the last Abbot of Glaston Monastery: nor can we point out one, to whom the fallen Cardinal's affecting picture of the vanity of mortal greatness would be more strictly appropriate:—

“Such is the state of man: to-day he puts forth
 “The tender leaves of hopes; to-morrow blossoms,
 “And bears his blushing honours thick upon him;
 “The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
 “And when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
 “His greatness is a ripening, nips his root;
 “And then he falls.”

RICHARD WHITING, *camerarius*, or chamberlain, of the Abbey of Glaston, succeeded, early in the year 1524, to its government, under circumstances in the highest degree flattering and auspicious. Wolsey, the most powerful personage in the kingdom, beneath the Throne, who had been complimented with the nomination, by the Chapter, named Whiting as abbot, from among the whole body of the convent; and gave additional dignity to the appointment, and lustre to the situation, by his personal esteem for the man whom he had selected.* Whiting found himself elevated, on a sudden, from the subordinate office he had hitherto filled, to one which was inferior only to the princely state. He was called to the presidentship of the most ancient, venerable, and venerated monastery in England. Fifty monks vowed to him implicit obedience;† and a long train of lay brethren submitted to his rule. The income at his disposal was vast; ample for all the purposes of hospitality, charity, and state. The sons of some of the first families of the country were entrusted to his care. His common residence was almost a palace; and he had rural retreats, with parks, and gardens, and fisheries, for days of ease, and hours of relaxation. Did his taste point to the calm pleasures of study? it might be indulged to the utmost, in one of the most noble libraries in the

* As a proof of the Cardinal's regard for Whiting, the election took place at his palace, York House, on the 3d March, 1524. There cannot be a stronger testimony, to the exemplary character of this venerable man, than the language of the commission directed to John Glastonbury, and John Bennett, two of the monks, to induct Whiting into his office. It speaks of him as "probum et religiosum virum—virum itaque providum et discretum, vita, moribus, et scientia, commendabilem, in ordine sacerdotali et ætate legitima constitutum, ac in et de legitimo matrimonio procreatum, in spiritualibus ac temporalibus circumspectum, scientem et valentem jura et libertates dicti monasterii," &c. Adam de Dom. No. 7, pref. § xi. append. xcvi.

† The number of monks in Glaston Abbey varied at different times. From a bull of Pope Innocent III. dated viii Kal. October, Pont. anno quinto, it appears, that there had been seventy-two, and sometimes, eighty, monks, or more, in the establishment, but that, in future, the number was not to exceed sixty. Eyston's "Little Monument," Append. No. xiii. In 1320, there were fifty brethren in the monastery. John Glast. 206. At the election of Walter More, in 1426, fifty-three brethren were present. Mon. Ang. nov. edit. No. i. Append. Electio Walt. Mori. At the election of Richard Whiting, forty-seven monks were present. Ad. de Domesham, pref. append. xcvi. And, to the acknowledgment of Henry's supremacy, fifty monks, besides the abbot and the prior, subscribed their names. Append. No. xviii.

land.* Were his wishes directed to pomp, and shew, and splendour? they might be fully gratified by the train of one hundred attendants, who followed him to the metropolis, when called to his duties in Parliament, where, robed and mitred, he sat as the second abbot in the kingdom.†

Such was the condition of Richard Whiting in 1525. The close of the year 1539 saw him robbed, ruined, executed; his severed head surmounting the great portal of his own Abbey; and the four quarters of its abused trunk, "bleaching in the blast," at Wells, Bath, Ivelchester, and Bridgewater:

"Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows;

"While, proudly riding o'er the azure realm,

"In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,

"Youth on the prow, and pleasure at the helm—

"Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,

"That, hush'd in grim repose, expects his evening prey!"

That the treatment which this ill-starred man received, from the despot who filled the English throne, was utterly unmerited, as far as his own personal character, and that of his convent, were concerned, is not to be disputed. Tradition fondly cherishes his memory, as a mild, pious, benevolent, and inoffensive man; and attests its abhorrence of his unjustifiable execution, by stamping the act with the name of *murder*.‡ Leland con-

* Leland gives a glowing account of the library of Glaston Abbey, and of his own rapture when he visited and examined it. "Eram aliquot ab hinc annis Glessoburgi, Somurotrigum, ubi antiquissimum simul et famosissimum est totius insulæ mostræ cœnobium, *animumque longo studiorum labore fessum*, favente Ricardo Whitingo, ejusdem loci abbate, recreabam, donec novus quidam cum legendi, tum discendi ardor me inflammaret. Supervenit autem ardor ille citius opinione. Itaque statim me contuli ad bibliothecam non omnibus perviam, ut sacra sanctæ vetustatis reliquias, quarum tantus ibi numerus, quantus nullo alio facile Britanniae loco, diligentissime evolverem. Vix certo limen intraveram, cum antiquissimorum librorum vel solus conspectus religionem, nescio an stuporem, animo incuteret meo, eaque de causa, pedem paululum sistebam. Deinde, salutato loci numine, per dies aliquot omnes forulos curiosissime excussi." Collect. Hearne's: Prelim. Obser. 87, vol. vi. Some expressions in the above passage lead to the notion, that the state of Leland's mind, in the early part of his visit at Glaston Abbey, approximated to that wretched condition of insanity, into which he afterwards fell, and in which he died. In his Comment. de Script. Britan. he has given an account of some of the more curious MS. which he found there.

† See Sanders de Schism. 176. Reyneri Apost. R. 224.

‡ On inquiring of an old woman at Glastonbury on what particular spot the Abbot was executed? "Anan?" she returned, not understanding the term. The question was put in another form; when she replied, "Oh! thee dost mean wher he wer murdered."

firms the justice and propriety of these tender recollections, by eulogizing Whiting as a most *candid man*, and calling him *his particular friend*; and though the too cautious antiquary, in after times, passed his pen through this language of praise and kindness, lest it should be offensive to his contemporaries, yet, happily for the Abbot's fame, the tribute is still legible, and will remain for ages a sufficient evidence of the sacrifice of a guileless victim to the tyranny of a second Ahab.*

Nor was the internal state of Glaston Abbey of such a discreditable description, as to justify any cruel measures on the part of the moral reformer. In common with all the religious houses of the age, it had its absurdities and vanities; its tawdry superstitions, and less harmless delusions; its forged relics, and false miracles; but, as far as regarded habits of life and decencies of conduct, these monastics appear to have been unblameable; and to have afforded no room, for an invidious comparison between their profession and their behaviour. It is but common candour, indeed, and mere justice to the great body of English monks, at the time of the dissolution, to allow, (and the concession may be safely made in these days of light and liberality,) that many of the representations of their atrocity, at the time of the Reformation, were abominable calumnies. If Fox, in his hatred of Popery, could enrol, on his list of martyred Protestants, people who were actually living while he wrote; and if Fuller, in his half-jest and half-earnest style, (laudably anxious for the cause of pure christianity, but mistaking the means of advocating it,) could record accusations against the monks, which appear, upon their very front, to be absurd; it is not a matter of surprise, that Henry's *Visitors* of the monasteries, knowing the temper, wish, and stern resolve of their employer, and anxious to share in the spoil of the devoted brotherhood, should paint the intended victims in the most odious colours; and sedulously further, by deliberate falsehood, or, at least, by gross exaggeration, Henry's earnest wish to render them hateful or despicable in the eyes of the nation.

* "Mox post abbate," adjecerat Lelandus, "*homine sane candidissimo, ac amico singulari meo*; quæ tandem delevit, nescio quam ob causam, nisi metueret ne forsitan (vita monastica nunc in desuetudinem abeunte, cœnobiisque tandem dirutis) lectoribus displicerent." *Lel. Col. vi. Hearne's Ob. 87.*

Allowing, however, for a moment, the Visitors' statement of English monastic abomination to be true to its utmost extent, we have still the best evidence to prove, that the discreditable charge did not attach to the inmates of Glaston Abbey; and, therefore, that the harsh treatment of its abbot could borrow no sanction from the plea of the bad character of the monks over whom he presided.

Strype, in his "Ecclesiastical Memorials," has given the actual testimony of one of the Visitors (Doctor Layton) himself, to the unblameable lives of the Glaston brethren; and to the strictness of their discipline.

"Another Visiter," says he, "sent up (in 1536) his account of Glastenberg, and the convents in Bristow; and, withal, sent up the relicks found in them. Take Dr. Layton the Visiter's own letters.

"Pleasyth your Mastership to understand, that yesterday night late we came from Glastenberg to Bristow.

"— By this bringer, my servant, I send you relicks. First, two flowers, wraped in white and black sarcenet, that on Christen mass even, *horâ ipsâ qua Christus natus fuerat*, will spring, and burgen, and bare blossomes. *Quod expertum est*, saith the Prior of Maiden Bradley. Yee shall also receive a bag of relicks, wherein yee shall see stranger things, as shal appear by the *scripture*," (*i. e.* the labels upon them,) "as G—d's coat, or" (*i. e.* our) Ladies' smock; part of G—'s supper, *in cæna Domini, pars petræ super qua natus erat Jesus* in Bethlehem."—

"At Bruton and Glastonbury there is nothing notable. The brethren be so *streit*" (straightly) "*kept, they cannot offend*, but fain they would, if they might, *as they confess*; and so the fault is not in them,

"Your most assured poor priest, RICHARD LAYTON."

A more satisfactory vindication, of the Abbey of Glaston, from any imputation of immorality or disorder, cannot be desired; while the uncharitable insinuation at the end of Layton's letter, and the absurd confession, said to have been volunteered by the monks, of their own *vicious inclinations*, afford a pretty strong proof of the spirit of malignity and fabrication in which the Visitors executed their commission.

The conduct of Whiting, also, during the progress of the storm that

assailed his house, in common with the other monasteries, and which, at length burst in thunder upon his own head, was exemplary and high-minded; and confirms the truth of those testimonies, in favour of his character, which we have just adduced. Every act which he was legally and conscientiously bound to perform, he hesitated not to execute. When Parliament had sanctioned the acknowledgement of Henry's supremacy, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, Whiting, at the head of his monks, signed the deed; and, if his hand *trembled*, while it traced his name, it merely indicated an inward tumult, which was honourable to his heart and his feelings:

Henricus Whiting
P

The *Visitors*, also, sanctioned by the same authority, he received with hospitality, and satisfied their inquiries without reserve: but when, illegally and arbitrarily, enticed by blandishments, or assailed by threats, to war against his conscience, violate his oaths, and betray those whom he was bound to protect, by an affected *voluntary surrender* of his dignity, rights, possessions, and tutelage, he scorned to debase his character by so degrading an act; and, with a greatness of soul, that must, and ought to be, admired, at once preferred death to dishonour.*

Violent and unjustifiable, however, as the treatment of Whiting actually was, it must not be concealed, that the Roman Catholic accounts of it

* Henry had not always been thus inimical to the Abbey of Glaston; but, at one time, respected its privileges, and protected its property, as appears from the following extract from The Statutes of the Realm, published by authority of Parliament. "22d Hen. VIII. chap. 17. An acte concerning the Duke of Rychemond and Somerset, of divers honours, castles, lordships, rents, and other hereditaments, to Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset, with such liberties, &c. as Edmund late Earl of Richmond, John late Duke of Somerset, or Margaret late Countess of Richmond, had."

In this act, the following proviso occurs in favour of the Abbot of Glastonbury: "Provided always, that this acte, nor any thyng therein conteigned, be not pjudicial nor hurtfull to the abbot of the monast'y of Glastonbury, nor to his successors, of or for any lete, libt'ie, sute, or other franchis, whiche he hath, or ought to have, within the manour of Shepton-Malet in the county of Soñs, or of the tenants and resyaunts within the same manour." Vol. iii. p. 338.

(by Sanders, Reyner, Dodd, &c.) exaggerate its inhumanity; and, by representing the Abbot, as invited by Henry to the court; treated, while there, with kindness and distinction; and dismissed with favour; but seized immediately on his return home; impeached, and executed; blacken the king's character, with as deep a shade of duplicity and hypocrisy, as of cruelty. It is clear, however, that such accounts are false; and that the proceedings against him were of a more deliberate, and somewhat less detestable, description. This, we think, will sufficiently appear from the two following documents; the first of which, instead of notifying Whiting's journey to London, describes him to have been apprehended at Sharpham Park, one of his autumnal retreats; and the date of the other (compared with that of the commissioners' letter) proves, that very nearly two months elapsed between his arrest and execution, allowing time, at least, for something like formal proceedings against him. The tradition is, that he was tried (or *arrayned*, as Russel calls it) at Wells, and, probably, by a special commission, as the Courts must then have been sitting at Westminster; and Russel's letter shews, that this trial took place on the 14th of November, and that the execution followed on the succeeding day. Previously to this, from about the 20th of September, the Commissioners were in possession of the monastery, and the Abbot in confinement; so that it is quite certain, the pretended journey to court could not have taken place, nor the king be fairly charged with the wanton act of mockery and malignity attributed to him, as far as regards that journey.

A letter of the Visitors sent to examine the Abbot of Glassenbury.*

“ Please hyt your Lordship to be advertised, that we came to Glasten-
 “ bury on Fryday last past, about tenn of the clock in the forenoone:
 “ and for that the Abbot was then at Sharpham, a place of hys, a myle
 “ and somewhat more from thabbey, we, without any delay, went unto the
 “ same place; and there, after certain communication, declaring unto him
 “ the effect of our coming, examined him upon certain articles. And for
 “ that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to
 “ his remembrance that which he had as then forgotten, and so declare
 “ the truth. And then came with him the same day to the Abbey; and

* Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. vi. p. 212. No. lxvi.

“ there of new proceeded that night to search his study for letters and
 “ books ; and found in his study, secretly laid, as well, a written book of
 “ arguments against the divorce of his King’s Majestie and the Lady
 “ Dowager : which we take to be a great matter: as also divers par-
 “ dons, copies of bulls, and the counterfit Lyfe of Thomas Bequet in
 “ print. But we could not find any letter that was materiall. And so we
 “ proceeded again to his examination, concerning the articles we received
 “ from your Lordship ; in the answers whereof, as we take it, shall appear
 “ his canker’d and traiterous heart and mind against the King’s Majestie,
 “ and his succession ; as by the same answers, syned with his hand, and
 “ sent to your Lordship by this bearer, more plainly shall appear. And
 “ so, with as fair words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence
 “ into the Tower, being but a very weak man, and sickly. And as yet we
 “ have neither discharged servant nor monk ; but now the abbot being
 “ gone, we will, with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the dis-
 “ patching of them. We have in money £300 and above ; but the cer-
 “ tainty of plate, and other stuffe there, as yet we know not, for we have
 “ not had opportunity for the same, but shortly we intend (God willing)
 “ to proceed to the same ; whereof we shall ascertain your Lordship so
 “ shortly as we may. This is also to advertise your Lordship, that we
 “ have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate,
 “ which the abbot had hid secretly from all such Commissioners as have
 “ bine there in times past ; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found
 “ the same : whereby we think that he thought to make his hand by his
 “ untruth to his King’s Majesty. It may please your Lordship to adver-
 “ tise us of the King’s pleasure, by this bearer, to whom we shall deliver
 “ the custody and keeping of the house, with such stuff as we intend to
 “ leave there, convenient to the King’s use. We assure your Lordship
 “ it is the goodliest house of that sort that ever we have seen. We wold
 “ that your Lordship would judge it a house mete for the King’s Majesty,
 “ and no man else : which is to our great comfort ; for we trust verily,
 “ that there shall never come any double hood within that house again.
 “ Also this is to advise your Lordship, that there is never a one doctor
 “ within that house ; but there be three batchelors of divinity, which be

“ but meanly learned, as we can perceive. And thus our Lord preserve
 “ your good Lordship. Yours to command,

“ RICHARD POLLARD.

“ THOMAS MOYLE.

“ RICHARD LAYTON.

“ From Glastenbury, the 22d day of September.

“ To the Ryght Honourable, and their syngular good Lord, my Lord
 “ Pryvye Seal, thys be dd.”

“ Right Honourable and my very good Lorde,

“ Pleaseth youre Lordeshipp to be advertysed, that I have receyved
 “ youre letters dated the 12th daye of this present; and understond by the
 “ same youre Lordeshippes greate goodnes towardes my friende the Abbott
 “ of *Peterborough*, for whome I have ben ofte bold to wryte unto youre
 “ good Lordeshipp, moste hartely thankyng your Lordeshipp for that
 “ and all other youre goodnes that I have founde at youre good Lorde-
 “ shipp's handes, even so desiering you my Lord, longe to contynue in
 “ the same.

“ My Lorde thies shalbe to asserteyne that on Thursdaye the 14th
 “ daye of this present moneth the Abbott of *Glastonburye* was arrayned,
 “ and the next daye putt to execucion wyth two other of his monkes for
 “ the robbyng of Glastonburye Churche, on the *Torre* Hyll next unto the
 “ towne of Glastonburye; the seyde Abbot's body being devyded in fower
 “ parts, and hedde stryken off; whereof oone quarter stondythe at Welles,
 “ another at Bathe, and at Ylchester and Brigewater the rest; and his
 “ head upon the Abby-gate of Glastonbury.

“ And as concernyng the rape and burglary commytted, those parties
 “ are all condempned, and fower of theym put to execucion at the place of
 “ the act don, which is called the *Were*, and there adjudged to hang styll
 “ in chaynes to th' ensample of others. As for *Capon*, oone of the seyde
 “ offenders, I have reprieved according to your Lordeshippes letters, of
 “ whome I shall further shew unto you at my nexte repayre unto the
 “ Courte. And here I do sende youre Lordeshipp the names of th' enquest
 “ that passed on *Whytyng* the seid Abbot, which I ensure you my Lorde,
 “ is as worshippfull a jury as was charged here thies many yeres. And

“ there was never seene in thies parts so greate apparunce as were here at
 “ this present tyme, and never better wylyng to serve the King. My
 “ Lorde I ensure you there were many bylls put up ageynst the Abbott by
 “ hys tenaunts and others for wronges and injuryes that he had donne
 “ theym. And I comytt youre good Lordeshipp to the keapyng of the
 “ blessed Trynty. From *Wells* the 16th day of *Novembre* [1539].

“ Your owen to commande, J. RUSSELL.”

The horrid tragedy was completed, it seems, by the execution of two of his monks with the Abbot—Roger Jacob *alias* James, and John Thorne. The crime alleged against them is of too trite and unlikely a description to be credited. They were, probably, two confidential official friends of Whiting; firm, like himself, in resisting the will of the oppressor; and, therefore, doomed, like him, to be silenced in death.*

In the course of a few fleeting years after this act of violence, the royal robber followed his victims to the tomb; and all *then* understood the relative demerits of those, who pursue the most glorious *ends*, but by unhallowed and forbidden *means*; and of them, who, though their object be *erroneous*, yet hold it in *sincerity* or *ignorance*, and follow it, with *benevolence* in their hearts, and *philanthropy* in their conduct.

The execution of Whiting, and his two monks, was followed by the plunder of the monastery; the dispersion of its inmates; the escheat of its possessions; and the complete and final dissolution of the establishment. A small annual allowance was made to each of the remaining *monks*, according to their office or seniority; the maximum of which amounted to £6: 13s.: 4d. and the minimum to £4, which continued to be paid to the twenty-five survivors of the original number, till the conclusion of Queen Mary's reign. The noble *buildings* of the monastery, after having been

* The fatal end of Whiting, it seems, (according to Fuller's statement,) had been obscurely intimated to his monastery, some time before the event occurred. “A prophicie was current in the “Abbey of Glassenborough that a *Whiting* should swim on the top of the Torr thereof, (which is a “steep hill hard by,) and the credulous people understood it of an eruption of the sea, which they “expected accordingly. It happened that Abbot Whiting (the last of Glassenbury) was hanged “thereon, for his recusancy to surrender the Abbey, and *denying the King's supremacy*,” (let it be recollected that he acknowledged this in the most formal and solemn manner,) “so, swimming in ayre, “and not water, and *waved* with the winde in the place.” Church Hist. p. 597.

thoroughly despoiled of every thing valuable or portable, were left to sink into unprotected ruin; and, so heavy was the hand of time, or violence, upon them, that, before a generation had passed away, their desolated state called forth the following lamentations of the topographical Poet:—

“ Oh who thy ruine sees, whom wonder doth not fill
 “ With our great fathers’ pompe, devotion, and their skill?
 “ Thou more than mortall power (this judgment rightly waid)
 “ Then present to assist, at that foundation laid,
 “ On whom for this sad waste should justice lay the crime?
 “ Is there a power in fate, or doth it yield to time?
 “ Or was their error such, that thou couldst not protect
 “ Those buildings which thy hand did, with their zeale, erect?
 “ To whom didst thou commit that monument to keepe,
 “ That suff’reth, with their dead, their memory to sleepe,
 “ When not great Arthur’s tombe, nor holy Joseph’s grave,
 “ From sacrilege had power their sacred bones to save;
 “ He, who that god in man to his sepulchre brought,
 “ Or he which for the faith twelve holy battles fought—
 “ What? Did so many kings do honour to that place,
 “ For Avarice at last so vilely to deface?”*

The immense *possessions* of the monastery were as lavishly dissipated, as they had been unjustly obtained; some, capriciously given away, and more, disposed of at very inadequate prices. A local proverbial distich preserves the names of four of the families, which then benefited by Henry’s profusion or avarice,—

“ Horner, Popham, Wyndham, and Thynne,
 “ When the Abbot came out, then they came in.”†

No alienation appears to have taken place of the *manor* of Glastonbury, and the *Abbey estate, properly so called*, till the fourth of Edward VIth,

* Drayton’s Polyolb. part i. p. 6.

† The idle legend of John Horner, the Abbot’s purse-bearer, having been entrusted with £10,000, for the purpose of purchasing Whiting’s pardon of the King; of his appropriating the sum to his own use, and afterwards buying with it the manor of Mells, part of the possessions of the dissolved monastery, is completely disproved by Leland, a contemporary writer; who says, that Melles was bought, not by an ecclesiastic, but by a Mr. Horner, a gentleman of property, whose family seat was then at Cloford. Mells has remained ever since in the possession of the Horners. Itin. vol. vii. p. 106. We have seen that one *John Horner*, a prudent man, and bailiff of Winstone, attended Richard Bere in his perambulation, as the Abbot’s *measurer*, or surveyor; but this was thirty-six years before the Dissolution.

when they were granted by the crown to Edward duke of Somerset.* The whole afterwards passed into the family of the earls and dukes of Devon. In the year 1733, William, then Duke of Devonshire, sold the ESTATE to Thomas Bladen, esquire, (much of it being out on leases for lives,) for £12,700. Bladen settled it upon the issue of his marriage with Barbara, daughter of Sir Theodore Jannssen. In 1779, Bladen died, leaving two daughters, the only offspring of his marriage. One of them, Barbara, married the Honourable Major-General St. John; the other, Harriet, married William Ann Holles, then Earl of Essex. In 1799, Richard Hart Davis, esquire, one of the present Members for Bristol, and one George Cox, purchased the estate of the Countess of Essex, (then a widow,) and General St. John and wife, for £40,500; and Mr. Davis immediately gave Cox £10,000 to relinquish his interest in the estate, and, consequently, became sole possessor at the sum of £50,500. In the year 1806, Mr. Davis contracted with Mr. Roche (on behalf of the same George Cox) for the sale of the estate at £75,000; so that Cox then became possessor. He divided the property into portions, and sold it to different purchasers. Mr. Roche bought the kitchen, and paddock in which it stands, and Wearial Park; and afterwards, of intermediate purchasers, the estates called Reedmeads and Wyneatts, or Vineyards. Mr. John Down bought the remainder of the inclosure within the Abbey walls, about thirty-six acres, and some lands called Backware; the latter of which have since been purchased of Mr. Down, by S. Moore, esq; of Staple Inn. Aaron Moody, esquire, of Kingsdon, near Somerton, bought a considerable portion, known by the names of Actis, Southfields, New-closes, and Haycrofts. Stuckeys and Co., bankers, bought a portion called Splotts, within Northwood Park; and, last year, John Fry Reeves, esquire, purchased of Mr. Down, (the Down mentioned above,) the Abbey inclosure, together with the ruins, containing about thirty-six acres.

* " Abbey:	Granted by:	Unto:	In consideration:	Tenure and Rent:
" Glaston, in Somerset.	K. Edward VI. 4 year of his reign, 4th June.	Edward Sey- mour duke of Somerset.	Of his petition, and the advice of his counsel to support his dignity.	In capite by 40th part of knight's fee, sine redditu." <i>Fuller's Ch. Hist. 618.</i>

The MANOR of Glastonbury was, in the reign of James the First, conveyed to certain individuals, with a reservation of a rent of £240 : 0s. : 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. (still payable out of the lands formerly part of the manor.) These persons sold it to Sir James Campbell, and Messrs. Strode, Soame, Nicholls, and Childe. Sir J. Campbell and Soame took two sevenths each ; and Strode, Nicholls, and Childe, one seventh each. Collinson talks of Strode's seven daughters ; but this is perfect romance. At a subsequent period, Sir James Campbell and his descendants, and Strode and his descendants, became entitled, in four sevenths, and three sevenths, respectively ; and, ultimately, the whole (after certain divisions amongst the Mosses, Pulsfords, and others, spoken of by Collinson) centered in the ancestors of Henry Hunt, esquire, and from them descended to him.

The TOR HILL (together with a few contiguous acres) was purchased, several years ago, by the late Sir Richard Hoare, with a wish to preserve so noble an object as its tower, from the magnificent terrace at Stourhead ; but his son, the present Sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart. feeling how much more interesting such a remain of antiquity must be to the owner of the property surrounding it, most liberally transferred it, at his Lordship's request, to the late Lord Glastonbury. This nobleman, on his decease, last year, bequeathed the Tor Hill, together with his other large property at Butleigh, to the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville ; who, with a generous disinterestedness, as admirable as it is rare, immediately ceded it to the next heir, the Honourable G. Nevill Grenville, the present possessor.

For information respecting Abbot Whiting's FAMILY and connections, our search has been less successful than industrious. In the possession of Thomas Roche, esquire, of Glastonbury, are two very large *turtle shells*, brought from Ivythorn House, near that town, emblazoned with arms, and said to be those of the Whiting family ; but they are not older than the seventeenth century. The learned and Reverend Doctor Butler, of Shrewsbury, says, in a letter, " he has understood, from his mother, " whose name was *Broxsell*, that she was descended from the same " family from which Abbot Richard Whiting came ; and that she traced " this descent through the family of the *Stones*, of Bodden, in the

“ parish of Doultling, near Shepton-Mallet, one of whom was his mother.”
And from the Reverend John Bowen, we have had the following obliging communication on this subject.

“ In my chapel, at Godney, is a monument, with the following inscription :

‘ In a vault beneath lie interred the bodies of two infants, *Jeanes* Adams, and John, sons of the
‘ the Rev. John Bowen, of Swansea, (a priest vicar of Wells Cathedral, perpetual curate of this
‘ chapel, vicar of Bishop’s Lydeard, and one of his Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for this
‘ county,) by *Elizabeth*, his wife, the fourth daughter of William Jeanes, of Iwerne Court-
‘ ney, otherwise Shroton, in the county of Dorset, esquire. Jeanes Adams died July 15,
‘ 1780 ; and John died Sept. 27, 1781.’

“ The above-named Elizabeth Bowen was immediately descended from
“ Elizabeth, the sister of Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury ;
“ from whom the name came down through the family. The Abbot had
“ two sisters. One was married to ———, from whom the Strode
“ family, of South Hill, descended ; the other, Elizabeth, was married
“ to John Jeanes, of Easton Hill, in the parish of East-Pennard, about
“ the beginning of the sixteenth century. The said John Jeanes had
“ several children, sons and daughters, by the said Elizabeth. He had an
“ estate in the parish of West-Pennard ; which estate retains the name
“ of Jeanes to this day, and is now in the possession of Richard Moss,
“ esquire, grandson to Richard Slade, esquire, of Wells, who died about
“ the year 1780, a very old man, and whom I well remember. Mr. Slade
“ was descended from one of the daughters of John Jeanes aforesaid.
“ The family of Jeanes resided at Pennard until the beginning of the
“ eighteenth century ; when one of them, Robert, was killed by a fall
“ from his horse ; another, William, went into Dorsetshire very young,
“ where he settled in the neighbourhood of Blandford, and was the
“ grandfather of Mrs. Bowen. His son William married Ann Smith, of
“ Whitchurch ; by whom he had one son, William, and four daughters,
“ namely, Mary, married to John Stubbs ; Hannah, married to John
“ Smith ; Elizabeth, married to John Bowen ; and Margaret, married to
“ William Willes, archdeacon of Wells, and son to the bishop of the
“ diocese, whose son now inherits the Dorsetshire property. All the

“ descendants of William Jeanes the elder are dead. The family arms
“ are, argent, with a lion rampant, betwixt three scallop shells, gules.”*

We here close our account of the far-famed Abbey of Glaston. We have endeavoured to detect its obscure origin; have sketched its progress to greatness and celebrity; and detailed the circumstances of its disastrous end. Before, however, we drop the veil over its faults, its merits, and its misfortunes, we would willingly offer a few remarks on that *system of monachism*, of which it formed so conspicuous a feature; and examine, as shortly as possible, whether such a system be beneficial, or disadvantageous, to society at large.

The dissolution of the religious houses, indeed, and the total eversion of monkery in England, have not failed to excite the deep regrets of many, whose speculations, less directed to *moral* causes and effects, than to subjects connected with the imagination, deplore, in their destruction, the loss of many important benefits, which *they* conceive were conveyed to society, through their instrumentality. We cannot, however, consider such regrets in any other light, than as the grief of the school-boy, mentioned by Johnson, dropping his tears over the ruins of an empire, whose only attributes were quenchless ambition, selfish tyranny, and the lust of universal conquest; for we do not see that monachism either did, or could, produce any results, to the community, which at all counterbalanced the obvious evils of the system, or made amends for detaching such crowds from the body politic, and the active duties of life, as it allured into its own castles of indolence.

The two most specious pleas in behalf of these religious houses—that they first revived, and afterwards protected, fostered, and invigorated, the almost lifeless form of learning, when crushed to the earth by the inroads

* Godney chapel, mentioned in Mr. Bowen’s communication, is of very high antiquity, and was formerly celebrated for a *standing miracle*, of a very curious nature. “ Est ibidem (Godney) quædam
“ sacra ac venerabilis Capella, in honore et nomine almæ Trinitatis constructa, cujus oblationes recipit
“ vicarius de Ferlingmere, quæ vero prælibata capella quotidie grandi refulget miraculo. Nam, ubi
“ ejus circumferencia magna condensitate diversarum arborum atque ramusculorum obumbratur, quæ
“ nempe circumferencia plerisque spurciciis volatiliū indies maxime violatur, illa tamen præmemorata
“ capella, absque tali fœditate (ut patet cunctis cernentibus) foras existit intacta. Terrar. Cœnob.
“ Glast.” John Glast. 315.

of the barbarians into the south of Europe; and, that they exercised such a comprehensive charity within their respective neighbourhoods, as precluded all want, or relieved all distress; seem rather to be admitted as truths, than proved as facts; and, however satisfactory to the common mind, will be considered, by the moral philosopher, the political economist, and the reflecting christian, as false or unsound.

With respect to the first point, the real state of the case is, that the re-existence, and subsequent invigoration, of learning, were far from being exclusively the results of the monastic system. *Something*, indeed, is due to the *Convent*, for its preservation of many of the documents of antiquity, which, without such a place of refuge, might have perished, in the confusion of unsettled and settling times; but, so small is our debt to it, on this account, that we may fairly believe, *mind* itself would have reached as high a standard as it now maintains, had there never existed a single monastery in the world. From the moment that Europe was torn from the grasp of Roman domination, and felt the refreshing breath of *liberty*, she *began to be intellectual*. The mental paralysis, induced by a long, mild, but stupefying, despotism, was instantly cured. She soon caught the restless spirit of her northern liberators, and, ere long, was (to a certain extent) in the active exercise of all the faculties of the understanding, and all the powers of the imagination. But, the monasteries neither led the way, or even co-operated, in the investigation of truth, the pursuit of learning, or the discoveries of science; for *they* were silent as the chambers of the dead, while all around them was in busy advance towards light and knowledge. It was to illustrious laics, or equally illustrious secular clergymen, that nascent literature was indebted for her protection and encouragement; and, for several ages, her most ardent friends were, almost exclusively, found within the courts of princes, or the palaces of bishops.

Nor can we think, that the uninquiring and indiscriminate *charity* (to use the word in a popular sense), exercised by the ancient religious houses, ought to be admitted as a plea of the utility of these establishments, or as a cause of sorrow that they are now no more. That the poor have "a divine right" to be relieved, the hungry to be fed, the naked to be

clothed, and the aged to be solaced, by those on whom Providence has been pleased to bestow the means of such redress, will not be denied—we do not say by any christian, but by any man of common sense and common feeling: this imperative duty, however, (the performance of which none can omit, without the loss of “sweet feeling” here, and happiness hereafter,) is ill performed, by pampering the sturdy beggar and idle mendicant; or dealing out constant supplies to those who would, otherwise, be able and willing to provide them for themselves, by the exercise of an honest industry. So far, indeed, is such a spurious charity from being kind to its individual object, or promotive of the public good, that it is obviously injurious, in the highest degree, to both: it robs the son of labour of his two best possessions—*occupation* for his *time*, and a *sense of independence*; *that* which alone can preserve the uncultivated mind from the misery of a gloomy vacuity; and *that* which makes the poor man’s homely morsel sweet to his palate, and his lonely cottage dear to his heart; and, as to its effects upon the community, it lessens the sum of productive labour; it relaxes the spring of popular industry; and generates indolence and mischief among those, on whose energy and good conduct, the safety, peace, and prosperity, of the general community so much depend.)

There is, indeed, an argument behind, which has been urged in favour of these “still retreats,” that seems more difficult to answer, than the pleas which we have just dismissed; but, we contend, that even this is more plausible than just. They were, it is said, places of refuge from the temptations of the world; for the uninterrupted exercise of the pious affections; and for the healing of the spirit, wounded by the misfortunes, or fatigued with the turmoil, of life. The allowance or negation of this plea, however, depends entirely on the *nature* of man’s duties here below, whether they be of an *active* or of a *passive* character; and we cannot, perhaps, settle this question in a more convincing or agreeable way to the reader, than by a quotation from a modern poem of excellence, almost unique:

——— “Here, methinks,
“E’en here, sequester’d from the noisy world,

H H

" Could I wear out this transitory being
 " In peaceful contemplation, and calm ease;
 " But *conscience*, which still censures on our acts,
 " That awful voice within us, and the sense
 " Of an hereafter, wake and rouse us up
 " From such unshap'd retirement; which were else
 " A blest condition on this earthly stage.
 " For who would make his life a life of toil
 " For wealth, o'erbalanced with a thousand cares?
 " Or power, which base compliance must uphold?
 " Or honour, lavish'd most on courtly slaves?
 " Or fame, vain breath of a misjudging world?
 " Who, for such perishable gaudes, would put
 " A yoke upon his free, unbroken spirit,
 " And gall himself with trammels, and the rubs
 " Of this world's business, so he might stand clear
 " Of judgment, and the *tax of idleness*,
 " In that dread audit, when his mortal hours
 " (Which now with soft and silent stealth pace by)
 " Must all be counted for? But, for this fear,
 " And to remove, according to our power,
 " The wants and evils of our brother's state,
 " 'Tis meet we jostle with the world; content,
 " If by our Sovereign Master we be found
 " At last *not profitless*; for worldly meed,
 " Giv'n, or withheld, I deem of it alike."

Crowe's Lewesdon Hill.

AN
HISTORY

OF THE

Town of Glastonbury.

*Yainwytryn. Acadenia. Glastonbury. Derivation of Names. Country
round Glastonbury. General Account of the Town.*

THE original names of almost all ancient cities, towns, and villages, are
merely designations of the natural local peculiarities of those respective
places, or of their immediate neighbourhoods. They may be regarded
in the light, indeed, not of finished pictures, but of bold sketches, that
represent those great and durable characteristics of scenery, which survive
the vicissitudes of time, and refuse to yield their primitive forms to the
caprice of man's taste for alteration—the mountain, the rock, the river, the
promontory, and “the everlasting hill.” It is these features of eternal
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Colon of Charleston.

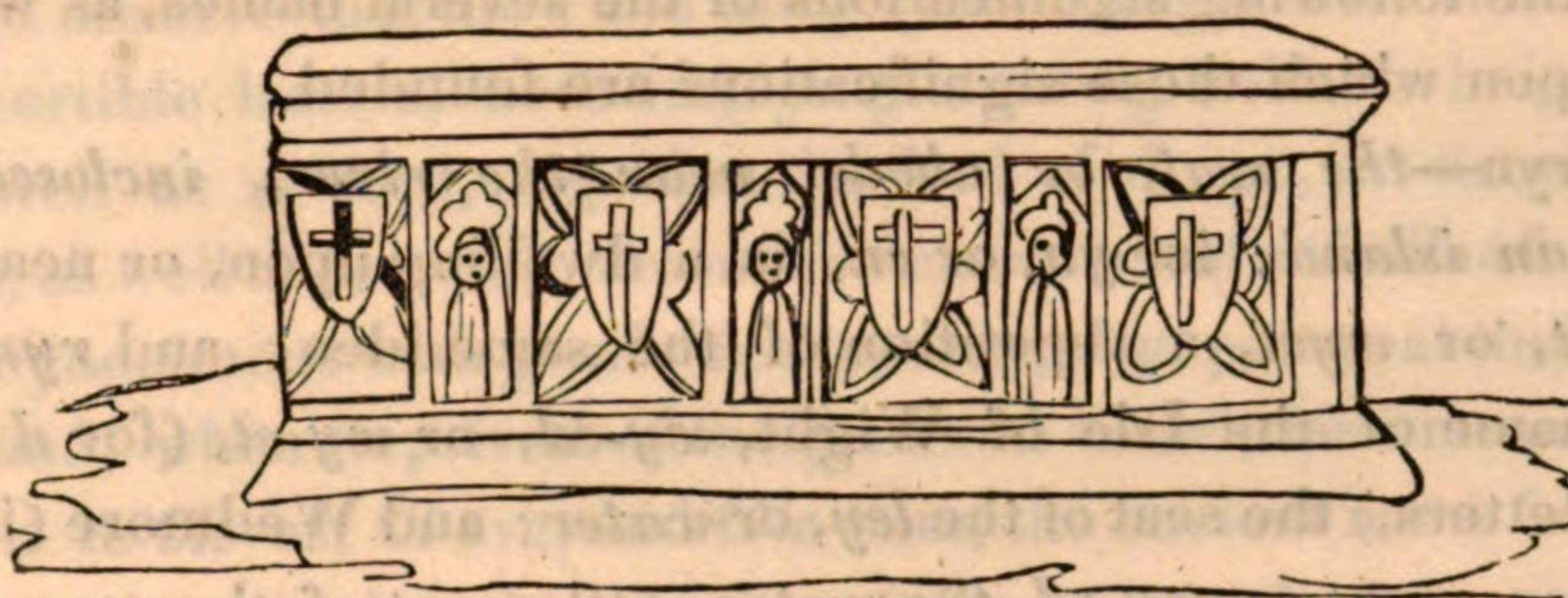
CHAPTER I.

History of the Colon of Charleston, from its first settlement to the present time.

The original names of almost all ancient towns and villages are merely designations of the natural local peculiarities of these spots, or of their immediate neighbourhoods. They may be regarded as the light, sketch, not of finished pictures, but of bold sketches, and represent those great and simple outlines of scenery which serve the necessities of time, and cannot be refined into pictures for the eye of man's taste for perfection—the mountain, the rock, the river, the plantation, and the surrounding hill. It is these features of natural scenery which would first arrest the attention of, and make the deeper impression upon, the thoughtful inhabitant of every spot, and which



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CHAPTER I.

Yniswytryn. Avallonia. Glastonbury. Derivation of Names. Country round Glastonbury. General Account of the Town.

THE original names of almost all ancient cities, towns, and villages, are merely designations of the natural *local peculiarities* of these respective places, or of their immediate neighbourhoods. They may be regarded in the light, indeed, not of finished pictures, but of bold sketches, that represent those great and durable characteristics of scenery, which survive the vicissitudes of time, and refuse to yield their pristine forms to the caprice of man's taste for alteration—the mountain, the rock, the river, the promontory, and “the everlasting hill.” It is these features of external nature, which would first arrest the attention of, and make the deepest impression upon, the aboriginal inhabitant of every spot; and which

would, consequently, suggest the appellation, by which he should recognize it himself, or describe it to others.

This opinion seems to be sufficiently reasonable and obvious, to authorize its application to all local names of deep antiquity ; and, amongst the rest, to those which the town of Glastonbury has borne at different periods : * namely, first, YNISWYTRYN ; second, AVALLONIA ; and third, GLÆSTINGA-BYRIG. Of each of these, various etymologies have been given : but, dismissing all prior ones, as unsatisfactory, we would offer to the notice of the reader, the following significations of the several names, as well as the principles upon which those significations are founded.

Yniswytryn—the seat, or abode, near the river, inclosed by the water, i. e. an island ; for *yn*, or *en*, is a dwelling upon, or near, *ys*, the water ; *wyt*, or *wyet*, a repetition of the same idea ; and *ryn*, a river. Hence the name of the Isle of Wight, *wy-ed*, or *wy-et*, (for *d* and *t* are convertible letters,) the seat of the *ley*, or *water* ; and Wedmore (in Somersetshire) the *wy-et*, or *wy-ed*, the water settlement of the *moor*. To the same source we may trace the English verb, to *wade* ; and the Latin noun substantive, *radum*.

The signification of *Avalon* seems to be, the *passage residence*, implying the inhabited spot, amid the surrounding marshes ; for *av*, or *ab*, is a *passage* ; *al*, the definitive article ; and *on*, the *residence*. For illustration of this, we may advert to the names of the following places ; *Ar-on*, *Clar-erton*, *St-ar-erton*, *L-ar-erton*, *Ar-erley*, and *St-ar-erley*. *Al-ford*, the ford ; *Al-combe*, the coombe ; *Al-ton*, (or *dun*,) the dunum, or hill. †

* The keen and persevering antiquary, to whom we have so often referred, the Rev. John Skinner, has established the truth of this notion on the most satisfactory foundation ; and gone far to prove, that the *primitive language* of man arose out of impressions made upon his eye, by the great objects of external nature ; and that the forms of the *original letters* were suggested by the *figures* of the same objects of vision. His work, as yet unpublished, will be entitled, “An Analysis of the Original Names of Places, with a Reference to the Primitive Language.”

† The derivation of the name *Avalonia*, from an apple, or apple-orchard, as applied to Glastonbury, is of great antiquity. We find it in the monkish writers. Whitaker, also, has adopted it. “The *apple*,” says he, “seems to have been brought into Britain by the first colonies of the natives, and by the Hædri of Somersetshire, particularly. Hence we find the present site of Glastonbury to have been distinguished, before the arrival of the Romans, by the significant title of *Avallonia*, or the Apple-Orchard.” Hist. Man. vol. ii. p. 49, oct. edit. In the seventeenth century, the name was conferred

Of the third denomination of the town in question, *Glæstinga-byrig*, the Saxon modification of its name, we conceive the meaning to be this, similar, in a great degree, to the notion implied in the Celtic and Belgic names,—“the place, or residence of the water-passage (in other words, the *port-way*) of the strong hold, of the height above the water;” being an evident reference to the Tor Hill, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. The suffixes, *ton* and *byrig*, are Saxon; the former, the origin of *town*; the latter, the same as *burgh*. To vindicate this etymology, it is necessary to observe that the *c* and the *g* (according to Mr. Skinner’s system) are convertible letters, both implying a strong hold, or height; thus *eg-ford*, as well as *ec-ford*, signifies the ford of the *ec*, or strong hold; and *gear-hill*, as well as *caer-hill*, means the eminence of a similar fastness; *c-ad*, or *ed*, is synonymous with *g-ad*; *ic-ley*, or *eg-ley*, points at the same signification; and, when deprived of the prefixed vowel, becomes *cle*, or *gle*, as we find it in *Cleves*, *Cl-eve*, and *Gle-vum*, the ancient name for Gloucester. Sometimes the vowel *a* is substituted for *e*, or rather the undefined pronunciation of this letter has produced, in orthography, the confused use of both; so that *cla*, or *gla*, indicates, precisely, the same thing as *cle*, or *gle*. Hence, *Clay-hill*, (or, more properly, *Cle-hill*), near Warminster, is the *le*, or place of the *c*, or strong hold; *Clay-wood*, near Wellow, Somerset, the wood of the *le*, or place of the *c*, or strong hold; and, exactly upon similar principles, *gley-ys*, *glay-ys*, or *glas*, implies the place of the strong hold, of, or above, the water.

The features of the country, in the immediate neighbourhood of Glastonbury, appear to justify the derivation, which (on the authority of Mr. Skinner’s analysis of the primitive language) we have proposed of its various names. Nothing can be more probable, than that the Tor Hill, rising with such majesty at the eastern extremity of the town, should have

on a district in the New World, in honour of the ancient abbey and town of Glaston. “While Sir George Calvert continued secretary, he received a patent, to him and his heirs, to be absolute lord and proprietor of the province of *Avalon* in Newfoundland. He gave it the name of *Avalon*, after “the old *Avalon*, in Somersetshire, wherein Glastonbury stood; the first-fruits of christianity in Britain, “as the other was in that part of America.” Lodge’s Irish Peerage, vol. iv. p. 131. The title of *Avalon* was granted by King Charles II., July 10th, 1651, to John Mordaunt, second son of John Earl of Peterborough.

suggested a reference to itself, in the name given to the settlement ; and it is equally reasonable to believe, that the other striking local circumstance—the wide expanse of waters, which originally surrounded Avalon, would not be overlooked in the composition of its primitive appellation.

The view of this flat, indeed, (called Brent Marsh,) from any of the elevations around Glastonbury, is very remarkable, even under its modern and improved aspect ; embracing the whole level included between Baltonsbury on the *south*, and High-bridge, the mouth of the river *Brue*, on the *north*, a line of nearly twenty miles ; and between Westbury-under-Mendip, on the *north-east*, to Ashcott, on *Polden Hill*, on the *south-west*, a distance of full ten miles ; the whole (together with the great expanded level of King's Sedgmoor, to the westward of Polden Hill) obviously indicating, from its appearance, its ancient submersion, by the mingled waters of the inland rivers and the Bristol Channel.* The only varieties in the horizontal line of this wide level are the elevations mentioned as *islands* in the earlier charters to Glaston Abbey,

Raræ nantes in gurgite vasto ;

and introducing into the picture agreeable inequalities, to break the monotony of a long, uniform dead-flat surface. These, probably, all had their inhabitants, from the earliest period of the peopling of Britain ; serving either as seats of strength, or places of refuge, to the different tribes, during those ages of perpetual internal contests, which preceded the settlement of the Romans in Britain ; and affording the means of

* The Mendip Hills skirt the great Brent Marsh, from the mouth of the Axe at Uphill, to North Wootton, above Wells, on the north and north-east ; and Polden Hill bounds it, on the South-south-west, from Kingweston to Knowle, in the parish of Bawdrip, on the Bridgewater road from Glastonbury. At the latter point the hill is lost in the flat, which is there connected with King's Sedgmoor, and the other great moor through which the river Parrett runs. At Glastonbury the moor divides ; one part extending (as above-mentioned) to North Wootton, and the other to Baltonsbury. Above the latter place it narrows to a point.

The Isle of *Avalon* included (independently of the site of Glastonbury) the Tor Hill, Chalice ditto, and Wearial ditto. The moors around it would at all times, anciently, be covered with water ; as is even now the case in very wet seasons. The town itself stands on the blue marl at the foot of the lias rock, which at the east of Glastonbury, is very rich in fossils. Wearial Hill, like the Tor, consists of the inferior *oolite*, on calcareous sand.

retreat, and of the renewal of strength, of the Britons, when invaded by the Saxons; and to the Anglo-Saxons themselves, when harassed by the Danes.* From the present cheerful appearance of this out-stretched level, it is difficult to form an idea of its dreariness, twenty centuries ago; when, independently of the little hills which we have mentioned, and of the secret narrow causeways which connected them with each other, or with the more elevated country; their entire face must have been either a gloomy waste of waters, or a still more hideous expanse of reeds and other aquatic plants, impassable by human foot, and involved in an atmosphere, pregnant with pestilence and death. But, marvellous are the results of human industry and perseverance: by repressing the inroads of the sea; restraining the course of rivers to their proper bounds; forming canals; and cutting drains; man has converted almost the whole of the useless and dangerous tract into a district of beneficial product; studded it with habitations; and thrown over its face a carpet of vegetation, beautiful to the eye, and affording food to fatten the choicest cattle in the west and south of England; and even those parts of the moors which have hitherto been irreclaimable by cultivation, are still made serviceable to the population around them, by furnishing an inexhaustible supply of rich, dense peat, and good turf, for the purposes of fuel.† Nor is its surface less pro-

* Dr. Campbell has mistaken the case. It was not into the *morasses themselves* that the *Cangi* and the Anglo-Saxons fled for the security, but to these insular elevations, which were surrounded by the moors: they were so many strong holds, defensible by their high situation; and rendered still more secure, and secret, by the extensive marshy tract around them. Neither fugitive or invader could have existed twenty-four hours in the morasses. "It was in them," says he, "that the *Cangi* took refuge from the Romans, who have left indubitable marks of their becoming, at length, masters of this country. Here the Britons made their last efforts against the Saxon power. Hither, in their turn, the Saxons resorted, when the best part of the kingdom was converted into a desert by the Danes; and, in the *Fen of Nobles*, Alfred is said to have planned that excellent Constitution, &c. Thus, we see, that, however useless now, there were seasons when, as in Ireland, these *watery morasses* were looked upon as a kind of *natural fortifications*." Polit. Sur. G. Brit. vol. i. p. 332.

† The *peat* is dug to various depths, from four to eight feet; when the rising water impedes further progress. The *turf-cutting* is a singular operation, performed by a man with a scythe; who, by a single strong and rapid stroke, pares, or rather shaves, off, a turf, of twelve or fifteen inches in diameter, and two or three inches thick. The turfs are called *huffcaps*, little swellings in the surface, occasioned by the vegetation of a hard sharp-leaved grass, with which they are covered.

ductive of interest and amusement, than of profit; for the botanist can, even now, collect, in its moors and peat-pits, a considerable number of the following curious or rare plants, which, a few years since, were abundant in almost all of them:—*Andromida Polyfolia*; Rosemary Moorwort.—*Vaccinium Oxycoccus*; Cranberry.—*Myrica Gale*; Gold Withy, or Sweet Gale.—*Hypericum Elodes*; Marsh St. John's Wort.—*Utricularia Minor*; Hooded Water Milfoil.—*Hippuris Vulgaris*; Mare's Tail.—*Homnia Palustris*; Marsh Featherfoil.—*Pinguicula Vulgaris*; Butterwort.—*Veronica Scutellata*; Narrow-leaved Speedwell.—*Antherium. Ossifragum*; Spiderwort.—*Samolus Valerandi*; Marsh Elder.—*Comarum Palustre*; Purple-Marsh Cinquefoil.—*Erica Tetralix*; Cross-leaved Heath.—*Menyanthes Trifoliata*; Bogbean.—*Drosera*; Sundew.—*Alisma Plantago*; Water Plantain.—*Dianthus Caryophyllus*; Wild Clove Pink.

The *groundplan* of the town of Glastonbury has been evidently suggested by the holy fabric in its immediate neighbourhood, assuming the figure of a rude *cross*, formed by its four intersecting streets—High-street, on the east; St. Benedict-street, on the west; Northload-street, on the north; and St. Magdalen-street, on the south. They are all venerable and interesting (though not all elegant) in their appearance, from the many vestiges of ancient architecture, or fragments of early sculpture, scattered through each of them. The High-street, however, may not only claim the character of *picturesque*, (as we have before remarked,) from the antique buildings which diversify its fronts, the old mansions on the south; and the church of *St. John the Baptist*, the *Tribunal*,* and the *George Inn*, on the north; but is now placed upon a level with the best streets in our

* In addition to what we have before said of the *Tribunal*, we would remark, that there is foundation to believe that this ancient structure was the place in which the *torns*, &c. were held for the Twelve Hide's. Lord Rolles MS. speaks of the holding of these courts: and *tradition* says, that, in the cellar underneath the Tribunal, offenders were confined, from their capture to the time of their trial. This accords with a passage in Richard Beere's terrier; and may, perhaps, authorise us to conclude, that the *tribunal* is the very edifice alluded to in the following extract. "In villa quoque Glastoniæ est quædam *Aula*, noviter constructa per Dominum Ricardum hoc tempore abbatem, pro turnis et sessionibus et comitatibus vicecomitum, et justiciariorum ad pacem conservandam, infra libertates xii cim. hidarum in eadem tenendam, *sub qua* (s. *Aula*) est *gaola pro prisonibus* in eadem conservandis atque custodiendis." Terrar. Cœnob. Glast. John Glast. p.306.

best country towns, by the neatness of its modern buildings, the extreme attention paid to its cleanliness, and the unequalled breadth, uniformity, and beauty of its pavement, formed from the vast plates of blue lias found in the quarries of the parish of Street.* The entrance into Glastonbury, from Wells, is by a short turn to the right, at the top of High-street, where all the singular features of the town break at once upon the eye. High-street terminates at the open space where formerly stood the cross, represented in plate 10. From this point, St. Benedict-street stretches in a western direction, and is terminated by a stone bridge over the river Brent. Northload-street goes off to the north, leading to the village of Meare, over the same river at Cold-Harbour.† And Magdalen-street pursues a southern direction, and ends upon the great turnpike-road to Bridgwater, Exeter, &c.

The salubrity of the atmosphere and soil of Glastonbury is sufficiently attested, by the general health of its inhabitants, and the "green old age" of many of the poorer classes. Its springs are abundant and excellent; and, as almost the whole of the town rests on a gentle declivity, the means and facilities of preserving it healthy and clean are ever at hand, and constantly applied.‡ It is said, that, previously to the dissolution of the monastery, Glastonbury enjoyed the right of sending two members to the national senate, but that Henry VIII., not contented with annihilating its

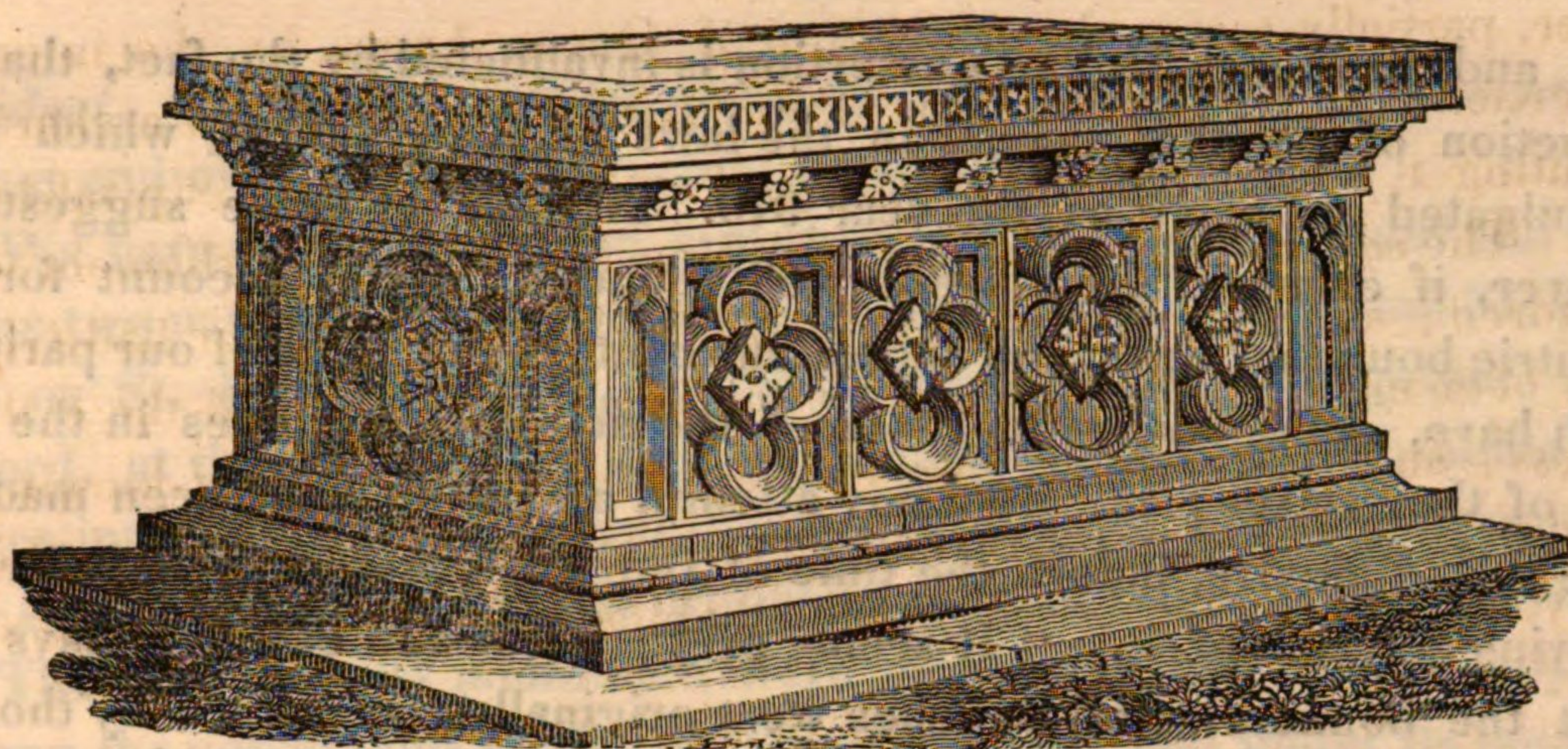
* Some of these, when raised from the quarry, run to a measure of between three and four hundred superficial feet.

† At the bottom of this street stands an old house, of the latter end of the sixteenth century, the manorial mansion of Glastonbury, once the residence of Lord Chancellor King, now consigned to solitude and filth. The Chancellor was much attached to Glastonbury, of which he was recorder; and is reported to have expressed his predilection, by saying, that "he would rather lose the seals than the recordership of his favourite town."

‡ The care evinced by the abbots for the plentiful supply of water to the inhabitants of Glastonbury was highly creditable to them. About three-quarters of a mile out of the town, on the Wells road, in a field on the right hand, a copious spring bursts out of the sloping bank of earth; this is covered by a small stone chamber of squared masonry, somewhat in the form of a large oven, having a strong entrance oak door. The structure is handsome, but of unknown antiquity. A series of underground pipes conveys the delicious water from this spring-head into the town. It is to be observed that the monastery was supplied from another quarter.

ecclesiastical dignities, despoiled it of its civic honours also.* They were, however, partially restored in the reign of Queen Anne, by the interest and exertions of its recorder, Sir Peter King; who obtained a charter, constituting it a corporation, consisting of a mayor and eight capital burgesses. The *equivocal privilege* of returning Members to Parliament was not restored; and the privation ought not to be lamented, for had Glastonbury been made a *close* borough, it might not have escaped the evil of *rottenness*; and, had it been an *open* one, the divisions, heart-burnings, riot, and debauchery of every seventh year, would only have destroyed the harmony, and injured the morals, of the inhabitants for the intermediate six.

* Brice's Topographic Dict. p. 631.



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CHAPTER II.

Parishes in England. The Parishes of St. John the Baptist, and St. Benedict, or St. Benignus. Parish Register of St. John the Baptist. Ancient Brass Basin. Dissenting Congregations.

THE origin of *parishes* in England is a point of considerable obscurity and difficulty—a *crux criticorum*, which many of our best antiquaries have grappled with in vain. The eccentricity of their boundaries, in very many instances, seems to be explicable upon no known principle of the early divisions of our country, as they answer neither to hundreds, or tythings, or manors; and, at times, run into, and interfere with, each other, in the most whimsical manner. It was Camden's opinion, that these districts were originally established in England by Honorius Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 636: while Sir Henry Hobart, no mean authority, maintains, that they were not erected till the Council of Lateran, Anno Domini 1179. But the first hypothesis is nullified by Selden, who clearly proves, that the clergy lived in common, without any division of parishes, long after the period mentioned by Cam-

den : and Sir Henry Hobart's assertion is invalidated by the fact, that the distinction of parishes occurs in the laws of King Edgar, which were promulgated as early as the year 970. Neither of these suggestions, however, if either of them were well founded, would account for the eccentric boundary lines, and anomalous contents, of some of our parishes, which have, occasionally, portions of the neighbouring ones in the very heart of themselves ; nor does any attempt appear to have been made to settle this difficulty, before the time of Judge Blackstone, who offers the following solution of it. " It seems pretty clear and certain," says he,* " that the boundaries of parishes were originally ascertained by those of " a manor or manors ; since it very seldom happens that a manor extends " itself over more parishes than one, though there are often many manors " in one parish. The lords, as christianity spread itself, began to build " churches upon their own demesnes or wastes, to accommodate their " tenants in one or two adjoining lordships ; and, in order to have " divine service regularly performed therein, obliged all their tenants to " appropriate their tithes to the maintenance of the one officiating minister, " instead of leaving them at liberty to distribute them among the clergy of " the diocese in general ; and this tract of land, the tithes whereof were so " appropriated, formed a distinct parish : which will well enough account " for the frequent intermixture of parishes one with another. For if a lord " had a parcel of land detached from the main of his estate, but not " sufficient to form a parish of itself, it was natural for him to endow his " newly erected church with the tithes of those disjointed lands ; espe- " cially if no church was then built in any lordship adjoining to those " outlying parcels."

Plausible, however, as this explanation appears to be, it is not altogether satisfactory ; since a multitude of cases might be pointed out, in which the ancient boundaries of the parish by no means tally with the known dimensions of the manor at any period of time, but either exceed or fall short of them, in very material proportions : a fact, which justifies the conclusion, that we can now never expect to arrive at any certainty on this point of antiquarian research ; as well as the belief, perhaps, that

* Blackstone's Com. vol. i. page 112.

accident, rather than *system*, has, in most instances, determined the extent and outline of our parochial districts.

We have been led to these few observations by the contour and limits of the two parishes of Glastonbury—St. John the Baptist's, and St. Benignus or St. Benedict's; which, taken either singly or together, do not accord, at the present day, with any ancient district; but insinuate themselves into other divisions and defined portions of country, which must, one should think, have been, originally, consolidated and uninterrupted.*

The parishes just mentioned were numbered (we have already seen) among the possessions of the Abbey of Glaston, and under its immediate care and superintendence; the services of the churches, and the parochial duties, being performed by chaplains of its appointment, who (as we find from the ancient churchwardens' accounts) received an annual recompense from the parishioners for their labours. This arrangement continued, probably, till the dissolution of the monastery, when the parishes became vested in the crown; but in the year 1547, (the second of Edward the Sixth,) Barlow bishop of Bath and Wells, having granted certain manors and estates belonging to the see to the Duke of Somerset, he received from the king, in exchange for these and other things, "the tithes of the rectory of St. John Baptist, Glaston, and of the rectory of St. Benignus, below Glaston;"† and since this period, the successive prelates of that see have been ecclesiastical impropiators of the tithes of both the parishes.‡

* Thus, for instance, the parish of St. John includes a great portion of *Edgarley*, deriving its name from the Anglo-Saxon monarch, and lying to the south of the town, under the hill. This, however, is a *tything*; parts of which extend into the parishes of West-Pennard, West Bradley, and Baltonsbury; a sufficient proof, that the institution of *parishes* was subsequent to Alfred's division of the land into *tythings*. The lands adjacent to *Edgarley* are called St. Dunstan's chapel grounds; and an old man is still living in Glastonbury, who recollects the remains of a small neat chapel on the spot.

† From a MS. communicated by the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

‡ The large possessions alienated by Bishop Barlow from the see of Wells, on this occasion, consisted of the manors of Claverton, Hampton, Lydiard, Chard, Chedder, Huish, and others, in Somerset, in Gloucestershire, and in the city of London. Exclusively of the churches of St. John and St. Benedict, the bishop received, in exchange for them, the rectories or chapels of Bradley and

These two parishes, united, (but still having their distinct parish officers and rates,) form the perpetual curacy of Glastonbury; (for West-Pennard has, at times, been dissociated from them;) the nomination to which is vested in the bishop of the diocese. That the earlier labourers in this vineyard were very inadequately remunerated for the performance of their extensive duties was felt, and acknowledged, by some of the bishops of Bath and Wells, upwards of a century ago; though no effectual step was taken to remedy the evil, till the year 1721. "Bishop Ken," says Hearne, "resolved to increase it," (the curate's stipend,) "upon renewing with his tenant; but they could not agree; and the tenant tempted him often with the fine, before his deprivation, but to no purpose. Bishop Kidder, his successor, took the see, without any further provision for the church." But, in the session of Parliament, an. 1721, an Act being proposed for the inclosing of Glastonbury Commons, Bishop Hooper (the then prelate of Bath and Wells) would not consent to it, unless it included a provision for an augmentation of the income of the curate of St. John's parish.*

The reasonable wish was complied with; and an Act passed, entitled, "an Act for inclosing Glaston Commons, in the county of Somerset." It embraced the three following clauses, relative to the rectory of St. John's, and the provision for its curate.

"Provided always, and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prejudice any right or interest which the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, the impropiator of the rectory or parsonage of St. John Baptist parish, in Glastonbury aforesaid, or his lessee, hath,

West-Pennard, and the churches and rectories of Northload, East-Brent, East-Pennard, and Weston, and the advowson and right of patronage of those churches, with all their lands, tithes, profits, and revenues. Rym. Fæd. tom. xv. p. 171. The church of West-Pennard was formerly annexed to the churches of St. John Baptist and St. Benedict; but has, at times, been dissevered from it; as the Rev. Mr. Hodge, curate of Glastonbury, in 1783, did not hold it; and the Rev. Thomas Parfitt, the present perpetual curate of Glastonbury, has a separate license for it. In the leases of the rectory from the bishops of Bath and Wells to the lessees of the tithes, West-Pennard is entitled, "a chapelry annexed to St. John in Glaston." St. Benedict and West-Bradley are denominated in like manner; but West-Bradley is now appendant to East-Pennard vicarage, and held with it.

* Hearne's pref. to "Little Monument, &c." p. 87.

“ have, or may have, to any tithes which shall belong, or may accrue,
 “ to them, or either of them, out of the said new inclosures hereby to be
 “ made; and that such impropiator, or his lessee for the time being, shall
 “ have and receive all tithes, of what kind soever, of and from the said
 “ new inclosures, as he is, or shall be, by law entitled to have and receive,
 “ as rector or impropiator of the said parish, notwithstanding any *modus*,
 “ or pretence of *modus*, or composition, in any other parts of the said
 “ parish, or any exemption whatsoever.

“ And whereas there is but a mean and insufficient maintenance, or pro-
 “ vision, for the curate of the said parish of St. John the Baptist, in Glaston-
 “ bury; be it therefore enacted, &c. that a certain part or quantity of the said
 “ commons or tracts of land, containing ten acres, shall, on or before the
 “ said 1st of June, 1723, at the proper costs and charges of the said owners
 “ and proprietors of the said commons, be divided, allotted, set apart, and
 “ fenced, ditched, and inclosed, by any three of the said commissioners
 “ herein named, together with three other persons, to be nominated and
 “ appointed under the hand and seal of the Lord Bishop of Bath and
 “ Wells, or his successor for the time being, who are hereby empowered
 “ to perform the same, as and for an augmentation or better provision for
 “ the curate of the said parish church of St. John the Baptist, in Glaston-
 “ bury, and his successors curates, to be held and enjoyed in severalty
 “ by him and them for ever.

“ And it is hereby, &c. that the said Bishop of Bath and Wells, the
 “ impropiator of the retory, &c. for the time being, or his lessee, as the
 “ said bishop, or lessee, shall be respectively possessed or entitled to the
 “ tithes of the said new inclosures, shall, for the further augmentation and
 “ better provision for the curate of the said parish church of St. John the
 “ Baptist, in Glastonbury, pay, or cause to be paid, unto the curate of the
 “ said parish, and his successors, for the time being, yearly, and every
 “ year, the full sum of twelve pounds of lawful, &c. out of the tithes that
 “ shall or may arise out of the said new inclosures hereby to be made, free
 “ from all taxes whatsoever.”

With this assistance, however, the perpetual curacy of Glastonbury still
 afforded but a miserable pittance for the maintenance of its minister; and

when the present zealous, discreet, and conscientious perpetual curate, the Rev. Thomas Parfitt, was appointed to the office, the profits of the curacy, comprising the parishes of St. John the Baptist, St. Benedict, and West-Pennard, consisted of the trifling rent of about thirty-three acres and a half, in Buttmore, in the parish of Baltonsbury; and of eleven acres, called the Parson's Plot, in the common moor, Glastonbury; together with a stipend of £36 per annum in respect of Glastonbury, and £24 per annum in respect of West-Pennard. With a feeling, as much public as personal, Mr. Parfitt entered upon the difficult business of rendering the income of the perpetual curate more adequate, than it then was, to the duties which the appointment included; and, after considerable trouble, and with the co-operation of the late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, raised the profits of it to their present standard. On their succeeding in establishing their right to the tithes of Common Moor, the sum of £12 per annum was added to the curacy, by virtue of the Act of Parliament authorising the inclosure of this moor; and, on the renewal of the last lease from the late bishop to the lessees of the rectorial tithes of Glastonbury, his Lordship liberally allowed £300 out of the fines towards the increase of the cure. This sum, extended by the Parliamentary grant, and Queen Anne's bounty, to £1100, was very properly expended in building a comfortable parsonage house; as, heretofore, the curate had been obliged to rent a residence, out of the narrow income of the preferment. And, in addition to all these augmentations of the cure, the Bounty, or the Parliamentary Commissioners, or both, granted £1400 for the increase of West-Pennard, which is now divided from Glastonbury, but held with it, by the Rev. Thomas Parfitt, during his life or incumbency.

The register of St John the Baptist's parish commences in the year 1603, the 2d of James I., and contains a few somewhat curious entries.*

* A mention of two or three of these will occur hereafter. PARISH REGISTERS owe their adoption to Lord Cromwell. In September, 1538, "he sent injunctions to all bishops and curates throughout the realm, charging them to see, that in every parish church the Bible, of the largest volume, printed in English, was placed for all men to read in; and that a BOOK OF REGISTER was also provided and kept in every parish church, wherein shall be written everie wedding, christening, and burying, within the same parish for ever." Stowe's Ann. p. 575. Burn. Hist. Reform. vol. i. col. 167. The injunction was a wise and useful one, but failed in producing its intended effect; for few, if any, country

In the year 1653, Cromwell's *Convention* wishing to secularize, as much as possible, all spiritual services, issued the following regulations with respect to the ceremonies and office of *matrimony*.

“ All persons who shall agree to be married within the commonwealth
“ of England, shall deliver in their names and places of abode, with the
“ names of their parents, guardians, and overseers, to the register of the
“ parish where each party lives, who shall publish the *bans* in the church
“ or chapel three several Lord's days, after the morning service ; or else
“ in the market-place three several weeks successively, between the hours
“ of eleven and two, on a market-day, if the party desire it. The register
“ shall make out a certificate of the due performance of one or the
“ other, at the request of the parties concerned, without which they shall
“ not proceed to marriage.

“ It is further enacted, that all persons intending to marry shall come
“ before some justice of peace within the county, city, or town corporate,
“ where publication has been made, as aforesaid, with their certificate, and
“ with sufficient proof of the consent of the parents, if either party be
“ under age, and then the marriage shall proceed in this manner :

“ The man to be married shall take the woman by the hand, and dis-
“ tinctly pronounce these words, I *A. B.* do here, in the presence of God,
“ the searcher of all hearts, take thee *C. D.* for my wedded wife ; and do
“ also, in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be
“ to thee a loving and faithful husband.

“ Then the woman taking the man by the hand, shall plainly and dis-
“ tinctly pronounce these words, I *C. D.* do here, in the presence of God,
“ the searcher of all hearts, take thee *A. B.* for my wedded husband ; and
“ do also, in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to
“ be to thee a loving, faithful, and obedient wife.

“ After this, the justice may and shall declare the said man and woman
“ to be from henceforth husband and wife ; and from and after such con-

parishes paid the slightest attention to it. Lel. Itin. vol. vi. pref. p. 7, note 3. Both Edward the VIth and Elizabeth, however, enforced its observance, at different periods of their respective reigns, under the penalty of heavy fines : so that by the conclusion of the sixteenth century, parish registers were in general use.

“ sent so expressed, and such declaration made of the same, (as to the
 “ form of the marriage,) it shall be good and effectual in law; and no
 “ other marriage whatsoever, within the commonwealth of England, after
 “ the 29th of September, 1653, shall be held or accounted a marriage,
 “ according to the law of England.”*

The ensuing entries notify a compliance with the regulations of this Act of the Convention.

“ William Anger, of Long-Sutton, and Jane Bindham, of Glaston,
 “ whose intent of marriag haveing been three markett-dayes published in
 “ the markett-place of Glaston, (viz.) the 9th, 16th, and 23d dayes of
 “ January, according to the Acte of Parliament of August, 1653, were
 “ joined in marriag the 19th day of February, 1654, before me,

“ JOHN GUTCH.”

“ 1654. Thomas Wetherall, of Glaston, and Jone Marshall, of the
 “ same, whose intent of marriag having been three Lord’s dayes published
 “ in the publicke meeting-house, viz. the 1st, 8th, and 15th dayes of this
 “ instant October, according to the Act of Parliament of August, 1653,
 “ werthe 24th October joyned in marriag before me, JOHN GUTCH.”

“ Thomas Denman, of Glaston, and Jone Vaile, of the same, whose
 “ intent of marriag having been three Lord’s dayes published in the public
 “ meeting-house, viz. the 3d and 24th dayes of September, and the 1st of
 “ October, according to the Act of Parliament of August 1653, were, the
 “ 4th day of October, 1654, joined in marriag before me,

“ JOHN GUTCH.”

“ John Davies and Marie Gowin, of Glaston, whose agreement of
 “ marriage hath been three markett-dayes published in the markett-place
 “ of Glaston aforesaid, (that is to say,) the 7th, 14th, 21st dayes of July,
 “ according to the Act, and no objection made against it, were, the 13th
 “ day of August, 1657, joyned in marriag before me, JOHN GUTCH.”

“ Robert Reeves, of Streate, and Elizabeth Cribb, of Glaston, whose
 “ agreement of marriag hath been three markett-dayes published in the
 “ markett-place of Glaston aforesaid, (that is to say,) the 20th, 27th of
 “ October, and the 3d November, accordinge to the Acte of Parliament,

* Neal’s History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 74.

“ and no objection made against it, were, the 7th day of November, 1657,
 “ joyned in marriag before me. JOHN GUTCH.”*

But a far more curious article than its parish registers belongs to the church of St. John the Baptist; though not an entire *unique*, as there are a few rarities of the same kind in England. It is a brass, or rather *latyn*, dish, circular in form; sixteen inches and a half in diameter; its flat rim two inches in breadth, and its depressed inside part seven-eighths of an inch in depth. On the face of its rim are two borders, slightly indented, one within the other, of simple but not inelegant patterns. In the centre of the inside, or bottom of the dish, is a circular compartment, five inches and an half in breadth, including an historical legend in *bas relief*. This representation is surrounded by an elevated rim, a narrow border, a second rim, a broader border, a third rim, and an ancient inscription; all in concentric circles. The side of the hollow part within is uniformly marked all round with rude indentations, approaching to the shape of a leaf.

The *bas relief* naturally engages attention in the first place. In the centre is seen a knight on horseback, armed *cap-à-pied*, with a spear in his right hand, and a large sword girded to his left side. Under the feet of his horse is a dragon, pressed to the ground, and turning up his open jaws, into which the knight has thrust his spear. Immediately in front of the horse (on a level with his head) is a lady kneeling, and evidently, from the crown which she wears, a royal personage. Above her, to the left, is seen a winged angel, bearing a shield, charged with a cross; and still more to the left, over the tail of the horse, appear two persons, wearing crowns, seated in a balcony, and looking at the contest between the knight and his savage foe.

There can be no doubt, that this *bas relief* is intended to represent that

* The register contains the following minute of a whim with respect to the place of interment. “ Dec. 28th, 1741, John Raws, buried at St. Michael on the Mount, vulg. Torr Hill.” It also furnishes some notices of the successive curates of Glastonbury:—John Gutch, Edmund Byrom, Alexander Robertson, Simon Paget, Richard Prat, 1746; Matthew Hodges, 1783; John Townsend, 1808; Thomas Parfitt, 1812. The population of St. John the Baptist’s parish was, at the last census, 2213, and of St. Benedict’s 417.

part of the legend of *St. George*, which regards his conflict with the dragon. The old ballad, indeed, on this subject, is a perfect comment upon it. Our dish gives us, first, the horrible beast commemorated by the poet :

" Now, as the story plain doth tell,
 " Within that country (Egypt) there did rest
 " A dreadful dragon, fierce and fell,
 " Whereby they were full sore opprest;
 " Who, by his poisonous breath, each day
 " Did many of the city slay."

We see, also, King Ptolemy and his queen, and the beautiful *Sabra*, their daughter ; who, in compliance with the demands of the people, was delivered up, crowned with flowers, to the rage of the dragon :

" Like madmen all the people cried,
 " Thy death to us can do no good ;
 " Our safety only doth abide
 " In making *her* the dragon's food.
 " 'Lo ! here I am, I come,' quoth she,
 " ' Therefore do what you will with me.'
 " ' Nay, stay, dear daughter,' quoth the queen ;
 " ' And, as thou art a virgin bright,
 " ' That hast for virtue famous been,
 " ' So let me clothe thee all in white,
 " ' And crown thy head with flowers sweet,
 " ' An ornament for virgins meet.'"

And, lastly, we have the gallant achievement of *St. George*, (bearing the figure of " Christ his cross,") who rescues the lady, by impaling the monster :

" For with his lance which was so strong,
 " As he came gaping in his face,
 " In at his mouth he thrust along,
 " For he could pierce no other place ;
 " And thus within the lady's view,
 " This mighty dragon straight he slew."*

But however confident we may be as to the subject of the *bas relief*, it is not so easy to point out the correspondence between the inscription

* Percy's Ancient Poems, vol. iii. p. 228.

and the legend ; to ascertain the antiquity of the characters of the former, or to determine the purposes for which the dish was intended.

The inscription is as follows :

Ich Bart Geluk Alzeit: Bart Geluk Alzeit;

and three other repetitions of the four first words, *Ich bart geluk alzeit*. The language is that of the Low Countries ; which leads to the notion of this, and other similar dishes, being of *Flemish* manufacture. Its meaning is, “ I brought good luck always ;” and the form of its letters, combined with the costume of the knight and his palfrey, points to an antiquity as high as the beginning of the fourteenth century. Whether this dish, and others of a like kind, to be found in some of our repositories, were used for baptismal purposes, the collections for charities, or on any other sacred or parochial occasion, is a point into which our antiquaries have not yet sufficiently inquired.

The DISSENTING CONGREGATIONS at Glastonbury consist of Independents, Quakers, Baptists, and Methodists. Of these, the first (which form the most numerous connection) have a neat, elegant, and classical chapel, built about twelve years ago, on the south side of High-street, on a plan highly creditable to those who designed it. The fabric is said to have been raised by subscription ; but we suspect that the congregation are more indebted to the munificence of an individual, than to any general contributions, for their very comfortable place of worship. It is erected on the site of an old house, which was formerly the Ship Inn, a fine Gothic structure ; and purchased and set apart for a meeting-house, on the 22d June, 1706. Its endowment amounts to £80 per annum, from two several sums of £50 and £30 ; the former arising from lands ; the latter, from the interest of £600, vested in the hands of trustees, for this purpose, by the late Mr. John Yeoman, of Glastonbury, in the year 1818 ; who, at the same time, gave the same sum for the purchase of the organ in St. John’s church.

The *liberal* character of this *double gift* may be regarded as a visible proof of the good temper, and proper feeling, that actually subsist between the various denominations of christians, into which the population of

Glastonbury is divided. *Here*, at least, we see the sound orthodox Churchman, the respectable Independent, the inoffensive Quaker, the diligent Methodist, and the sober-charactered Baptist, "at peace one "with another;" and, tinctured, as yet, by "no fell drop" of the *odium theologicum*, manifesting how possible it is for the servants of the same great Master, though clad in different liveries, like "brethren, to dwell "together in unity."*

* It is a somewhat remarkable fact, that, in a place like Glastonbury, of so large a population, and so identified, formerly, with the Romish religion, there should not, at this moment, be one Roman Catholic resident!



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CHAPTER III.

Ancient Burghs. The Trade of Glastonbury. French and Walloons there. Projected Canal.

TRADE is one of the happy results of a *peaceful* state of society; for, in tumultuary and predatory times, it is impossible that *mutual confidence*, the very soul of all honourable barter, should subsist in any community. Hence, it should seem, that we cannot look for the first dawn of a regular exchange of commodities for money, in the south-west of England, before that period of comparative quiet—the reign of Ina king of Wessex; who, in the commencement of the eighth century, after his triumphs over the neighbouring kingdoms, and the settlement of the disquiets of his own realm, had leisure, as well as ability, to turn his attention to the best arts of good government, the establishment of wise laws, and the formation and encouragement of a system of internal commerce. That Glastonbury had, previously to the time of Ina, existed as a *town*, is clear from the charter of that king to the Abbey, in which it is called, in the loose language of the times, *pristina urbs*, an ancient city; but it was not till late in his reign, that it could boast any *local trade*; because, before that period,

it could not enjoy those securities and privileges, which alone can afford protection to this beneficial reciprocation of property. These were first conveyed to the subject by the wise king who sat upon the throne of Wessex; and who, by his establishment of *burghs*,* sowed the original seeds of that internal commerce, which, extending their roots, as they were fostered, from time to time, by genial circumstances, overcame, at length, all local restrictions, and ramified into every corner of the land.

In the first instance, however, trade was neither rapid in its growth, nor unfettered in its action; being confined entirely to the *burghs*, the only places, as we have just hinted, where it could be exercised with safety. In them markets were established, and barter carried on, under the cognizance of the *præpositus burghi*, or bailiff of the borough; who, appointed by the prince, bishop, or alderman, resided in the place, and gathered the tolls and duties arising out of its trade. But, even in these favoured spots, the encouragement given to trade appears to have been more of a *local*, than a *personal*, nature; since there is every reason to believe, that the privileges and immunities attached rather to the *houses*, than the *dwellers* in them; in other words, that the burgh consisted in a group of *mansions*, and not in a mass of *population*. The *house* (like many modern examples of a similar holding) engrossed all the rights of the *burgage tenure*; and its inhabitant enjoyed them so long only as he continued to reside in it. His removal, indeed, from a spot which afforded him such advantages was not probable; nor, had it been likely, would it have been without difficulty; for, the burgess, even to the time of the Conquest, was *confined* to a residence on the spot where he traded; and placed so immediately under the dominion of the lord of the burgh, that he could neither do homage to, nor receive protection from, any other superior.†

* We are not aware that the mention of *burghs*, as *privileged* places, occurs, before the laws of Ina. It seems reasonable, therefore, to attribute their establishment to this (for the period in which he lived) extraordinary man. Among his Saxon laws, we find one which may be thus translated:—Whoever shall be guilty of a violation of the peace in a *burgh*, under the *protection* of the *king* or *bishop*, he shall pay one hundred and twenty shillings: if it be an alderman's burgh, the fine shall be eighty shillings. *Leges Inæ Lamb. Archaio.* p. 9, c. xlv.

† In Domesday Book are many minutes of the following description. “In burgo de Thetford erant, &c. de istis nominibus erant 36 ita Dominici Regis Edwardi, ut non posse essent homines cujuslibet, sine licentia Regis.” See Brady on Boroughs, p. 16, et. infra.

The internal trade of the country, however, was relieved from much of this restraint, and the burgess rendered more free, as soon as the Normans had finally settled themselves in England. They were a sagacious and an enterprising people; and perceiving that both internal trade, and foreign commerce, were cramped by the restrictions under which the inhabitants of the *burghs* laboured, they relaxed, by degrees, the servile ties, and remitted the numerous imposts of the Anglo-Saxon times; granted to the burgesses liberty of person; and accepted from the whole *body corporate* a fixed redditus, or *fee-farm rent*, instead of exacting, from each individual, the customary proportions of his own solitary profits.*

The above observations will, perhaps, enable us to form some idea of the state of Glastonbury, for several ages, as far as concerns its *trade*. It was, we find, a *burgh* in the commencement of the eighth century; placed under the control and protection of the abbot of Glaston, as its chartered and feudal lord; its inhabitants enjoying the immunities, and fettered by the restrictions, of those early times; and receiving the profits, and imparting the conveniences, of a local trade, co-extensive only with the narrow wants of this inartificial period, and the confined limits of its own peninsular site.

When, however, the system of burgage-tenure was liberalized by the Normans, Glastonbury partook so far of the general benefit, as from thenceforth to pay annually, to the abbot's præpositus, a certain *fee-farm rent*, as a settled acknowledgment for the rights and protection originally afforded to it, in lieu of the uncertain payments which had heretofore been made by each of its burgesses.

But the peculiar situation of Glastonbury would still prevent it from taking any conspicuous part in the increasing activity of the internal trade of the country, and its range of barter and sale be continued to be circumscribed, in a great measure, by the necessities of its own population, of the inmates of the Abbey, and of the numerous votaries who visited this

* The term a *fee-farm rent* is thus explained:—When any lands, tenements, duties, &c. were let to tenants for only a *part* of their intrinsic value, a half, third, or fourth, the rent paid was called a *fee-farm rent*; the tenants esteeming what these estates were above the rent, or, in respect of the tenure, to be to them, *ut, or tanquam de feodo*, as if they were holden in fee. Brady on Boroughs, p. 83.

holy spot; its only distant supplies being salt and fish, which the two rivers *Axe* and *Brue* enabled it to receive.

Not long after the *Reformation*, however, a new spirit, whose influence they had not hitherto felt, was infused into the Glastonians—the spirit of *general trade* and manufacture; but it was imparted by foreigners, and did not arise among themselves.

* On the import of each of these articles the abbot levied a duty. Excerpt. Terrar. Rich. Bere. Johan. Glast. p. 339. It is but common justice to the abbots of Glaston to observe, that the rendering and keeping these rivers navigable; preventing the Severn sea, by great and expensive embankments, from inundating the whole of the level country; and forming communications over the moors; were their judicious works. Dr. Campbell has remarked, “An abbot of Glastonbury raised the great sluice, by which a large district is defended from the waters, with which it would otherwise have been overflowed: and another ran a causeway of stone and gravel eight miles over the morass, extending from Somerton to Bridgwater; which, to this day, bears his name, and is called Greylock’s Fosse. There might be much weakness, wickedness, and superstition, among these monks, more especially in later times; but these mighty and magnificent works, raised and maintained for public utility, are not marks of weakness, wickedness, or superstition, and therefore deserve to be commended.” Polit. Sur. Brit. vol. i. p. 334. From the extracts out of Richard Bere’s terrier, published by Hearne, it appears that, among the services of the customary tenants, of all the manors which bordered on the Severn sea, or on the Axe river, the care and repair of the embankments, wears, and course of the river, were especially included. Johan. Glast. 321 et infra. And, from Dugdale’s “History of Imbanking,” we may collect, that a due attention was paid by the abbots, for centuries, to these important objects. He has given us notices of the proceedings of the commissioners of sewers, with respect to the rivers and moors of this part of Somersetshire, at divers times, as far back as the reign of Edward I.; in the course of which are detailed the particulars of an inquisition held on a charge against the Abbot of Glaston, in the eighth of Richard II., for obstructing the river, inundating the flat country, &c.; which the abbot refuted by a chain of evidence, that not only exculpated him from blame, but proved that his convent deserved well of the public, for their care, foresight, and expenditure in this behalf. P. 105, et infra. By an inquisition, taken before John Lord Huntingdon, at Glaston, 2d August, 15th Richard II. the claim of the abbot and convent to manorial rights, on the river Axe, as far as the tide flowed, was inquired into and allowed; and the same rights were confirmed by a decree of the Court of Admiralty, held at Rokesmill, before John Earl of Oxford, admiral of England, in the third year of Henry VII. Johan. Glast. p. 337. The present securities of the moors against inundations by the sea are both *artificial* and *natural*. The former consists of a wall, called the *sea wall*, which is repaired and sustained by particular individuals, holding certain lands, liable, by tenure, (*ratione tenuræ*,) to such a burthen. The *natural* barrier is formed by an immense bank of sand, thrown up by the water. All these defences are under the *surveillance* of the *Commissioners of Sewers*. The embankments extend from the parish of *Powlet*, some distance up the river *Parrett*, to *Breandown*, at the mouth of the *Axe*, and onwards into the upper, or north, marsh.

Much interesting information, respecting the great levels of Somersetshire, will be found in De Luc’s *Geological Travels*.

The persecution that raged against the Protestants, in the different kingdoms on the Continent, which had partially adopted the reformed religion, more especially the cruelties exercised against them in the Low Countries, occasioned multitudes of these oppressed people, in the middle of the sixteenth century, to fly to England; where, under the Protestant rule of Edward VI., they might be certain of enjoying the rights of conscience; the free exercise of their religion; and the uninterrupted practice of the arts in which they were skilled. They were kindly received by the government; settled in different towns; had facilities afforded them for carrying on their various occupations; and, through the care of Archbishop Cranmer, places of worship provided for their exclusive use. The benevolent act was soon amply remunerated; for the strangers, as industrious as they were ingenious, not only introduced new arts and manufactures into the places where a refuge had been granted to them, but gave new ideas to, and awakened an hitherto unknown energy among, the people with whom they sojourned; which, when they themselves were compelled, in the succeeding reign of the bigot Mary, to fly again from their recently acquired asylum, were not lost or extinguished, but matured and increased, to the equal benefit of the individual, and the public at large.

In the year 1550, a party of these persecuted foreigners, chiefly consisting of French and Walloons, were settled at Glastonbury. "They were weavers," (says Mr. Strype,) "and followed the manufacture of *kersies*, and cloth of that nature, as I conjecture. Their great patrons were the Duke of Somerset and Sir William Cecyll; I add, and our archbishop" (Cranmer). A church was appointed for their use, and a man of great worth and learning, *Valerandus Polanus*, nominated as its pastor, under the appellation of *Superintendent of the Strangers' Church at Glastonbury*; and, as the King had granted to the Duke of Somerset (in lieu of the lordship of Sleaford) all the messuages, lands, and tenements, in the town of Glastonbury, which formerly belonged to its Abbey, his Grace conceded to the emigrants a certain number of these buildings, as dwellings for themselves, and workshops for their manufacturing processes.

"But, upon the troubles and fall of Somerset," Strype remarks, "which

“happened about fourteen or fifteen months after, their affairs were much obstructed. His servants neglected to furnish them with money, according to contract; nor was he at leisure now to regard them.”—“They ran in debt; and were obliged to pawn the cloths they had wove, to supply their wants. *Cornish*, one of the chief of the procurators appointed to oversee them, and further their trade, proved very deceitful to them.”—“He had, also, by his importunity and fraud, got the grant of the park (*Werial*) from them; though he knew the duke had fully purposed and intended it for their use, for the necessary maintenance of themselves and families.”

Pollanus, who was a man of spirit and energy, as well as exemplary piety, wearied, at length, by these continued petty oppressions, submitted a memorial to the Council, stating the situation of his congregation, and the behaviour of their opponents. Immediate attention was given to it by the lords; who transmitted orders to certain gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood of Glastonbury, and particularly one *Dyer*, (“a person of good religion, and their cordial friend,”) to forward the manufacture; to supply the wants of the foreigners; and to reinstate them in the possession of the park, till other pasture was provided for their kine. “Thirty houses, also, were forthwith ordered to be repaired, and fitted up for them; and money was paid, sufficient for clearing them of their debts.”

Thus re-established and protected, the “strangers” continued to prosecute their industrious employ (though not without opposition from their old enemies) for two years, attracting both trade and money to Glastonbury; opening a field of profit to its inhabitants, and affording an example of the manner in which it was to be cultivated. But, the historian goes on to observe, “Queen Mary’s access to the crown spoiled this good design. For all strangers being then suddenly commanded to depart the realm, this congregation accordingly brake up, and removed themselves to Frankford, in Germany; where the magistrates kindly entertained them, and allowed them a church; and when afterwards, viz. 1554, divers of the English nation fled thither for their religion, the governors of the town, upon their petition, received them also, and all

“ other such English as should resort thither upon the same account, as
 “ many did. And two members of this French congregation, mindful,
 “ undoubtedly, of the former kindness themselves, or their countrymen,
 “ had received in England, assisted them much; namely, *Morellio*, a
 “ minister, and *Castalio*, an elder. The English here made use of the
 “ same church the French did; these one day, and the English another;
 “ and upon Sundays the use of it respectively, as themselves could agree.”*

We have every reason to conclude, that the *woollen manufacture*, which had thus been introduced into Glastonbury, by Pollanus and his companions, continued to flourish there for above a century after its establishment; as a large quantity of *tradesmen's tokens* are in various collections, many of them designating trades connected with this branch of manufacture. Of these the following are in the possession of the Reverend Benjamin Richardson, rector of Farley-Castle, Somerset:— Peter West, in Glastonbury, draper, a farthing; William Cooper, in ditto, draper, A. D. 1668; Mary Day, in ditto, a farthing, A. D. 1668; Henry Gutch, mercer, in ditto, his halfpenny, no date; James Hopkins, in ditto, ditto, a farthing, 1556; Sivric Hancock, in ditto, draper, a farthing.†

* Strype's Memoirs of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 242, et infra, Append. lv. lvi. lvii. A notice of Pollanus and his congregation, and of the emigration of themselves, and the refugee Englishmen, to Frankfort, occurs in a very scarce tract, entitled, “ A Brief Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany, Anno Domini 1554, abowte the Booke off Common Prayer and Ceremonies,” &c. &c. 4to. 1575, without name of printer or place. In this tract, at the beginning of “ The Historie,” p. 5, speaking of the English and the strangers, who fled beyond seas at the accession of Queen Mary, the writer says,

“ And in the yere of oure Lorde 1554, and the 27 off June, came Edmonde Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham, and Thomas Wood, with their companies, to the city of Franckford, in Germany; the first Englishmen that there arrived to remaine and abide. The same night came one Maister Valaren Pullen, minister, into their lodginge, and declared howe he had obtained a churche there, in the name of all suche as should come owte off Englande for the gospel, *but especially from Glassenbury*, whiche were all Frenchmen. Answered was made him, that as God was to be praised, who had moved the Magistrates hartes to shewe the Frenche such favour; even so, for so muche as few off them understoode the Frenche tonge, it would be small commoditie to them, or to suche as shoulde come afterwarde, to joyne themselves to this churche.”

† The small copper coins, known by the name of *tradesmen's tokens*, (of which there is an immense collection in the British Museum, made by the late Mrs. Banks,) were formerly minted in all the cities and towns, and in many of the villages, of the kingdom. The aversion of our early sovereigns

Subsequently to the introduction of the woollen manufacture into Glastonbury, as above related, it imported, and pursued for some years, a branch of the *silk trade*, as far as spinning the raw material was concerned. But it could not long compete with places more favourably situated than itself for this purpose ; with their immense capital, and powerful machinery; and the speculation has passed away with the preceding generation. From the same causes it has happened, that the only remnant of the woollen trade, the knitting of worsted stockings to a considerable amount, has gradually dwindled, from a very general employment, into the business of an individual. Although the trade, however, of Glastonbury, is, at present, but "the shadow of a shade;" yet, a recent plan, judiciously conceived, warmly supported, and immediately to be executed, bids fair to give, in a very short time, to the town and neighbourhood, a character of far greater business, activity, and profitable employment, than it heretofore could boast, even in its most prosperous days.*

to a copper coinage almost compelled the inferior tradesmen to resort to this mode of supplying the lower department of the circulating medium of the country. The tokens were, therefore, issued upon the same principle as the local pennies and halfpennies of our own times; that is, by any one who chose to send them forth, and could find people willing to receive them. They were minted without authority; and rather winked at, than sanctioned, by the Government. The materials, in many instances, were of the basest metal. It was not till 1672, that *copper coins* were legally struck; and those, in *legal* circulation, were *farthings*. The practice of coining the local tokens without authority appears to have commenced in the reign of Elizabeth. As yet there had been *no copper coinage*; and as the increased internal trade of the country seemed to require a subordinate metallic medium of exchange, it was proposed to issue copper *farthing* and *halfpenny tokens*, or *pledges*, by proclamation; but, for some reason or other, probably the queen's dislike to the measure of copper money, they were never issued; and only a few *pattern pieces* of them now remain in the cabinets of collectors. In the reigns of James I. and Charles I. many projects on this subject were set afloat, and, at length, *patents* were granted to *particular individuals* for coining and issuing copper tokens. Tradesmen, however, who were not thus authorised, soon adopted the practice; but the great number of counterfeits, and the refusal of the patentees to receive them, or make good their value, put a stop, after some time, to the currency of this vile money. In the mean time, the negligence of the government, and the distractions of the period, still suspended the creation of a legal copper currency; till at length, forced by absolute necessity, the tradesmen once more adopted the business themselves, and, in 1648, again began to coin and issue *tokens*; a practice which continued till 1672; when all sorts of tokens were suppressed by proclamation. These local coins exist in great quantities; and are of little value. The farthing in Mr. Richardson's collection, James Hopkins, 1556, is curious, being, probably, a *pattern coin*.

* The following published document will explain its nature and anticipated results:—

"GLASTONBURY and HIGHBRIDGE CANAL and NAVIGATION, from the latter place to a point in the

“ river Brue, near Cripps’s House, and thence by adopting, deepening, and widening the South Brue
 “ Drain to Ashcott Corner, and through a certain other drain called Cuckoo-Ditch, and lands called
 “ Lower and Higher Newclose, to the town of Glastonbury, and by a branch of the river Brue to
 “ Pomparl’s Bridge, near the village of Street, with a FLOATING BASIN at Highbridge, for Vessels of
 “ 250 tons burthen.

“ In laying the particulars of this undertaking before the public, the promoters deem it almost
 “ unnecessary to dwell upon the advantages of a water communication with one of the wealthiest and
 “ most populous divisions of the county of Somerset.

“ At the same time, it may be proper to state a few of the more prominent and beneficial results
 “ likely to arise from the adoption of this measure, and which a slight acquaintance with the locality
 “ of the town of Glastonbury and the neighbouring towns and villages will fully confirm.

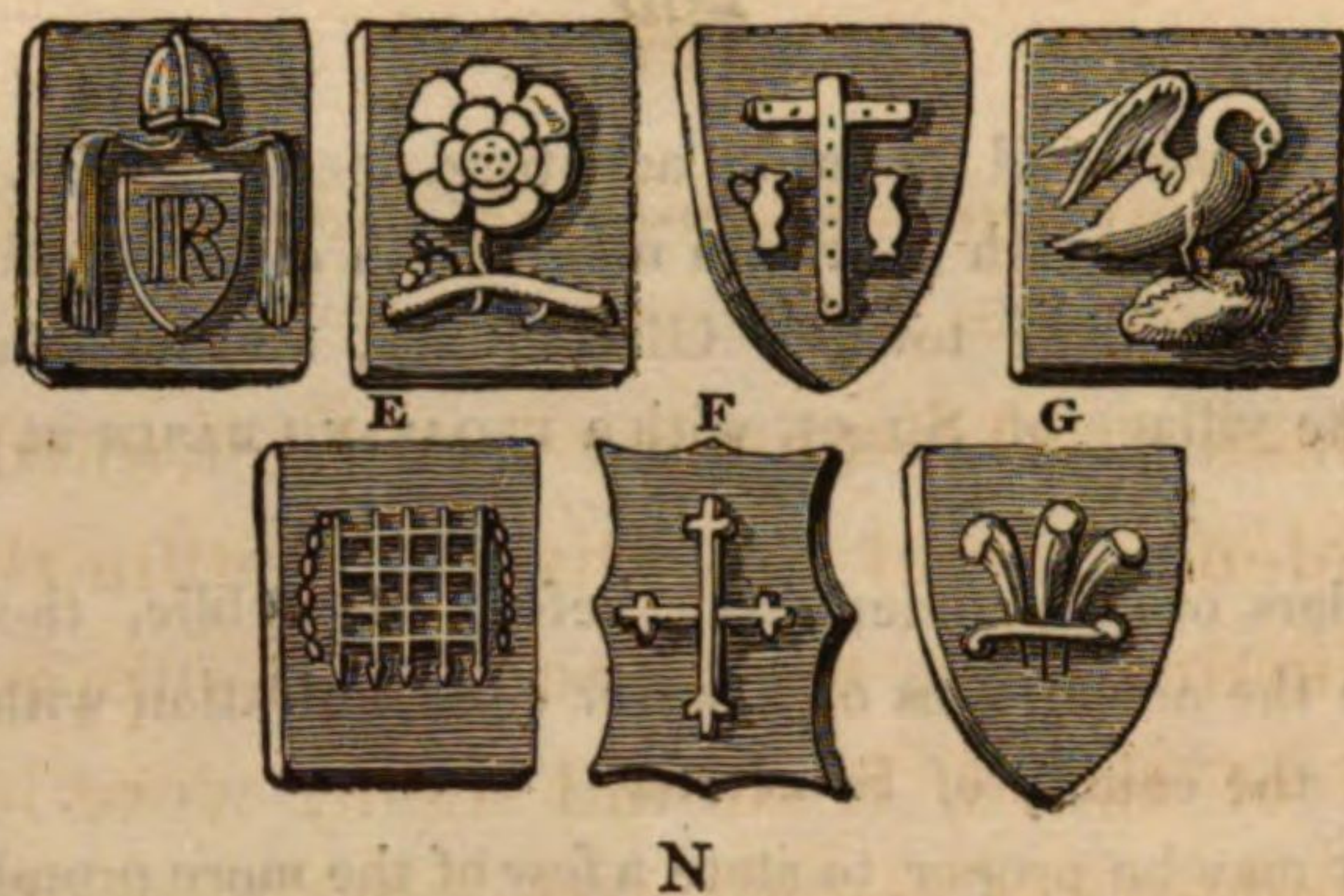
“ In the first place, the supplies of almost all the necessities, as well as luxuries, of life are provided
 “ by means of land carriage, from the ports of *Bristol, Bridgwater, Weymouth, and Bridport*, to the
 “ city of *Wells*, and the towns of *Glastonbury, Shepton-Mallet, Castle-Cary, Bruton, Wincanton, Sher-*
 “ *borne, Yeovil, and Milborne-Port*; containing, with their neighbouring villages, at the very lowest
 “ calculation, upwards of 50,000 persons.

“ The more immediate supplies required, and which will of necessity pass through the intended
 “ Navigation, consist of the following articles, viz. deal, iron, slate, brick and tile, salt and salt rock,
 “ groceries, pottery, hides, bark, Birmingham and Sheffield articles, staves, and wheat; and coals, hoops,
 “ and hurdles, from the principality of Wales.

“ In exchange for these commodities the unrivalled paving-stone of this neighbourhood is almost
 “ alone an adequate return. But it is not to be forgotten that this portion of the county of Somerset
 “ abounds in most valuable elm and other timber, of constant demand in the Welsh market; and supplies
 “ many of the neighbouring counties with cheese and cider. It is again to be observed that these are the
 “ more prominent only of the articles of supply and return, those of minor importance are purposely
 “ omitted.

“ It may further be urged, in favour of the proposed measure, that the line, although nearly
 “ adjoining some of the most favoured and fertile spots of this great county, passes through a tract of
 “ country particularly barren and unproductive, and especially, and, indeed, only, requiring the aid of
 “ drainage to bring it into cultivation. This will be most amply effected by the intended undertaking,
 “ without the constant and heavy charge occasioned by the present system.

“ The estimated expenses of this comparatively trifling, but most desirable, work, amount, at a
 “ liberal computation, to £10,000 only. The lowest calculation of CLEAR income amounts to at
 “ least £10 per cent.”



CHAPTER IV.

Eleemosynary Institutions. Civil and Military Events.

HOWEVER mistaken or misapplied the charity of the religious houses might have been, in dealing out a daily and indiscriminate bounty to all who clamoured for alms at their porters' lodges ; a practice, which inevitably tended to encourage idleness, or, at least, to paralyze exertion amongst those who were able and willing to work ; yet, it must not be denied, that their christian beneficence assumes a very judicious as well as amiable character, when viewed with a reference to those establishments which it founded for the permanent and regular relief of the needy sick, and aged poor. *These* have had their warm eulogists among our antiquaries, and they deserve all the praise that has been bestowed upon them ; for, they formed the broad foundation of that stupendous pile of diversified eleemosynary institutions, which now adorn, and, we may venture to say, *sanctify*, our country, in a profusion not to be equalled on any other spot on the habitable globe ; and which reflect a brighter lustre on it, than all the manifestations of its wealth, all the evidences of its refinement, and all the trophies of its glory. It is in these charitable establishments that we read the most favourable memorial of the English monastics ; for they are a standing record, a visible proof, that, however these recluses might have corrupted the doctrines, or perverted the injunctions, of our holy faith, in other respects ; they were exemplary in fulfilling that "royal law," alike unpractised and unknown by the most polished nations of heathen anti-

quity, and first established and enforced in the christian code—the law of *brotherly love*.

The monks of Glaston Abbey were not backward in the exercise of this practical benevolence; and established, within the town, several of these eleemosynary institutions, to succour and support the needy, old, and afflicted. Some of these, it should seem, were involved in the ruin of the monastery; and swept away by that religious fury, which was too blind, to distinguish between what ought to have been destroyed, and what ought to have been spared: but others remain to the present day, and still fulfil their original destination, by sheltering beneath their roofs several old and infirm individuals of both sexes.

Of the charitable foundations overwhelmed at the dissolution, one, it appears, stood behind the church of St. Benedict; for, in the churchwardens' accounts, a house belonging to this corporation is described as being bounded by an *eleemosynarium*, in that situation. Another seems to have existed in Bovetown, and to have had its own chapel, called Jacob's chapel, contiguous to it, which is still existing, though it has been converted, for many years, into a Wesleyan meeting-house: and, if the term *scabella* may be considered as applying to establishments of this description, we have reason to conclude, from Richard Bere's terrier, and Lord Rolle's manuscript, that several more foundations for the permanent reception and relief of the indigent and wretched had been erected at Glastonbury, by the abbots and monks of its convent, and were under their immediate patronage and inspection.

The only eleemosynary establishments now existing at Glastonbury are two, (and for both of them the town is indebted to the abbots,) one appropriated to women, and the other to men.

The former stands behind the Red Lion Inn, on the east side of Magdalen-street, and is approached through the ancient foot-passage to the Abbey. Over the gateway to the alms-houses is sculptured an armorial bearing, representing the royal device of a full-blown rose, surmounted by a covered crown, and supported by what appear to be winged greyhounds. A scroll bears the date of 1512, indicating that the establishment was founded by Abbot Richard Bere. Originally there were only *ten*

tenements in this retreat, allotted to as many inmates ; with a building, or *hall*, as it was called, in the centre, for the common use of all the inhabitants : this, however, in the last reparations, has been converted into another habitable tenement ; so that the number of poor residents is now eleven. At the end of the group of houses is a small chapel, decorated, on its western wall, with the arms of the Abbey, between two roses ; and, near its eastern window, with an *escutcheon*, charged with R. Bere's fanciful arms—a cross between *beer-flaggons*. Each of the women receives $9\frac{3}{4}d.$ per week. This is paid out of certain receipts, called the *King's Audit* ; a fund, established, probably, in the time of Edward the Sixth ; when, on the Abbey estates being granted away, certain annual sums were made reserved rents, for the purpose of supporting those eleemosynary foundations, formerly depending on the Abbey, which had survived its ruin, and were then existing.*

The almshouses for men are on the west side of Magdalene-street ; and, like the others, formerly consisted only of ten tenements, to accommodate as many male paupers. The number, however, is now extended to eleven, by the same arrangement that was adopted with respect to the women's houses. The whole of this range is about to be rebuilt, on a neat and comfortable plan. Each inmate receives $9d.$ per week, issuing out of the fund above alluded to. Contiguous to the tenements is an old chapel, dedicated to St. Margaret.

However humble the advantages of these almshouses might be, they were sufficient to induce the managers of them, in former times, to divert them from those to whom they were especially appropriated ; and, through favour, or more sordid motives, to grant the asylum, and the weekly pay connected with it, to "strangers," or people not belonging to either of the parishes of Glastonbury. The abuse, after continuing for some time, was at length investigated, early in the seventeenth century ; and the fol-

* It appears, from Richard Bere's terrier, that a rent of five pounds was paid by a mill, "apud Northover situatum per Dominum Ricardum nunc Abbatem de novo levatum, &c. pro sustentacione pauperularum mulierum per prædictum Dominum, &c." Terrar. J. Glas. 312. This rent, we understand, is still paid. The rectory, also, of Glastonbury is charged with an annual rent of £11:0s.:1d. for the use of the ancient eleemosynary institutions.

lowing judicious arrangement adopted, for the management of the charities in future, which appears ever since to have been duly attended to.

“Whereas heretofore som straungers have been admitted and placed
 “in the King’s Ma^{ties} almes houses in Glaston, contrary to the auncient
 “orders, to the great prejudice of the poore decayede inhabitants there;
 “Upon complaynt herein exhibited to the Right Honorable Sir Julius
 “Cæsar, knyght, Chancellor of the Exchequer, It hath pleased his Honor
 “to referre the order to be sett down therein, by his Ma^{ties} Auditor of the
 “said countie. Uppon examynation thereuppon, had by me at the tyme
 “of this present audite, helde in the said countie, and in the presence of
 “Hugh Morter. (Mortimer) Wick, esquire, deputie bayleif of Glaston
 “aforesaid, Hugh Prince, and Henry Sock, inhabitants of Glaston afore-
 “said, it is ordered and agreed, that such poore people as are now resi-
 “dent in the said almeshouses at Glaston shall contynue, and not be
 “displaced; and that from henceforth noe straunger shall be placed here,
 “but that the poor aged decayed inhabitants of Glaston aforesaid, espe-
 “ciallie such as are the King’s Ma^{ties} tenants there, be placed by his Ma^{ties}
 “baylief of Glaston aforesaid, wyth the assent of the constables, church-
 “wardens, and overseers of the poore of Glaston aforesaid, for the tyme
 “being. Dated at Yevell, the 20th day of October, 1609.

“ROBERT BADDEN, *depute auditor.*

“HUGH WICK.

“HUGH PRINCE.

“HENRY SOCK.*

“Enter this in the church book of Glaston, and then deliver it to the
 “bayleif thereof. ROBERT BADDEN.”

Of the *civil* and *military* events of Glastonbury, scarcely any thing appears on the page of history; and little has been preserved by tradition. Its celebrity was altogether of an ecclesiastical nature; and with the exception of some calamitous visitations, which it experienced at different times, and of its participation in the evils attendant on the Duke of Monmouth’s ill-concerted rebellion, its local transactions seem to have flowed

* From the register of the parish of St. John the Baptist. The charities are called “the King’s Ma^{ties} almeshouses,” because, from the time of Edward the Sixth, they have been supported out of the Treasury.

on in the same dull, quiet, and uniform stream, as the ancient monotonous services of its contiguous conventual church. Identified as the town was with the Abbey, it had a common feeling with it in all its prosperous and adverse circumstances. In the Anglo-Saxon times, it would partake of the favour of that superstitious race of kings, so lavishly bestowed on the religious houses of the land. It would drink of the stream of misery poured out upon the monasteries of the country, for a long series of years, by the Pagan Danes. It would smart, for a time, with its abbots, under the unfriendly hand of the Conqueror; and participate in the odium excited by Henry VIIIth's visiters, against the plundered abbies, and every thing associated with them. Independently, however, of circumstances, which, at times, affected Glastonbury, as connected with its monastery, we meet with two or three other events, belonging more immediately to its own individual history. They form but a meagre record, indeed; but it is sufficiently ample, as it details only notifications of disaster. In the year 1184, a dreadful fire reduced the town to ashes. In less than a century afterwards, an earthquake shook it into ruins. The year 1473 saw Glastonbury again in flames. In 1606, an inundation, by the bursting of the sea embankments, threatened its inhabitants with a watery grave. Some time during the year 1658, a devouring conflagration once more consumed a large proportion of the town;* and, in the year 1723, its population was ravaged by the small-pox; when, out of forty deaths within the twelve-month, twenty-three were occasioned by this destructive disease.† But these accidents by fire, flood, and contagion, the natural and common scourges of humanity, have not been aggravated to Glastonbury by evils inflicted by *man* on his fellow creatures. It has never, for nine centuries, heard the "din of battle" in its streets; and seldom been scared by military tumult, or the "note of dreadful preparation" for approaching

* A knowledge of this disastrous visitation transpired from an inspection of the register of the parish of Littleham and Exmouth, Devon; where the vicar (the Reverend Richard Prat) found the following entry, which he very kindly communicated to us. "Anno Domini 1658. Collected for the distressed inhabitants of Glaston, in Somerset, which happened by fire, and paid by Thomas Denham, collector for the money, 9s. 7d." It is probable that this fire extended from the top of High-street, on its north side, nearly to the church, as the houses in this situation appear to be of much later erection than those in another quarter of the town.

† Register of St. John the Baptist's parish, under the year 1723.

conflict. The only interruptions of this description, to its otherwise uniform repose, occurred during the struggles between the Parliamentary and Royal parties in the seventeenth century; and at the time when the short-lived operations were carrying on, by the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, in the county of Somerset. As Glastonbury lay in the direct line of the "marches and countermarches," which harassed the West of England in the Great Rebellion, it, of course, tasted largely of the bustle, alarm, and misery, necessarily produced by these unwelcome transits through it; and, unable to manifest its decided loyalty, submitted quietly to the power which happened to be paramount in its neighbourhood. The inhabitants, however, did not conduct themselves so passively in Monmouth's affair, nor testify their ardent love of the Protestant religion, and of civil freedom, by their wishes alone; for several of them joined the standard of the Duke, and many more solaced and assisted his flying adherents, after the fatal dispersion of his party.* The former is recorded

* The following *original* letters, relating to the preparations made in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, to assist in opposing the progress of "the Monmouth rebels," as they were called, is sufficiently curious for insertion. They are in the hands of Miss Rocke, of Glastonbury; and were found in an old chest at Butleigh. An ancestor of this lady, the Reverend Thomas Rocke, was instituted to the vicarage of Butleigh, in the year 1577, on the presentation of Mr. Sincox, whose monument is in Lord Glastonbury's aisle in Butleigh church; and another of her ancestors, the Rev. John Rocke, was instituted, in 1642, on the presentation of John and Walter Rush.

"Som'rsett s.

To Lieutent. Bragg These.

"You are hereby required immediately upon sight hereof to cause all the trained souldiers that are und^r yo^r command immediately to appear wth their armes compleat and well fixed on the markett-place in Taunton and hereof faile you not as you will answeare the contrary at yo^r p^{ill} Given und^r my hand and seal the 12th day of June A^o. RRS. Jac. D'ni n'ri sedi Dei grat. nunc Angl. &c. primo a'noque D'ni 1685.

FFRA. LUTTERELL."

"Seen by me THO. SHEPPARD con^{ble}.

"Seen by me WILLIA. STONE con^{ble}.

"Seen by me JOHN BULLOCKE con^{ble}.

"Som'rsett.

"I have received a war^t und^r the hand and seals of Coll. Ffra. Lutterell, by w^h you are required to warene (warn) and cause all the trained sould^{rs} in your tything, und^r the comand of Leiuten^t Bragg immediately to appear w^h their armes compleate and well fixed on the markett-place in Taunton and another war^t for the horse with their riders under Cap^t. Lory to appear as aforesaid in the Castle Greene there w^h their colours powd^r and ball. Of w^h fayle not at y^r p^{ill}."

Indorsed, "For Lieutenant Bragg at Weston haste these for his Ma^{ties} service."

"Lewis Earl of Feversham, lieut^t generall of his Ma^{ties} forces.

"Whereas the rebbells now under the command of James Scott late Duke of Monmouth are fled from his Ma^{ties} forces under my command and gott into Bridgwater. These are therefore in his Ma^{ties} name to command you strictly to forbid all sorts of people wthin y^r hundred by issuing out of warr^{ts} to yo^r several

in the execution of the six martyrs to this cause, who were hanged at Glastonbury, under the sentence of the blood-stained Jefferies; and the latter is still preserved in traditions of many "a hair-breadth 'scape," and romantic chance, which befel those who engaged in this generous act of humanity and patriotism.

However shocked the political feelings of the Glastonians might have been, by the disastrous termination of the Duke of Monmouth's effort to save the nation from Popery and despotism, by the punishment inflicted on their townsmen, and by the cowardly and unfeeling conduct of the gloomy bigot on the throne, to his accomplished nephew, their attachment to the House of Stuart continued to be unimpaired, even beyond the period when the members of that wretched family made their last effort to excite disturbance in our country. But this mistaken feeling faded entirely away with the last generation; and an universal conviction pervades the present loyal inhabitants of Glastonbury, that a race of kings,—who could "think scorn" of the liberties of the subject; or, consent to be the pensioners of France; or, contemplate the eversion of the Protestant religion and of civil freedom in England,—however legitimate, no longer deserved to reign.

"counstables petty counstables and tything men to forbid all sorts of people upon pain of death from carrying in any sort of provision whatsoever into the said Bridgwater on the enemies camp. And whoever shall be found guilty or be aiding and assisting to them shall be proceeded against as rebels to their king and country. Given at the camp in Somerton Jul 3rd, 85. FEVERSHAM."

"Seene by me THO. SHEPARD con^ble

"Seene by me WILLIA. STONE con^ble

"Seene by me JOHN BULLOCKE con^ble

Indorsed, "Original war^t fro. the Generall E. Feversham not to carry provision to James late Duke of Monmouth 85."

"Louis Earle of Feversham lieu^t generall of his Ma^{ty}s forces.

"These are in his Ma^{ty}s name strictly to order and command you to imprise within your hundred or jurisdiction twelve ploughs (waggon and teams) to be ready attending at the place where the canon is drawne up tomorrow at 2 of the clock in the morning Where you yourselve are to be present with the said ploughs; and there to deliver them into the hands of Mr. Sheeres commander of the traine Whose receipte only can be your discharge Faile not thereof, as you will answer the contrary at your perill. Given under my hand the 6th day of July 1685 at Weston. FEVERSHAM."

"To the Constable or Constables of this parish tythings or hundred.

"Seene by me THO. SHEPPARD con^ble

"Seene by me WILLIA. STONE con^ble

"Seene by me JOHN BULLOCKE con^ble

Rec'd Tuesday y^e 6 about 9 o'clocke."

Indorsed, "Gen^l's War^t for Ploughs."



Q

CHAPTER V.

Superstitions. Matthew Chancellor. The Evil Eye. Character of the Inhabitants of Glastonbury.

SUPERSTITION is a noxious plant, that grows in every soil. A corruption of what may be regarded as the only innate idea, the *religious principle*; it springs out of the *hopes* and *fears* of man, and is, consequently, co-extensive with the human race. Like all other weeds, also, it is neither speedily nor easily eradicated. Where it has once flourished,

in luxuriance and vigour, ages must elapse, before its deeply-stricken roots can be entirely cleared away ; and though, as knowledge advances, and civilization increases, in a community, the higher orders, improved and enlightened, will gradually emancipate themselves from the terrors and follies of superstition ; yet, among the lower classes, who are not immediate partakers of these advantages, it will still continue to exercise a pretty general, if not an undiminished, sway.

We cannot adduce a stronger proof of the truth of this remark, than the state of opinion among the inferior inhabitants of Glastonbury, and its immediate vicinity, at the present day, respecting all those wonders, with which superstition is usually conversant. With them "each strange tale is held devoutly true," that records the miracles of their hallowed territory in "the olden time ;" and, perhaps, there is no place in England where the ancient popular ideas of supernatural agency, so beautifully described by the great poet, are found in fuller freshness than in this singular spot ; which still teems with

" Stories told of many a feat,
 " How faery Mab the junkets eat ;
 " She was pinch't and pulled, she sed ;
 " And he, by friar's lantern led,
 " Tells how the drudging goblin swet,
 " To earn his cream-bowl duly set,
 " When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
 " His shadowy flail had thresh'd the corn,
 " That ten day-lab'ers could not end ;
 " Then lies him down the lubber fiend,
 " And, stretch'd out all the chimney's length,
 " Basks at the fire his hairy strength ;
 " And crop-full out of door he flings,
 " Ere the first cock his matin rings."

It is not surprising, however, that such a mist of hobgoblin notions should even now be found floating over the district in question ; as the darkest clouds of SUPERSTITION had settled upon it for centuries. During this period, every object presented to the eye and thoughts of its inhabitants was calculated to inflame the imagination, and inspire the awful convictions of "more than mortal meddling," even in the trivial affairs of

common life. Doctrines were taught them, which at once put their reason to flight, and left the mind a well prepared blank, for the reception of every delusion. They listened to unintelligible services, whose gaudy accompaniments could operate only upon the fancy ; and saw a perpetual routine of false miracles, and pretended supernatural cures, which kept them in a state of ceaseless astonishment ; while the mien, and garb, and splendour, and solemnity, of every thing in and about the holy brotherhood, by *day* ; and the impressive and mysterious sounds which issued from their church by *night* ; “ the pealing organ,” and “ the note of “ praise ;” the swelling chorus, and united chant ; would be the constant means of extending and confirming, in their minds, the despotism of this gigantic error.

We would not fatigue the reader with a minute detail of the many popular superstitious ideas in the neighbourhood we are speaking of, thus originating in the long rule of monachism there, and which have survived its fall for nearly three hundred years ; but there are *two*, which should not be passed over without particular notice : the first, as having, for a certain time, materially influenced the fortunes of the town ; and the other, as being exceedingly curious in itself, and occasionally affecting, to a serious degree, the peace and comfort of individuals.

Our account of *St. Joseph's Well* will have prepared the reader for the former of these superstitions. The tradition and belief of its sanative powers continued in undiminished force, though the well itself was hidden in the ruins of the Abbey church ; and a full persuasion of a salutary efficacy in all the waters connected with the holy ground made, as it does now, a settled article of the popular creed of the town and its vicinity. With an impression of this nature very strong upon his mind, a man, by the name of Matthew Chancellor, in the autumn of the year 1750, who was labouring under a painful illness, dreamed (or, at least, thought he had dreamed) that a *spring*, near the Abbey inclosure, was pointed out to him by an unearthly intelligence, with injunctions to use it for the removal of his complaint ; and with an assurance, that, if used according to certain directions, it would effect his cure. Chancellor accordingly, without delay, applied to the mirific water ; pursued the plan recommended ;

and was rewarded by a recovery from his asthma. He immediately reported the good news through his neighbourhood; and desirous that the wonderful qualities of this second edition of *St. Joseph's Well* should be known as diffusively as possible, he made and published the following declaration:

"This is to certify all whom it may concern, that I, Matthew Chancellor, of the parish of North Wotton, in the county of Somerset, yeoman, had been very much afflicted with an *asthma* and *phthisic* almost thirty years, till some time about the middle of October, 1750, when I had a violent fit in the night, and afterwards fell asleep, and dreamed that I was at Glastonbury, some way above Chain-gate, and that I was in the horse-track, and there saw some of the clearest water I ever saw in my life. I kneeled on my knees, and drank of it; and I could plainly perceive the plashing of the horses on both sides. As soon as I stood up, there seemed to be a person by me, who, pointing with his fingers, said unto me, "If you will go to that freestone shoot, and take a clean glass, and drink a glassful (fasting) seven Sunday mornings following, and let no person see you, you will find a perfect cure of your disorder; and then make it public to the world." I asked him, Why seven Sunday mornings? He said, 'The world was made in six days; and on the seventh, God Almighty rested from his labour, and blessed it above other days.' He said likewise, 'This water comes from out of the holy ground, where a great many saints and martyrs have been buried.' He told me something concerning our Saviour's being baptized in the river Jordan; but I could not remember it when I waked. The Sunday morning following I went to Glastonbury, which is about three miles from the place where I live, and found it exactly according to my dream; but as it was a very dry time, I could scarcely see the water run in the shoot, so I dipped the glass three times into the hole, under where the shoot dropped, and took up to the value of a glassfull, and drank it, giving God thanks; and so I continued to do seven Sundays, and, by the blessing of God, it recovered me of my disorder."*

Chancellor's certificate produced various effects on different minds. His neighbourhood, educated with himself in the same school of credulity, gave implicit credit to every tittle of it. An immense number of *geese*, at a distance, were of the same opinion, and *flocked* by thousands into Glastonbury; to the no small profit of the townsmen, and the exposure of their own folly. The more *discreet*, however, of the community,

* Gent. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 224, July 1751. A notice of the discovery occurs in the same volume, p. 186; and at p. 231, we have the following paragraph. "May, Sunday 5th. Above ten thousand people came to Glastonbury, Somersetshire, from Bristol, Bath, and other parts, to drink the waters there, for their health." Chancellor died in the year 1765. In the register of John the Baptist's parish is this entry: "Burials 1765, August 24th, Matthew Chancellor, the *dreamer*."

The author of a pamphlet on the efficacy of the Glaston water, says, "he discovers nothing artful in the character of Matthew Chancellor; that he is sixty years of age; has 40*l.* per annum; and is of the Church of England," &c.

smiled at the enthusiast and his tale ; while the more *knowing*, after having duly speculated upon both, discovered that the former was only a *Jesuit in disguise*, and the latter, an insidious fabrication, which had for its ultimate object the eversion of the Protestant religion in England, and the re-introduction of *Popery*.

A writer of this class attacked Chancellor's declaration, (through the medium of the Gloucester Journal,) shortly after it was made public. He says, that "the account smells too rank of Popish superstition to be questioned from *what quarter* it comes ; so that it would be well worth " enquiry, whether some *Popish* emissaries have not been concerned in " promoting this opinion ; and whether it is not likely that a very ill use " will be made of it, in respect to the religious principles of many weak, " though, perhaps, well-meaning, christians, in favour of superstitious " and idolatrous worship ; which" (says the writer) " I have *too much* " *reason to fear*, even from the stories insinuated by the very people, who " make it their business to inform strangers of this affair on the spot— " such as, their *having lost their market, since they built their market-* " *house out of the ruins of the Abbey ; their not being able to make an* " *oven stand, that was built three times with those stones ; and several* " *other things, in favour of their legendary miracles.*"*

The discovery, in the mean time, had reached the metropolis ; and one of its clever adventurers, who are always prepared to make money out of every popular folly, actually received the water into his " universal " register office," and sold it, in sealed bottles, to those who were willing to exchange their silver for a pint of the simple element. An old Glastonbury lady of eighty, however, was still too clear-sighted to be imposed on by Chancellor's marvellous story ; and expressed her opinion in a very decisive, if not over refined, manner. She declared that " she could " remember the time, when the humour of the people ran as high for

* Gent. Mag. Sept. 1751, p. 416. A correspondent purchases "a sealed bottle of the Glastonbury water, at the Universal Register Office, near Exeter Change, in the Strand, where it is sold ;" and finds it to be only *common spring water*, without any remarkable medicinal virtues in it. In this case either the vender must have been a rogue, or the purchaser a bad chemist, as the water is certainly a strong chalybeate.

“ for cow —, for the cure of the same distemper; and that thousands
 “ would flock to St. James’s Park in the morning, to follow the cows;
 “ and happy were they who could catch any portion of this precious fluid,
 “ while it was warm, as a certain and infallible cure of their disease.” The
 old lady’s opinion of the gifted spring soon became general. The *epidemic*
 wore itself speedily out; and though a pump-room rose on the spot, and
 every inducement, as well as facility, was offered to tempt the resort of
 strangers to it, yet the popular character of the water, as a *panacea*, had
 died away before the close of the year 1752; and none approached to try
 its virtues, save those whose fancy was much stronger than their under-
 standing; or such as had good reason to believe that its actual properties
 were applicable to their particular cases.*

The other delusive notion to which we alluded, as common among the
 subordinate population of Glastonbury, and the yeomanry of its vicinity,
 cannot, indeed, be deduced *directly* from the superstitions of the Romish
 church, or the practices of the monastics established in this quarter, it
 being of much higher antiquity than either of them; but there can be no
 doubt that it derived its *strength* and *perpetuity* from becoming blended
 with those other mental hallucinations, which may be traced *immediately*
 to these sources.

The delusion to which we now advert is—the *βασκανία* of the Greeks;
 the *fascinum* of the Romans; the *mal-occhio* of the Italians; and the
evil eye, equally known and dreaded in some distant corners of our own
 country.† In the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, it is called by the name
 of *overlooking*.

* A whimsical writer of this period thus vents his spleen against the superstition, and its abettors.
 “ So captivated were the credulous million with the *miraculous discovery*, that some actually came to
 “ receive sight, who were ‘dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,’ not having an eye in their heads;
 “ and in other cases many much the like. And so possessed and ran away with were numbers, that the
 “ infidel who should seem to pish or smile, stood in jeopardy of being stoned, as if for denying Heaven’s
 “ power and mercy. Thus great in expectation stood Glastonbury about a twelvemonth since. But,
 “ oh! how much are the mighty fallen! Walk through it now, and Glastonbury looks not vastly
 “ otherways than as it did a year before; for its waters have been found very little else than waters.
 “ Thousands have awoke, and, lo! their expectations proved but a *dream*.” Brice’s Grand Gazetteer,
 p. 632. Exon. 1774.

† For further information on the subject of this very ancient and curious superstition, see Plin.

The superstition consists in attributing to the *eye* of some particular person or persons, a certain blasting influence ; by which, when they are inclined to exercise it, through anger, revenge, or malignity, they can fatally affect the body, mind, and property of the unhappy victim, on whom the baneful gaze is cast.* It is wonderful, as well as lamentable, to contemplate the effects which are produced on those who cherish this perverse notion, when they consider themselves as having been actually *overlooked*. A sensible and judicious friend, who has had frequent opportunities of witnessing, what may well be termed, *patients under this disease*, describes them as, sunk in spirits; wasted in strength and form; inattentive to their concerns and connections; and totally absorbed in the dreadful idea, that, unless the withering witchery can be overcome, inevitable ruin and certain death must speedily be their doom. In vain has he urged every argument, suggested by reason and religion, to dissipate their groundless terrors: to these the *overlooked* were utterly insensible; and had he not called in the aid of a distant *conjuror*, (prepared for the purpose,) believed by them to be more potent than the possessor of the *evil eye*, the smitten rustics would, in all human probability, have, by slow degrees, become the victims of their own deluded imagination.

If any thing could reconcile the mind to the bold paradox of Lord Bacon, that "it would be better to have no belief of God at all, than "such a belief as is unworthy of him,"† it would be the contemplation of the wretchedness of feeling, and degradation of intellect, just described, induced by the influence of *Superstition*; but, in a comparison between this principle and *Atheism*, it must never be out of recollection, that the *former*, however it may have degenerated and debased itself, is still of high descent, and feels a holy impulse; for, it has its origin in the conviction of a *great First Cause*; it acknowledges a superintending Providence; and "believes," though it "trembles." While *Atheism*, on the contrary, is proud of being the offspring of *chance*; rejoices in universal

lib. 28, c. 4; Rosini Antiq. Rom. p. 772; Alsarius de Fascino Antiq. Rom. a Grævio, tom. xii. p. 885; and Potter's Ant. Græc. vol. i. p. 357.

* The cattle were not safe from its blasting effects.

"Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos."

Virg. Ec. iii. v. 103.

† Essays, vol. i. p. 100, oct. edit. 1720.

disorder; and glories in the chilling idea, of a *forsaken* and *fatherless* world.*

Among the higher and better informed classes, however, of the inhabitants of Glastonbury, this *morbid state* of the religious principle is nowhere to be found. The only *influence* produced upon the *general character* of the place, by its intimate contact, for ages, with the imposing solemnities of a gaudy, but corrupted, worship, and with a never-ceasing stream of striking, but false, miracles, seems to be, a deeper devotional feeling, and a higher respect for the days, and places, and services, appropriated to holiness, than are to be discovered, perhaps, in most other country towns; an influence, however, that neither banishes cheerfulness, nor withers benevolence, nor checks hospitality; and which, accompanied by much good sense, without conceit; courtesy and civility, without over refinement; candour, simplicity, and heartiness, without rusticity of manners; stamps the spot which has so long occupied our attention, with a deep impress of **THE GOOD OLD-ENGLISH CHARACTER.**

* See a most eloquent sermon on this subject, by Robert Hall, preached at Cambridge. Button and Son, London, 1804.

It would be equal ingratitude and disrespect, to omit mentioning, with every due acknowledgement, the liberal and obliging permission of his Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, to the Author, to search the magnificent library at Stowe, for materials in illustration of the **HISTORY OF THE ABBEY AND TOWN OF GLASTONBURY.**

Appendix.

No. I.

A LITTLE MONUMENT to the once famous Abbey and Borough of Glastonbury; or, a Short Specimen of the History of that ancient Monastery and Town, giving an account of the rise and foundation of both. To which is added, the Description of the remaining Ruins, and of such an Abbey as that of Glastonbury is supposed to have been; with an Account of the miraculous Thorn, that blows still on Christmas-Day, and the wonderful Walnut Tree, that annually used to blow upon St. Barnaby's Day. Together with an Appendix, consisting of Charters and Instruments to strengthen the authority of what is related. Whereto is annexed the Life of King Arthur, who there lay'd buried, and was a considerable benefactor to this Abbey. Collected out of some of our best Antiquaries and Historians, and finish't April the 28th, 1716.

THE CONTENTS. *The Preface.* The historical part. The description of the Ruins of the Abbey, and of the Abbey itself. A Catalogue of the Abbots of Glastonbury, drawn from Browne Willis, esquire's, *View of Mitred Abbeyes*; with a few marginal notes, to make what I have collected of the Abbey something more clear and intelligible. A short Topographical and Historical Description of the Town of Glastonbury. The Holy Thorn, and Miraculous Walnut Tree.

APPENDIX. No. 1, St. Patrick's Chart; No. 2, the inscription of a plate of brass; No. 3, King Ina's Charter; No. 4, King Henry the Second's Charter; No. 5, King Edmund's Charter; No. 6, King Edgar's Charter; No. 7, a Letter written by four of the Monks of Glastonbury, in Queen Mary's days, for the new founding their Abbey; No. 8, Dr. Tanner's Catalogue of Books, written and transcribed in one Abbat's time; No. 9, Part of the 53d Chapter of St. Bennet's Rule; No. 10, an Abstract of the Life of King Arthur.

THE PREFACE.

I intitle this treatise *A Little Monument*, because the history of the Abbey is, in a manner, buried in its ruins; and I call it *A Short Specimen of the History of Glastonbury*, because I know abundance more than I have said of it may be added to it; but for want of books I could go no further. However, I hope here is a foundation layd for some abler person, and one better stored with books than I am, to build on; which is my chief aym and design of throwing it upon the press. I thought 'twas pity the first place of this kingdom that received the gospell, should be so little known to the very inhabitants of the place, for they have but a very imperfect notion of it; and I cannot learn any body else hath undertaken to inform them of it, and that has put me to try what I could make of it. I considered Mr. Southouse's *Monasticon Favershamiense*, and Mr. Davies's, or rather Mr. Mickleton's *Ancient Rites and Monuments of Durham*, (both books of the like subject,) met with so good a reception, that there is scarce one bookseller in twenty in all London that hath a copy of them, which two books have been of great use to me, particularly in my describing this Abbey; for all the help I had otherwayes was only from the two cutts I met with in the *Monasticon*, and the two slight views I made of the remaining ruins, when it was the least of my thoughts to make my little remarks publick.

I began this little specimen in September, 1714, and had finisht it in a month's time, but that I expected the coming out of Leland's *Collectanea*, which the ingenious and learned Mr. Hearne, under librarian of the Bodleian library of Oxford, set forth last winter. I cannot mention his name without a particular regard, he having furnisht a friend of mine with the second and third volume of Leland's *Itinerarium*, which, with the *Collectanea*, have been of vast use to me in several places. For from the *Itinerarium* I recovered the names of the five chappels in the Abbey Church, and the names of all I have mentioned, that layd either there, or in the parish church of St. John Baptist, buried; and also a great deal of what I have sayd of the town of Glastonbury. From the sixth volume of the *Collectanea* I had Mr. Willis's Catalogue of the Abbats; and from the fifth, most of what I have sayd of King Arthur.

I have all along used Protestant authorities, excepting only where I find Protestants not concurring with Saunders, Reyner, and Cressy. And the reason why I prefer their sentiments before Protestants is, because Saunders lived at the time of the dissolution, being a fellow of New College in Oxford, in 1548, which was but nine years, at most, after the dissolution of this Monastery;* and Reyner and Cressy were both monks of the same order that the Monks of Glastonbury were of, so had better opportunities of knowing, and (in all likelihood) did know, more of the matter of fact than Mr. Wood or Mr. Willis could know, it being more their business to enquire into it: and therefore I report from Saunders and Reyner, that there were 100 monks, or thereabouts, in this Abbey, when it was supprest; whereas Mr. Wood says there were but forty-seven monks in the house when Abbat Whiting was chosen abbat, which was but sixteen years, at most, before the dissolution of the Abbey; and it is scarce credible they should increase in so short a time to be double that number. And for the same reason, in my marginal notes upon Mr. Willis's Catalogue of Abbats, I seem to doubt whether Thurston, the Norman abbat, expended great sums on his Abbey, as his successor Herlewinus did: because Reyner mentions the disorders that Thurston committed, and says nothing of his making any amends.

I once resolved not to print the Charters and Instruments in my Appendix, but to content myself with what I had extracted out of them, and quoting the books where they might be found. But when I considered the extraordinary things I relate would require (in the age we now live in) more

* Saunders must be a stubbed boy, if not a man, at the dissolution of Abbeys, therefore what he reports, probably, was from his own knowledge.

than my bare quotations to gain credit with abundance of people, I changed my resolution, and thought proper to print them by way of Appendix. Four of the Charters are taken out of the *Monasticon*; and such credit hath that work received from the integrity of Mr. Dodsworth and Sir William Dugdale, the authors thereof, that James Wright, of the Inner Temple, esq; who hath patronized it, says, in his preface to his abridgement of it, that he is credibly informed, "that it hath been admitted as a good circumstantial evidence in the Courts of Westminster, when the records therein transcribed could not, upon diligent search, be otherwise found." And, I presume, few unbiassed and impartial readers will disallow of Dr. Harpesfield's authority, from whence I draw Henry the Second's charter; or except against Mr. Sammes's credit, out of whom the inscription which was fixt in the Abbey Church is taken. And 'tis because people are not very easy of belief at present, that I also have drawn an abstract of King Arthur's Life, many people questioning whether there ever was any such person; whereas I find him (and that by unquestionable authority) to have been buried in the Abbey Church here, and to have been to this house a very considerable benefactor.

And something also seems necessary to be premised about the Monks, who were the inhabitants of the Abbey, least this little book fall into the hands of such as know as little of Religious, as they know of the history of Glastonbury. For in the book itself I have sayd but little of them, and mentioned them only by the by. Such readers, then, may please to know they were a society of men that withdrew themselves from the world the better to serve God; and made a profession of voluntary poverty, (that is to say, to live without propriety,) of perpetual chastity, and of obedience to their superiors; which, that they might the better keep up to, they obliged themselves to follow the rule of St. Benedict, and thence they were called Benedictines. They wore all the same fashioned cloaths, which were black, and of the same stuff. They renounc't the debauch't world, and all its alluring vanities, and apply'd themselves, in their little cells, to piety, contemplation, study, and mortification; for whatever time was not spent in the quire in divine service, in the hall for refection, and in the garden and common room to recreate their spirits an hour after dinner, and an hour after supper, was thus spent, if they were well, and not in office; or else employed in the library, or *scriptorium*, to benefit the public. My reader is further to know, that these monks kept a free school, where poor men's sons were bred up as well as gentlemen's, and were there fitted for the universities; that they had a place in the Abbey, called their *Eleemosynarium*, where the poor were daily relieved; and they were so good landlords to their tenants, that their rent seemed an acknowledgement more than a rent, and their leases to them were almost as good to them as fee simple: such was the charity and goodness of these monks to their neighbours, and their rigour and severity to themselves. I, therefore, shall conclude with Mr. Aubrey, in his introduction to his Survey of North Wiltshire, where, speaking of this kind of societies, he says, "that it is a sarcasme more malicious than true, commonly thrown at the church-men, that they had too much land; for their constitution being in truth considered, they were rather administrators of those great revenues to pious and public uses, than usu-fructuaries. And as for themselves, they had only their habit and competent dyet." I think I need add here no more by way of preface, since the first paragraph of three of the heads treated of in this little specimen is a sort of preface to what here follows, excepting that this Abbey was one of several* which were never surrendered to King Henry the Eighth's commissioners, but was suppress and seized on by violence, by the authority of the Act of Parliament for dissolving the rest of the religious houses which remained unsuppress. Nothing remains further for me to do by way of preface, but to beg pardon for any mistakes or oversights I may possibly have committed, and to assure my reader, if he meets with any such, they are not wilful ones.

* Redding and Colchester Abbeyes were also thus seized.

A LITTLE MONUMENT to the once famous Abbey and Borough of Glastonbury; or, a Short Specimen of the History of that ancient Monastery and Town, giving an account of the rise and foundation of both, &c.

Ad majorem Dei gloriam.

The occasion of this Treatise. 1. My curiosity having led me twice to Glastonbury within these two years, and inquiring there into the antiquity, history, and rarities of the place, I was told by the inn-keeper where I set up my horses, who rents a considerable part of the inclosure of the late dissolved Abbey, "that St. Joseph of Arimathæa landed not far from the town, at a place where there was an oak planted in memory of his landing, called the *Oak of Avalon*; that he and his companions "marched thence to a hill, near a mile on the south side of the town, and there being weary, rested "themselves; which gave the hill the name of *Weary-all-Hill*; that St. Joseph stuck on the hill his "staff, being a dry hawthorn stick, which grew, and constantly budded and blowed upon Christmas-Day, but, in the time of the civil wars, that thorn was grubbed up; however there were, in the "town and neighbourhood, several trees raised from that thorn, which yearly budded and blowed upon "Christmas-Day, as the old root did; that the old Abbey was built in honour of St. Joseph's coming "thither; that the last Abbot of it, whose name was *Whiting*, was either hanged on, or tumbled down "in a barrel, a very steep hill on the north-east side of the town, called the *Tor*, for building the "great kitchen, (which is still there standing,) and saying he would keep as good a house as King "Henry the VIIIth himself should; and that St. Bennet's Church, one of the parish churches there, "was the first church wherein the gospel was preached in England." Finding my landlord's relation imperfect, and knowing him to be mistaken in some particulars, at my return home I turned over what books I had that treated any thing of Glastonbury, and collecting together what I can meet with, I resolve to print it; hoping it may encourage some abler person, and one better versed in antiquities than myself, to enlarge upon it. I find, then,

2d. St. Joseph of Arimathæa, that noble senator so honourably mentioned by the four Evangelists, for asking and obtaining of Pilate the body of our Saviour Christ, and afterwards burying it, was, for that noble action, imprisoned in a close prison by the Jews, the very night he performed that christian duty, and was thence miraculously delivered by an angel the night of our Saviour's resurrection; which so enraged the Jews, that they not only turned him, with St. Lazarus, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Martha, out of Jerusalem, but putting them in an open vessel, without sterne or tackling, they turned them to sea, where, by God's providence, they were driven to Marseilles, a city of France, upon the Mediterranean, whence St. Joseph came into Great-Britain, where, after he had preached the gospel, he dyed.

3. The antiquities of Glastonbury, and old historians, tell us, that he came hither in or about the year of Christ 63, and that he brought over with him twelve companions, whereof one was his son, called also Joseph. Protestant authors say he was sent hither by St. Philip the Apostle; but Papists will not allow it, and say he was sent by St. Peter; and though they own St. Joseph and his companions to have been St. Philip's disciples, yet they deny that St. Philip was ever in Gallia, what we now call France, and say he suffered martyrdom at Hieropolis, a city in Asia, in the year of Christ 54, nine years before St. Joseph's coming hither; whereas St. Peter suffered not till the year 69, which was six years after St. Joseph's arrival in Great-Britain. But leaving this matter to such as love dispute and contention, we will proceed with our story.

Sanctus Graal. 4. There is an old book, called *Sanctus Graal*, quoted by some authors, that saith St. Joseph, what of the one sex and what of the other, brought over with him six hundred persons,

amongst whom (besides his son Joseph above mentioned) were his wife, his nephew Helaius, from whom (it says) our renowned King Arthur was descended, and a kinsman, whose name was Peter, from whom one Loth descended, who married King Arthur's sister; that St. Joseph was a king, *rex Orcaniæ*, king of *Orcania*, and that divers of this, his great retinue, were persons of the first rank, some whereof were also called *reges*, *kings*, &c. But Mr. Cressy tells us this book is not to be relied on. Leaving, therefore, this matter as doubtful, I will go forward with what I may report with more certainty.

5. Mr. Broughton, from the Antiquities of Glastonbury, tells us, that the first landing of St. Joseph in this island was in Venodocia, now called North-Wales; where he and his companions, preaching the faith of Christ, were not only denied all necessary things for their relief and sustenance, but their doctrine rejected, and themselves committed to prison, by the king or prince of that province, a pagan infidel. But he and his associates being freed of their imprisonment by the great mercy and providence of God to them, and seeing how fruitless a business it was like to be, to make any longer stay amongst that (then) so obstinate and obdurate a people, he came into that part of the island called then Loëgria, now England.

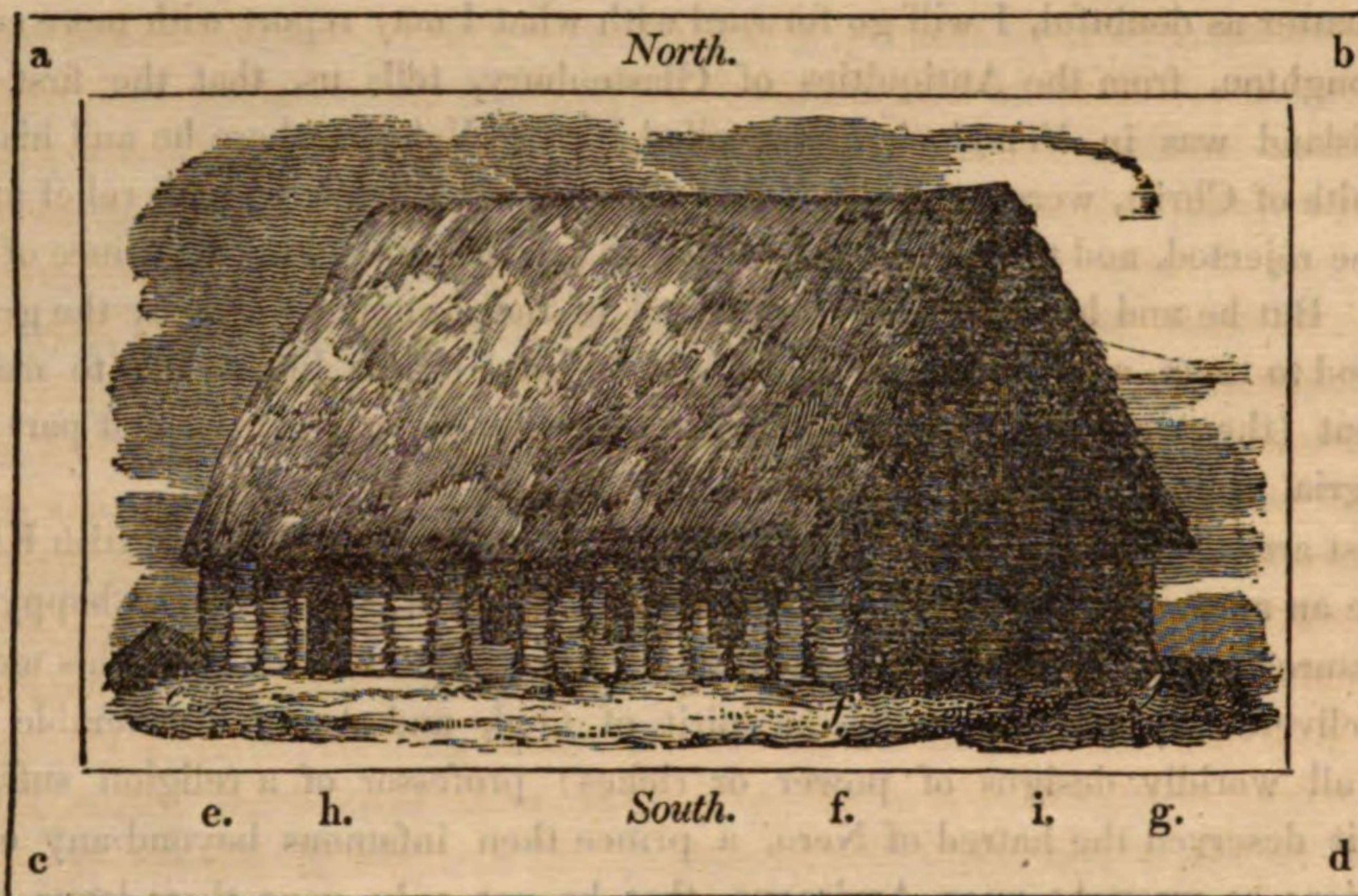
6. At his first arrival here, he assumed the confidence to repair to the then British King Arviragus, to whom he gave an account of the design of his journey, which was to bring the happy news, and to offer the only assured means of eternal happiness to all that would embrace it. This message, gravely and modestly delivered by one filled with the spirit of God, and also of a venerable presence; one that renounced all worldly designs of power or riches; professor of a religion sufficiently recommended in that it deserved the hatred of Nero, a prince then infamous beyond any ever mentioned in former histories; so wrought upon Arviragus, that he not only gave them leave to convert and save his subjects, but also extended his liberality so far as to afford them a place of retreat, commodious for their quiet and holy devotions, and sufficient for their sustenance, that without distraction and solicitude they might attend to the worship of the true God, and the instruction of all those who were willing to take it.

7. The place Arviragus assigned them was an island, rude and uncultivated, called by the Britons, for the colour of it, *Inis-witryn*, that is, *the Glassy Island*, compast by the bay full of woods, bushes, and fenns, situated in Somersetshire. In succeeding time, being cleared from briars, drained, and cultivated, it was by the inhabitants named *Avallonia*, for the plenty of apples and other fruit growing there. But in after ages, when the Saxons had possessed themselves of those parts, they resumed the former title, and called it in their own language *Glaston*, or *Glascon*.

8. Mr. Broughton saies it is a continued tradition of the still inhabitants of Glastonbury, that when St. Joseph and his companions came into England out of North-Wales, they divided themselves into divers companies, and that three only at first went to *Inis-witryn*, whereof one was St. Joseph himself. That he and his companions coming tired and weary to a hill, within half a mile of south-west of where Glastonbury now stands, rested themselves on the ridge thereof, for which reason that hill to this very day is called *Weary-all-Hill*; and that in the very place where they rested there sprung up a *miraculous thorn-tree*, which every year at Christmas, in the coldest year and weather, frost, snow, or whatever else, never failed budding forth leaves and flowers; of which thorn I design to say more hereafter, being unwilling here to interrupt the course of my story.

9. When the rest of these holy men understood where St. Joseph and his two companions had their settlement, they likewise repaired thither; and being all got together, and having earnestly implored the help of Heaven where to make their stay and abode, they set up their rest in the adjoining place, where the late Abbey of Glastonbury stood. A little while after they had been there, they were admonish't by St. Gabriel the Archangel, in a vision, to build a church in honour of the Holy

Mother of God, and perpetual Virgin Mary; upon which they immediately built an oratory of bark't alder or wicker wands winded and twisted together, with a roof of straw, or rather, after the nature of the soil of that neighbourhood, of hay or rushes; a cut of which oratory together with its dimensions, and church-yard belonging to it, I will here present the reader for his further satisfaction.



a, b, c, d. The compass of the Church-yard, the extent whereof is not certainly known, but large enough to contain a thousand graves.

e. f. The length of the Church, 60 feet.

f. g. The breadth of the church, 26 feet.

h. The door, the top whereof reaches the eaves of the church, which were very low.

i. The east window over the altar.—*Vide Sammes's Antiquities, pp. 213, 214.*

10. Some will have it that these holy men prevailed little by their preaching, and, therefore, at last gave themselves wholly to a monastical and solitary life. But this is a notion that is contradicted by Sir William Dugdale and Mr. Dodsworth, in their *Monasticon*, who say, St. Joseph and his companions converted a great multitude of pagans to the faith in Christ; and it would be an injury (I should think) to the zeal and charity of these our primitive fathers, to imagine they were willing to spare their labour and travels, to make Christ known to many, which enquired not after him. No doubt (saith a grave author) they behaved themselves as all holy missionaries did, in those days, through all places, exhorting men to fly from the wrath to come, and made use of their retreat, allowed them by the King only as a place of repose, after they had been spent with toiling in God's service; in which place, being separated from worldly conversation, they might purify themselves before their deaths, that so they might be admitted into God's presence, to receive the crown of all their labours.

11. After this manner of living, they ended their days in the island of *Iniswitryne*, having been supported by the liberality of K. Arviragus, who, for their subsistence, bestowed upon each of them a hyde of land, twelve hydes in the whole, which donation of his was confirmed to them after his death by his two successors, Marius and Coillus, who, some report, were converted by these holy primitive fathers to the faith of Christ. But whoever reads Mr. Broughton and Mr. Cressy will find, though these princes (particularly King Arviragus), by their kindness to the professors of Christianity,

tacitly shewed their approbation thereof, yet they did not receive from heaven the gift of divine faith to submit thereto.

12. Now though we are told that this holy island, which had bin the abode of saints, became, after the decease of St. Joseph and his companions, a den of wild beasts, till St. Lucius's days, yet 'tis certain they left some disciples behind them, either in the island or its neighbourhood, or else how could *St. Elvanus*, called *Avalonius*, because he was either bred or born at Glastonbury, and *Medwinus Belga*, that is to say, of Wells, be instructed in Christianity? and all our historians agree these two saints were Christians before St. Lucius sent them to Rome, to the then Pope Eleutherius, to treat with him about his and his kingdom's conversion. Nay, some go so far as to say, these two saints had so instructed that prince before they went on that embassy, that St. Fugatius or Phaganus, and St. Dervianus or Damianus, Pope Eleutherius's two legates, had nothing more to do than to baptise him. So 'tis evident St. Joseph and his brethren left disciples behind them, who continued Christianity in the isle of *Iniswitryne*, or its neighbourhood, till King Lucius's days, who spread it through all his kingdom. But to return from this digression.

13. These two holy legates, Phaganus and Damianus, travelling throughout Brittain, teaching, preaching, and baptizing, were informed that St. Joseph and his brethren, about one hundred years before, had, in some measure, spread the seed of the Christian faith in the south-western part of the kingdom; and that they at last retired themselves to *Iniswitryne*, and there dyed. Understanding where about this sacred place was, these holy legats, about the year of Christ 183, penetrated into this holy isle, as Moyses, the lawgiver of the Jews, did (say my authors) into the inmost parts of the desert; where, by the divine conduct, they found an ancient church, built by the hands of the disciples of our Lord, which the Supreme Creator of Heaven declared, by many miraculous signs, that himself had consecrated to his own glory, and to the honour of his blessed Mother. The aforesayd holy men having found this oratory, were filled with unspeakable joy; and searching diligently that sacred place, they found the Holy Cross, the figure of our Redemption, together with several other signs, declaring that that place had bin formerly the habitation of Christians. After this they found the antiquity of the coming of St. Joseph and his brethren thither, and also the acts and lives of them there; how religiously they lived, and how three pagan kings ministered necessities by a certain portion of land for their maintenance. Afterwards being admonished by a Divine Oracle, they considered that our Lord had made choice of that place above all others in Brittany, wherein He, his Holy Mother, and his Saints, should be implored on. Upon which they added another oratory, built of stone, and dedicated to the honour of our Lord, and his apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. And after, St. Phaganus and Damianus had built that oratory in honour of St. Michael the Archangel, that he might have there honour on earth of men, who, at the command of God, should bring men to eternal honours in heaven. This chappel, also, of St. Michael (say my authors), St. Phaganus and Damianus, built by admonition and direction from Heaven, and to stir up the devotion of the faithful, they obtained of Pope Eleutherius indulgences for all such who devoutly visited those three holy places.

14. Nine years did these holy men live here; and in memory of the first twelve, in the time of St. Joseph of Arimathæa, they chose twelve of their company to dwell in that island, as anchorets, in little cells and caves, who met often together every day, that they might the more devoutly perform their divine offices; and as the three pagan kings had long before granted the said island, with its appurtenances, to the first twelve disciples of Christ, so the said Phaganus and Damianus did obtain of King Lucius to have it confirmed for ever to these their twelve companions and others their successors after them. Thus these two holy legats establish't a succession of twelve devout persons, which

continued there the service of God, without interruption, till the coming of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, to that place.

15. St. Patrick, after several years labour in his apostolick office in Ireland, retired (according to Mr. Cressy), A. D. 439, to this island of *Iniswitryne*, (now become a noted school of sanctity), where he spent thirty years, or more, of the later part of his life, in prayers, fasting, watching, and all other penitential austerities. The names of the twelve successors of the disciples of St. Phaganus and Damianus which St. Patrick found there, were *Brumban*, *Hiregaan*, *Bremwal*, *Wentreth*, *Banttoniweng*, *Adelwolred*, *Loyor*, *Wellias*, *Breden*, *Swelwes*, *Hinloernus*, and *Hyn*; all of them descended of noble families, and men of so great sanctity, that St. Patrick, who was a wonder himself for piety, says he was not worthy to untye the latchets of their shoes.

16. These holy men chose St. Patrick for their superior, and informed him of all they knew of the island. Whereupon, after he had reduced them to a cœnobitical way, that is to say, brought his religious to live in community and in common under the same roof, (for till then they lived singly in huts, dens, and caves,) he took brother Wellias with him, and with great difficulty they went up together the *Torr*, where he found the ancient oratory of St. Michael almost ruined; and finding by an old book, which he by great search and industry had there found out, that the chappel there had been built by revelation, and held in vast veneration by St. Phaganus and Damianus, he and his companions spent there three months in fasting, prayers, and watching; during which time he had, on a certain night, a vision of our Saviour Christ himself, who signified to him that he was to honour the same Archangel in the same place; for a testimony of the certainty of which vision his left arm withered, and was not restored till he had acquainted the rest of his brethren below with what he had seen.

17. St. Patrick's vision being thus by miracle confirmed, his religious below were convinc't that the chappel on that hill was likewise chosen by God for the exercise of christian devotion. Whereupon the holy men Arnulphus and Ogmar, two Irish monks whom he brought with him thither out of Ireland, desired to go up the hill, and remain constantly there, attending on the said chappel, where (for ought I can find to the contrary) they not only lived, but ended their days. And that Almighty God might be thenceforward there constantly served, St. Patrick, by the advice and consent of his religious, appointed that two brethren should reside on that hill for ever, except succeeding prelates for future ages should, for some just reason, ordain otherwise. And because the ascent was so very difficult, being then overgrown with briars, bushes, trees, and other clutter, he, by advice of his religious, granted a hundred days of indulgence to all those, who, out of a pious intention, should, with axes and other instruments, clear the passage of the aforesaid mountain on all sides, that devout Christians might have a freer entrance piously to visit the church of the blessed Virgin Mary, that of the two Apostles, and this oratory of St. Michael.

18. Criticks, perhaps, may censure what I have here related. If they do, they are desired to take notice, that most of what I have written hitherto is taken out of a writing, written by St. Patrick himself, commonly called St. Patrick's Chart or Epistle; some whereof was quoted, as we are told by Mr. Cressy, almost three hundred years since, by Capgrave, in his Life of St. Patrick; and it is entirely extant, saith that author, in the famous library of Sir John Cotton, in two several manuscripts, one of the Antiquities of William of Malmesbury, and a certain writer, called Adam Domerham. And concerning this epistle, thus writes Gerardus Vossius, the publick reader of history in the University of Leyden in Holland: "this epistle of the Legation of St. Patrick we found some years since amongst the MSS. collections of Marianus Victorius, bishop of Reate, who faithfully transcribed it out of a very ancient manuscript belonging to Glastonbury, many years before, when he

"attended Cardinal Pole, sent legate into England." Camden, also, reports it, which he certainly would not do if he did not think it worthy of credit; and it is of that authority with Sir William Dugdale and Mr. Dodsworth, (two more of the Reformed Religion,) that they have thought good to set it down at large in the *Monasticon*; from whence I design to transcribe a copy, and present it to my reader in my Appendix, for his further satisfaction. But to return from this digression.

19. Devout husbandmen and labourers having not only cleared the hill of trees, bushes, and other clutter, but likewise planted the neighbouring valley with fruits, particularly apple-trees; from whence, being now cultivated, the island got the name of the Isle of Avalon, from the British word *avalla*, which signifies apples; and St. Patrick having repaired St. Michael's chappel, on the top of the Torr, which from this time (if I mistake not) was called the Hill of St. Michael, or St. Michael's Mount, to the time of the Reformation, after which, I conceive, it was called the Torr, from the tower, the only part of the chappel now left standing; and having rebuilt (probably speaking) the worn-out wattled chappel of our blessed Lady, St. Patrick's exemplary life, and the holy lives of his companions, together with the sanctity of his predecessors, who there lay buried, raised the isle to that reputation, that it became, about the year 480, a noted pilgrimage for pious persons to repair thither out of devotion.

20. Now as St. Benignus succeeded St. Patrick in the episcopal see of Armagh, after he had taken a great deal of pains in propagating the gospel in Ireland, he followed the example of his holy predecessor, and retired to Avalon, and there, after St. Patrick's death, succeeded him in his abbatship; where he had for his contemporaries St. Kolumkilla and St. Gildas Albanus, who, by their holy lives, added a new lustre to this Abbey. Whether either of them became abbats there, I cannot yet tell, but find the latter to have been an eminent author, and to have written, amongst other things, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, which is lost. Were it now extant, it would, doubtless, afford us many more considerable particulars of this most celebrated Abbey.

21. About the year 530, St. David, archbishop of Menevia, having put an end to his provincial synod, called *The Synod of Victory*, took a journey to Avalon, accompanied with seven of his suffragan bishops, with an intention to repair the ruins of the monastery, and again to consecrate the church. But being deterred from such a design, by our Lord's appearing to him in sleep the night before he design'd to consecrate it; he was forbidden by our Saviour to prophane the sacred ceremony by a second dedication, which he himself had many years performed in honour of his blessed Mother. In testimony whereof our Saviour with his finger pierced a hole in St. David's hand, which remained open to the view of all men till the end of the next day's mass. Hereupon all the preparation for a consecration came to nothing; and the miracle, divinely wrought, being known publickly to all the hearers, increased the admiration. And, in conclusion, when mass was celebrated, St. David's hand was restored to its former soundness. After this, St. David, by divine revelation, and upon occasion of increasing number of holy persons there, added a chappel to the east side of this church, and consecrated it in honour of the blessed Virgin; the altar of which he adorned with a sapphire of an inestimable value, for a perpetual memory hereof. And, lest the place or quantity of the former church should come to be forgotten, there was a pillar erected in a line drawn through the two eastern corners of the said church to the south, which line divides the aforesaid chappel from it. This story, almost word for word, was ingraven upon a plate of brass, fastened to a pillar in the great Abbey Church of Glastonbury, where it continued to the dissolution of the said Abbey in King Henry the Eighth's days. And to it (if I mistake not) was annexed a model of the wattled oratory, that Joseph of Arimathæa built, mentioned above by us in our ninth paragraph. For the reader's further

satisfaction, I will insert the inscription in my Appendix, as I find it set down by Mr. Sammes, in his *Antiquities of Ancient Britain*.

22. A. D. 542. About twelve years after St. David had been at Avalon, the renowned King Arthur, having been mortally wounded in the rebellion of his nephew Mordred, was carried to the Abbey there, partly that he might prepare himself more perfectly for death in the company, and by the assistance, of the holy monks living there, and likewise that, after his death, he might be buried amongst such a world of saints as reposed there from the beginning of Christianity. Before his death he gave to the said monastery Brent-Marsh and Pouldon, and other lands besides, to the value of five hundred marks, (a vast benefaction in those days;) which the pagan *Angli* took away, but afterwards, being converted to the faith, restored with advantage. Amongst others, I find the King of Damnonia, (Devonshire,) upon the petition of Morgaret, *alias* Worgrey, then abbat, to have given or restored, in the year 601, the land containing five families (*quinque cassata*) to this Abbey. The grant was subscribed by Manverne, or Manuto, a bishop then living there, and the aforesaid abbat; but the king's name was worn out of the writing (as Malmesbury says) by age. But probably his name was recovered by the editors of the Monasticon, who tell us a king, named Domp, restored and confirmed five hydes of land in Iniswitrine to the brethren living there.

23. About the year 605, St. Austin the monk, sent into England by Pope Gregory the Great, to preach the faith to the English Saxons, came to the Abbey in the Isle of Avalon, and being archbishop of all England, he changed the institute of the monks, (establish't there by St. Patrick, after the manner of the Egyptian monks,) and appointed them the rule of St. Benedict, by vertue of his legatine and metropolitical power. This we are told by Sir William Dugdale and Mr. Dodsworth, in their Monasticon, who report it from the Antiquities of Glastonbury; and it is also reported by Abbat Reyner, who takes it from that learned antiquary Mr. Selden, who quotes William of Malmesbury for it, who died in the year 1142, and he asserts it in K. Stephen's days. But notwithstanding this ancient authority, it gains not general credit, even amongst Catholics. Such who disbelieve it, say, it was impossible St. Benedict's rule should be so soon received in this monastery, for that the monks here must have bin Britains. And St. Bede assures us, that the Christian Britains opposed St. Austin in every thing. So it cannot be imagined that they would receive any rule prescribed by him; and moreover, that the kingdom of the West Saxons did not receive Christianity till after St. Austin's death, and every body knows that Glastonbury was in the kingdom of the West Saxons; besides, Brithwaldus (as we are assured by Mr. Willis) was the first Saxon abbat, many years after, which shews the British monks still continued in this monastery, and cannot be thought to have received St. Bennet's rule, for the reason aforesaid. Nor must we forget to acquaint the reader that St. Austin, by his epistle, acquainted St. Gregory with what hath been hitherto related as a tradition received in those days, as we are assured by Mr. Cressy, in the second book of his Church History, cap. the seventh. And some twenty or five and twenty years after, St. Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York in the Saxons' time, (a principal man in the Roman mission,) with St. Austin, lived in this monastery, (from henceforward called the Abbey of Glasseney, Glasscon, Glasteinbyri, or Glassonbury,) with the monks there, and made new buildings or reparations there for them; amongst which was the old church, which he built from bottom to top with timber, and covered it with lead.

24. And as the buildings and revenues of the Abbey increased, so did likewise the number of the monks; insomuch that I find, at the dissolution of this house in K. Henry the Eighth's days, there were there a hundred monks more or less; and by reason of the many advantages and great benefit which religion had received from St. Joseph and his eleven companions, from St. Faganus and

Damianus and their ten companions, and from the twelve disciples that had there all along succeeded them, there were twelve monks of the Abbey appointed to keep chore, and constantly to perform all other church duties, in St. Joseph's chappel, so called, not that it was dedicated to him, but because St. Joseph built it.

25. There was a churchyard belonging to this chappel, as I have already mentioned in my ninth paragraph, large enough to contain 1000 graves, wherein lay buried St. Joseph of Arimathæa and his eleven companions, and all the successors of St. Phaganus and Damianus, till St. Patrick's time, St. Patrick himself, St. Benignus, and his disciple St. Pincius, St. Gildas, the British historiographer. In a word, in that church and churchyard, and in the compass about the church, saith Mr. Broughton, (from the Antiquities of Glastonbury,) "the pavement, the altars under, above, and within, "were so heaped with holy relicks thronged together, that in all that churchyard, sixteen feet deep "from the top, there is no place that was without the bodies of saints; for which reason the church-yard was called *Sanctum Cæmeterium, the Holy Churchyard*," in the middle whereof they built another chappel in honour of St. Michael, St. Joseph of Arimathæa, and the saints in general that rested there under the altar, whereof they heaped the bones of the dead and the relicks, though unknown, of the saints in great multitudes; and appointed an especial mass of the churchyard should be daily celebrated in it. Hereupon Glastonbury got the name of *Roma Secunda*, a second Rome; and it was renowned like Rome itself, for as that became famous for its multitude of martyrs, so did this for its multitude of confessors here buried.

26. In so great reverence was the church and churchyard held, where these were interred, "that "our forefathers did not dare to use any idle discourse, or to spit therein without great necessity; "enemies and wicked men were not suffered to be buried therein; neither did any bring any hawk, "dog, or horse, upon the ground; for if they did, it was observed that they immediately died thereupon. "The church, for its antiquity, was, by the old English, called Eald church; and the men of those days "had no oath more sacred and formidable than to swear by this old church. And for the relief and "entertainment of devout pilgrims resorting to this holy place, there was not only an hospital built at "Glastonbury, but likewise in other places, where they were entertained *gratis*. There were two such "in the neighbourhood, one called the Chappel of Playsters, near Box, a town in Wiltshire, near the "Bath, and the other was a great house, called ———, without Lafford's Gate, near Bristol."

27. Now according to the computation of years, whereby is shewn the coherence of histories, I must return to the benefactions of several kings to this Abbey. Kenwalch, the second christian king of the West Saxons, but the seventh from its first being erected into a kingdom, bestowed, in the year of our Lord 675, which was the twenty-ninth year of his reign, Ferramore and other possessions upon it. Kentwyn, the tenth king of that kingdom, who began his reign *anno Domini* 680, gave them the mannour of West Montaton, *etc.* freed them from all secular service, gave them liberty of choosing their own superiors, and called their abbey the Mother of Saints. Cedwella, or, as others write him, Kenewalla, King Kentwyn's immediate successor, in the year 681, confirmed to this Abbey Bishop Hebba's gift of Lantocay, and bestowed some land himself upon them. And this he did when he was yet a pagan; for it was after he had thus endowed the monastery of Glastonbury that he went to Rome, and received baptism from St. Sergius the First, (then Pope,) where he was christened by the name of Peter, and afterwards was canonized for a saint.

28. But King Ina, King Cedwall's successor, went beyond all his predecessors in his munificence to this Abbey; for in the year 708, he demolished all the old ruinous buildings, and built the Abbey quite anew. And this was the fourth time of its building; the first time being at the first planting of Christianity by St. Joseph of Arimathæa; the second by St. David, archbishop of Menevia, which

being again run to ruin, was raised up again by twelve well affected men in the north. The great Abbey Church this king here new built. He caused it to be consecrated anew, and dedicated it to God, in honour of the blessed Virgin, and the two glorious apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. One of the chappels belonging to it (which I take to be St. Joseph's), he garnished over with gold and silver, and gave to it ornaments and vessels, all likewise of gold and silver. For the gold (plate) thereupon bestowed amounted to three hundred and thirty-three pounds weight, and the silver (plate) to two thousand and eight hundred thirty-five, besides the pretious gems embroidered in the celebrating vestments, according to the account that Speed gives us of this benefaction; but, according to the relation that Stow and the English Martirologe give of it, it came to a great deal more.

29. Nor did this munificent prince stop his bountiful hand here; for he bestowed upon this Abbey the mannours of Brent, Sowey, Poulton, and other possessions; and by the same charter whereby he granted to the Monks these possessions, he confirmed to them whatever had at any time been given them by any of his predecessors; and stiles the Abbey of Glastonbury, in the said charter, *Ecclesia Britannice prima, et fons et origo totius religionis. The first church of Brittany, and the fountain and origin of all religion.* Moreover he granted them very great privileges and exemptions from the Bishop's authority, permitting the Monks to receive in the said Monastery, or any chappels annexed to it, the ecclesiastical sacrament from whatsoever bishop they should think fit, so he were such an one as was conformable to the Church in the celebration of Easter; which charter (being witnessed by Burthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, the then metropolitan, by Daniel, bishop of Winchester, Fordredus, bishop of Sherborne, the then ordinary of Somersetshire) was carried to Rome by King Ina himself, who got it confirmed by St. Gregory the Second, the then Pope. This charter was granted to the Abbey of Glastonbury, in the year of Christ 725.

30. And here, tho' I love not digressions, I am forced a little to interrupt the course of my story, by reason the late Bishop Stillingfleet, Mr. Collier, and some other modern historians, would willingly persuade the world that this charter is not authentick. I would not, nor durst I, derogate from the authority of so able and nice writers, but that in Harpsfield I meet with a charter from King Henry the Second, (who, in the year 1184, or soon after, began to build anew the Abbey of Glastonbury, it having been again consumed by fire, A.D. 1171,) confirming to it all the charters and privileges granted to that Monastery by any of his predecessors, amongst which he names King Ina's. This and the rest of the charters and privileges thus granted by former kings, King Henry the Second says, he caused diligently to be searched, and to be brought and read before him. The words of King Henry's charter are these: *Quorum privilegia et chartas feci diligenter inquire, et coram me presentari et legi.* And he made this strict inquiry by the perswasion of several of the prelates of the realm, and of some of the nobles. So I am much rather inclined to think the grave authors above-mentioned mistaken, than believe K. Henry the Second was imposed upon; who living almost five hundred years nearer the time of K. Ina, had better reason to know the truth of this matter than those modern writers. King Henry the Second's charter, for the reader's further satisfaction, shall be inserted in my Appendix. Moreover, Speed tells us, "that in his days there was a charter exemplified under the seal of King Edward the Third, confirming the credit of K. Henry the Second's charter here spoken of." It is, therefore, very strange to me that so great an error should drop from so critical pens. But to return to our story.

31. A. D. 729. King Ethelard succeeded King Ina; who, together with his Queen Fridogida, became a bountiful benefactor to this Abbey. After Ethelard came King Cuthred; who bestowed three hydes of land, at a place called Ure, upon Tumbert, the then abbat, and confirmed to him and his Monastery all the possessions and privileges granted to them by any of his predecessors; and Ken-

wulph, the next West Saxon king but one to Cuthred, bestowed five hydes of land upon them, at a place called Wudaton, and other possessions at Huneresbury. In a word (for it would take up a volume to number up all the particular benefactors and benefactions to this house), many other kings and queens, (not only of the West Saxons, but of other kingdoms of the Heptarchy,) several archbishops and bishops, many dukes, and of the nobility of both sexes, thought themselves happy in increasing the revenues of this venerable house, and to obtain them a place of sepulture.

32. Though the Abbey of Glastonbury was a sufferer in the ninth and tenth ages by the incursions of the Danes, yet it was not destroyed. Mr. Broughton says it was miraculously preserved from their pagan fury, by two of the Danes being stricken blind. However, religious observance thereby was much decayed; and the number of religious much lessened by death, and no novices to be met with in those days to supply the places of the deceased, none caring to submit to a monastical life, where they could not spend their lives in solitude and contemplation, which occasioned the very buildings to fall likewise to ruin and decay.

33. King Edmund, the twenty-sixth king of the West Saxons, and twenty-seventh monarch of the Englishmen, being willing to restore this Abbey to its ancient splendor, made St. Dunstan abbat of it; and permitted him to make free use of his treasure to rebuild it. Whereupon St. Dunstan, in or about the year of Christ 942, laid the foundations, and designed the offices, (according to a pattern which he had out of France,) and in a short time finished a noble monastery, into which he brought a congregation of (new) monks; whom, he being their abbat, he brought to such perfection of life, (saith Capgrave,) that from among them were assumed bishops, and archbishops, and abbats, to many neighbouring monasteries. Now from St. Dunstan's bringing to this monastery a new congregation of monks out of France arises (I suppose) the notion of his introducing here Benedictins; whereas one may gather from King Ina's charter abovementioned, the monks which were at Glastonbury, in the year 725, were of the Benedictin order; and the editors of the Monasticon assure us, that the Benedictin rule began here to be observed whilst St. Austin was archbishop of Canterbury, nay, archbishop of all England, as we have already observed in our twenty-third paragraph. Thus, by the liberality of King Edmund, and the diligence of St. Dunstan, such a monastery was built as England had never seen the like, for such regular monks, and such a number of mannours belonging to it, and there so conveniently situated.

34. And to free the minds of these religious from all distractions hindring the service of God, and likewise to add to their state, splendor, and power, to render them considerable to the laity, King Edmund, in the year 944, granted St. Dunstan and his monks a charter, not only confirming all the privileges and donations formerly granted to their predecessors by his ancestors, King Edward, Alfred, Kentwyn, Ina, Cuthred, and others, but discharged them from several burdens, duties, contributions, and subjections; and gave them a right and power to receive fines, punish malefactors, and of enjoying their lands as free from all claims as he enjoyed his own, especially the town of Glastonbury itself. These privileges in the charter are thus called, **Burghbrice, Hundredsocna, Athas, Ordclas, Enfaugenetheofas, Homsocna, Frithbrice, Forestealle, Toll, and Teame.** This is the first time that I find, amongst the books I have by me, the town of Glastonbury mentioned; though I take it to have been built some ages before this time, or else how could the artificers, who built this Abbey four times before, have met with accommodation? But more of this when we come to treat of the town itself, which shall be when we have finished what we have to say further of the Abbey.

35. But St. Dunstan having highly incensed King Edwy (K. Edmund's son, and next successor but one), for having reproved him the day of his coronation for incest and other high crimes he that day

committed, King Edwy removed that holy prelate from his Abbey, and made one Elsy abbat of Glastonbury in his room, as some will have it. But according to Sir Richard Baker and Speed, he not only sent St. Dunstan into banishment, but turned all his monks out of their monastery, and supplied their places with married priests; by which means the Abbey of Glastonbury became a seminary (as Bohun calls it) of secular priests. However, some regard this vicious king had to that venerable place, for he bestowed upon it, in the year of Christ, 956, some possessions at a place called Parthenenbergue, and some other lands in other places.

36. But these married priests could not continue in this their new dwelling above sixteen years, if they tarried there so long, King Edwy coming to the crown only in the year 955; and it is agreed by all writers that his brother, King Edgar, by St. Dunstan's, St. Oswald's, and other holy prelates advice, removed, in the year 971, the then married priests out of the several cathedral priories and abbeys those priests were possess of, and replaced the Benedictin monks in their former houses, whence they had been driven either by the violent persecution of the Danes, or by K. Edwy's revengeful spite to St. Dunstan. But I am inclined to think the married clergy continued not above seven years at Glastonbury; for that Brithelme, at that time bishop of Wells, before his election to that see a monk of Glastonbury, gave, A. D. 961, the jurisdiction of all the country about Glastonbury to the Abbey there, and ordained an archdeaconry to govern it, whereto one of the monks were to be elected yearly, which he could not have done, had not the monks then been restored. Besides, I find King Edgar, in the year 963, to have bestowed upon this Abbey the mannour of Stoure, *alias* Stouerminster, and twenty hydes of land more in other places; which he would scarce have done, had it then been filled with a clergy who lived incontinently, contrary to the canons of the church at that time in use. But to go forward.

37. This King Edgar granted several charters to this Abbey; some conveying to the Abbat and his monks more lands, and some enlarging their privileges. That dated at London, in the year 971, adds to the privileges granted by his father King Edmund, **Socam and Sacam, on Strond and on Streame, on Wode and on Feld**; that is to say, liberty to determin pleas and correct delinquents on strand and on streame, in wood and in field, above ground and under ground; **Hundredsitena**, which was privilege of sanctuary in the limits of the hundred; **Calle Word**, as which signifies the appropriating to their own use any hidden treasure found within their territories; **Forestall**, that is to say, intercepting provisions coming to their market; and **Bufan, Corderan, Beneoderan, Flemeneferde, Hamsocna, Grith Brice, and Fridisbrice**, which are termes of franchises, which no books I have by me give the interpretation of. And besides any monk of that house, who met with a malefactor going to the gallows, in any part of the kingdom, could take him out of the executioner's hands, and give him his pardon. Moreover, King Edgar, by this charter, exempts this Monastery, and the parishes of Street, Mireling, Budicle, Shapewick, Sowey, and the several chappels within the said parishes, to wit, those of Beckery, called Little Ireland, Godeney, Mortinesey, Ferramere, Padonberge, and Adredery, from the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop, except some things, with a salvo to the Church of Rome, and that of Canterbury.

38. Mr. Cressy mentions another charter of King Edgar's to the Abbey of Glastonbury, wherein, amongst other things, he granted "that the Monks should always be electors of their own abbat, who was to be chosen out of their own body. Insomuch that, if the youngest and lowest of all their congregations were capable, they should not have recourse for an abbat abroad; nor then, also, should any be imposed on them without their suffrages; *only he reserved to himself the power of conferring the crosier or pastoral staff on the person elected.* Again, that all controversies, as well "in secular as ecclesiastical affairs, should be determined in the Abbat's court. Likewise, that the

“ Bishop of Wells (the ordinary of Somersetshire) should exercise no jurisdiction over them to call their priests to his synods, to suspend any of them from the divine office, &c. These charters of privileges, with many other secular immunities, he caused first to be confirmed in a synod of bishops and nobles assembled in London, and afterwards sent them to Rome, where they were also confirmed by a bull of Pope John the Thirteenth.” One, if not both, these charters, King Edgar carried himself to Glastonbury; and that it might be perpetually valid, he, at the delivery of it, laid his scepter upon the altar of our Blessed Lady, together with the charter; which scepter was curiously made of ivory. After which he made the said scepter to be cut into two pieces, least some succeeding abbats should sell it, or give it away, one half whereof he left with the abbat, and kept the other half himself. This he did in the time of Ælfhard, or, as Mr. Willis writes him, Ælfstanus, abbat, and in the fifteenth year of his reign, which was in the year of Christ 974.

39. King Egelred, or (as others write him) Ethelred, King Edgar’s second son, bestowed upon Sigegar, then abbat, six hydes of land at Anstanclyff, one hyde at Sitebeorge, a mannour at Pucklechurch containing thirty hydes of land, and a house he bought for forty marks of gold in Wilton. King Edmund the Second, surnamed Ironside, son to King Egelred, having been mortally wounded by the treacherous Duke Edrick, A. D. 1016, bequeathed seventeen hydes of land to this Abbey, and his body to be bury’d there; and King Canutus the Dane, about the year 1030, went to Glastonbury, to see the tomb of King Edmund Ironside, whom he used to call his brother, and there gave a very rich pall to lay on King Edmund’s tomb, embroidered with apples of gold and pearls; and at the same time confirmed all the privileges that his predecessors had granted to this monastery.

40. I meet with nothing remarkable of the Abbey of Glastonbury from King Canutus’s death to the Conquest, which happened in the year 1066; and then I find William the Conqueror to have maimed the monastery in its possessions extremely, and to have opprest the poor monks to the last degree in their liberty and properties. He seized on many of their mannours, and bestowed them upon his court favourites. Amongst other places which I find he by force took from them, he seized upon some of their possessions at Wilton, and gave them to Geoffrey de Magna Villa; and upon one Harding, the son of Aednoth, a mighty man and great lawyer in those days, he bestowed the mannours of Mellis and Lyme, which, with other possessions, were recovered by the care and industry of the venerable Herlewinus, who became Abbat of Glassenbury about thirty-six years after. He likewise took from them several mannours, such as Tintanhull and Lodaesburgh; upon the latter whereof was afterwards built the Priory of Montacute. He quartered souldiers upon them; and being jealous of his new subjects, he, between Easter and Whitsontide after he came to the crown, carried over into Normandy with him the principal men of the nation, amongst which was Egelnoth, at that time abbat of this monastery; whom he awhile after deposed, placing one Turstine, a Cluniack monk of Caen in Normandy, in his room.

41. This Turstine being a weak, but withal a busy, prodigal person, shamefully wasted the revenues of the Abbey, and altered several of the ancient statutes and customs of the house. Amongst other things he compelled his monks to lay aside the old Gregorian song, used in that Monastery time out of mind, and imposed upon them a new sort of church song, invented by one William Fiscamp, a Norman. He pincht them in their diet; and, in a word, so tyrannized over the poor monks, that they refused to submit to many of his innovations. Whereupon he brought in souldiers to subdue them; who, on a sudden, and in a rage, breaking into the chapter-house, made the poor frightened religious fly into the church, even to the high altar, where they shot, not sparing to hit the crosses, images, and shrines, and ran one of the monks through the body as he embraced the altar, and so slew him. Another was slain with an arrow, lying, as it were, hidden under the

altar. The others, constrained of necessity, defended themselves with forms and candlesticks of the church, so that, although they were sore wounded, they drove the souldiers behind the quire; and so it fell out, that, besides the two that were slain, there were fourteen more of the monks wounded, and some of the souldiers also. This matter being examined into, it was found the Abbat was only to blame; whereupon the Conqueror removed him, and sent him back to Caen into banishment. And to make the Abbey of Glastonbury some amends, he confirmed to them some lands they had at Middleton, Fulbroc, Burwes, Burnington, Lyme, Blakeford, and Winton, which the monks complained to have been unjustly taken from them. However, this unworthy Abbat got his Abbey again, after the Conqueror's death, of his son William Rufus, buying it of him for five hundred pound of silver. But more of this hereafter.

42. Upon the fray that happened in Turstine's time, several of the monks withdrew from their monastery, and were charitably received by some bishops into their palaces, where they continued till Turstine's death; after which they returned home, and then the Abbey began again to pick up, by the prudent management of his successor Herlewinus, who was made abbat in the year 1102. This good prelate not only purchased several of the possessions that had been alienated in the Conqueror's time from his Abbey, as we have already observed in our 40th paragraph, but likewise began to build the church anew, which at that time, through near four hundred years standing, was again run to decay.

43. The good precedent given by Herlewinus was exemplarily followed by the next successor but one, Henry de Blois; who being nephew to King Henry the First, and brother to King Stephen, had great interest at court, which he employed in benefitting his Abbey; for understanding the mannours of Melles, Uffaculum, Camelarton, Domerham, and some other tenements in the parishes of Siston, Ashcote, and Pedewell, had been formerly belonging to his monastery, he recovered them of his uncle, King Henry, in the year of Christ 1126; and got a confirmation of the mannour of Offcolme from his brother King Stephen, in the year 1136, which had been violently wrested from his monks in the time of the Conqueror.

44. Little occurs to me of the Abbey of Glastonbury from this time to the year 1171; and then, according to Stow, there happened a fire, which consumed it; but according to Leland, and others, the fire did not happen till thirteen years after, to wit, *Anno Domini* 1184; at which time, we are told by Mr. Willis, a nice enquirer into antiquity, that the whole Monastery, except part of the Abbat's lodgings and the steeple, was consumed. Upon which disaster, King Henry the Second sent one of his chamberlains, viz. Ralph Fitz Stephen, thither, to take care of the revenues; who began, and in a great manner finished, a new church, and the offices of the house. And whilst Ralph Fitz Stephen was imployed there in building, King Henry (by the perswasion of Heraclius, patriarch of Hierusalem, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Richard, bishop of Winchester, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, and many others of his nobility) carefully examined and searched into the truth and authority of the ancient charters and privileges granted to the Abbey of Glastonbury; and finding them to be authentick, he, by a new charter, confirmed to this Monastery whatever had bin granted to it by any of his ancestors or predecessors. And this is that charter of which we have promised to give our reader a copy in our Appendix, mentioned in our 30th paragraph.

45. But King Henry the Second lived not to see the buildings of Glastonbury Abbey finished, for they were not perfected till near five years after his death; that is to say, till in or neer the year 1193, in the reign of his son King Richard the First, and whilst Henry de Saliaco was abbat there; in whose time also were found the tombs of the famous King Authur and his wife Queen Ginnever;

of whom, and of the finding of which, we will give some further account hereafter, being unwilling here to interrupt the course of our story.

46. King Richard the First having been taken prisoner in Germany, at his return from the Holy Land, Henry the Sixth, the then Western emperor, enjoined Leopold duke of Austria, who had taken the king prisoner, that one of the conditions for his releasement should be, to make Savaricus (who was kin to the emperor, and that time, here in England, archdeacon of Northampton) bishop of Bath and Wells, and to annex the abbathship of Glastonbury to that bishoprick. To effect this, Henry de Saliaco, at that time abbat of Glastonbury, was promoted to the see of Worcester, then vacant by the death of Robert Fitz Ralph, bishop of that place, and Savaricus was preferred to the bishoprick of Wells; and to make the matter the more easy to the king, Savaricus was content to restore to the Crown the city of Bath, which John de Villula, once bishop of this diocese, had, forty-five years before, bought of William Rufus, and to which place he had removed his see from Wells. Matters being thus brought about, Savaricus succeeded Henry de Saliaco in the Abbey of Glastonbury, and annexed it to the see of Wells, stiling himself Bishop of Glastonbury. Upon which a great controversy ensued, and the Monks elected, A. D. 1199, William Pica for their abbat; but this election was very hotly contested, even to excommunication. Whereupon William Pica repaired to Rome to the Pope, and died there; but Savaricus did not survive long. Nor did this controversy end with his death, which happened A. D. 1205; for Joceline, his successor in the see of Wells, continued his claim to the Abbey, which he kept on foot for above twelve years; and then this contention was ended by the Monks parting with, to the bishoprick of Wells, the mannours of Winchcomb, Pucklechurch, Blackford, and Cranmer, and the patronage of the benefices of Winscomb, Pucklechurch, Ashbury, Christ-Malford, Buckland, and Blackford. This agreement was made at Shaftesbury, the eighth day after the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, A. D. 1218.

47. Fifty-eight years after this agreement, that is to say, on the eleventh day of September, 1276, there happened a dreadful earthquake, that threw down St. Michael's church upon the Torr. This church, beyond all dispute, was afterwards built up again; since the editors of the Monasticon, in the cut they give us of Glastonbury, say, that the church upon the Torr fell in King Henry the Eighth's days with the Abbey. Besides, it would certainly be an injury to the zeal and piety of our devout ancestors, to imagine they would not rebuild a church, held by their predecessors in so great veneration. But I have not yet found by whom or when it was rebuilt; and it is probable the Abbey itself was considerably damaged by that earthquake, since I find, Geoffrey Fromont, who became abbat here *anno* 1303, began, in his time, the great hall, and made the chapter-house to the middle; Walter de Tanton, his successor, to have made the front of the choir; Walter Monington, the next abbat but two to him, to have made the vault of the choir and of the presbitery, which he also enlarged; John Chinock, Abbat Monington's successor, to have perfected the great hall and chapter-house, which had been begun by Fromont, and to have built anew the cloyster, dormitory, and fraternity: all which buildings, one would think, could scarce have run so to decay in less than one hundred and ninety years, had they not been shattered by the said earthquake. Several other alterations, additions, embellishments, and benefactions were made by other abbats, which shall be mentioned in the description I shall give of the Abbey, or else in the Catalogue of the Abbats, which I shall after present my reader with. Skipping, therefore, for the present, what might be said on these matters, I shall proceed to the Dissolution of this renowned Abbey, which happened on the occasion and in the manner following.

48. King Henry the Eighth having cast off the Pope's authority, and declared himself supreme head of the Church of England, (because the Pope would not yield to his divorcing Queen Catharine, and marrying Anna Boulén during Queen Catharine's life,) by the advice of Cromwell, his vicar-

general of all spiritualities under himself, either by threats, violence, or tyranny, or else by presents, promises, and perswasions, seized upon and invaded all the monasteries of the kingdom; of which I would say much more in this place, but that a full and compleat account may be met with of this matter in Doctor Saunders's *Schisma*, Sir William Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, Doctor Heylin's *Reformation*, Doctor Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, Mr. Collier's second volume of his *Ecclesiastical History*, and many other authors extant. However, I must here observe, that the venerable Richard Whiting, abbat of this monastery, had courage enough to maintain his conscience, and run the last extremity. It seems neither bribery nor terror, nor any other dishonourable motives, could prevail upon him to surrender his abbey. To reach him, therefore, the oath of supremacy was offered him at Wells; which, though he refused, he was dismissed and suffered to go at large; and thus being upon his return to his monastery, and not suspecting any further misfortune, he is said to be seized, to be dragged up to the Torr, and there hanged and quartered, without being allowed the liberty of taking leave of his convent, which he earnestly desired. Two of his monks, Roger Jacob, *alias* James, and John Thorne, were there executed with him: they were charged with giving him ill advice, and bringing him to such an obstinate inflexibleness. We have this account from Bishop Godwin and Mr. Collier; but Doctor Saunders and Abbat Reyner make a more tragical relation of this matter. They say, Abbat Whiting was sent for up to London; "that, upon declining to sign a
 "a surrender, his papers were searched, and a tract against the King's divorce found amongst them;
 "that, when he returned back from London, he was so far from the apprehension of being there
 "called into question, that he voluntarily went into the Court at Wells, where there was some
 "publick meeting upon the county business. He offered to take his place upon the bench; where,
 "whilst he was sitting, he was, without the least notice given him, arraigned and condemned for
 "treason; but being suffered to go at large, he, in his way from Wells to Glassenbury, had a
 "confessor put to him in his horse-litter, and was ordered to prepare for death; that he begged but
 "a day or two's reprieve for his further preparation, to recommend himself to the prayers of his
 "Religious, and to take his leave of them; which being absolutely denied, he was taken out of his
 "litter, put upon a sledge, and drawn up to the Torr, where he was hanged and quartered, with his
 "two above-named monks, John Thorne and Roger James, the one being treasurer, and the other
 "under-treasurer, of his monastery." This execution happened, according to Dr. Saunders, on the 14th of November, but, according to Mr. Collington, on the 22d of the said month, 1539. Shortly after, the poor monks belonging to this Abbey were turned out into the wide world to seek their fortunes; and this rich and goodly Abbey, surpassing in value and antiquity all the abbeys in England, (excepting Westminster Abbey,) having been the burial place of several kings and other great illustrious persons, was by sacrilegious hands demolisht, insomuch that little remains but the ruins, a description whereof, and the Abbey itself, we shall by and by present the reader. I have yet met with nothing of this Abbey from the time it was pulled down to King Edward the Sixth's days; and so I presume it laid near a dozen years wast and desolate. But in Fuller's *History of Abbeis*, I find that it was granted by King Edward, on the fourth of June, in the fourth year of his reign, (that is to say, in the year of Christ, 1550,) to Edward Seymour duke of Somerset, in consideration of his petition, and the advice of his counsell, to support his dignity. But he enjoyed it only one year, seven months, and twenty daies, being beheaded on Tower Hill the 24th of January, 155 $\frac{1}{2}$: so little did this and his other sacrileges thrive with him.

49. Queen Mary, restoring several religious orders to their ancient mansions, gave the Monks of Glastonbury some hopes of raising again their Abbey. Some of the monks, placed at Westminster, the 21 of November, 1556, petitioned the Lord Chamberlain to put the Queen in mind of her

promise, for erecting the great Monastery of Glastonbury. And here they take notice, that, by her Majesty's and Cardinal Pool's encouragement, Dr. John Fecknam, abbat of Westminster, had procured a warrant from the Lord Treasurer; that, upon the strength of this favour, their friends had began to build and repair at Glastonbury, to a considerable expense. But now the project was stopt, they desire the grant of nothing but the house and site; that for the rest, a few of them would endeavour to maintain themselves upon their labour and industry, till the charity of good people would furnish further, and subsist a greater number. To make their request speed the better, they suggest their Monastery was not surrendered, and their abbat and two inoffensive monks illegally executed. At last they plead the antiquity, and the general regard paid to it, upon the score of its being begun by St. Joseph of Arimathæa, who there lay buried. As to their petition, Mr. Collier saith, he cannot find it had any success; and adds, that it is somewhat uncertain whether the shortness of the Queen's reign, or the impracticableness of the project, made it miscarry. All I shall here add more of this Abbey is, that it was valued, the twenty-sixth of King Henry the Eighth, at £3311: 7s.: 4d. *per annum*, according to Sir William Dugdale; but, according to the account published in Speed, and drawn up by Mr. Burton, at £3508: 13s.: 4d. Ob. q.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINS OF THE ABBEY, AND OF THE ABBEY OF GLASTONBURY.

I am now come to the description of the Abbey, which cannot be so perfect as I could wish, I having but little other help than the two cutts which the editors of the *Monasticon* have given us of Glastonbury, in the first volume of that great work, and the two cursory views I made of the ruins and site of the Abbey, when I had not the least thoughts of making my remarks publick. In one of those cutts they give us a prospect of the town, and a view of the remaining ruins of the Abbey; and in the other they present us with the platform, and with reference letters they describe the inclosure, with its venerable remains.

2d. The *Inclosure* was of a quadrangular figure, and shut up with strong high stone walls; it contained sixty acres in circuit, and it stood upon a little sort of a rise at the foot of the Torr, which bounded it on the east. The south side of it was bounded by a marshy ground called Allar Moor, and the west and the north part of it was bounded by the town of Glastonbury, the walls of the Abbey making one side of the streets of the town.

3. The *great Entrance* into the Abbey was on the west side, which led you into St. Joseph's chappel, and the great church. On the north, inclining to the west, stood this church and chappel. South of the church stood the cloyster, and on the south side of the cloyster, the hall, or great refectory. South of the great refectory stood the Abbat's apartment; and west of the Abbat's apartment, the kitchen. Where the sacristy and treasury; the chapter-house, fraterie, and infirmary; the guest-house, library, and *scriptorium*; the common room, *eleemosynarium*, and wardrobe; the lavatory, the king's lodgings, the apartment for secular priests; and clerks of our Lady; the boys' apartment, and their school; stood, I cannot find; there being no sign or mark of

these buildings now remaining, the stones and rubbish of these buildings being taken away for the benefit of a tenant to make the best of his bargain.

4. The *figure* of the church, as any one may perceive by the remains, (for there are some of the ruins of it yet standing,) was built in the form of a cross: the length of the lower part of it was sixty-two paces to the intersection; the head of the cross was sixteen paces long, and twenty-eight paces broad; the choir was fifty paces long, and the breadth of the church thirty paces. To be short, the length of the church, with St. Joseph's chappel, extended itself two hundred paces, or five hundred and eighty feet; which was a greater length (as we are told by Mr. Willis) than any cathedral in England, excepting St. Paul's; and, doubtless, it was all well stored with chappels and altars, though I can recover the names but of five, besides the high altar, St. Joseph's chappel, and the chappel in the Holy church-yard, which we have mentioned in the twenty-fifth paragraph, to have bin built in the honour of St. Michael, St. Joseph of Arimathæa, and the saints in general that rested there.

5. The *five Chappels* I have recovered were, first, that of St. Edgar, which stood (as I conceive) just behind the choir: it was built but little before the Dissolution of the Abbey, being begun by Abbat Beere, and finished by Abbat Whiting. In the north ally of the choir stood St. Mary's chappel; in the south isle, St. Andrew's; in the north side of the nave of the church stood the chappel of our Lady of Loretto; and on the south end of the nave stood the chappel of the Holy Sepulchre.

6. Nor was this church less famous for approved and authentick *Reliques*, than it was for its stately and magnificent fabrick; for besides the bodies of saints buried in and about this church, in the Holy church-yard, and chappel belonging to it, (of which we have spoken in our twenty-fifth paragraph,) there was a number of other noted reliques, some whereof related to both the Old and New Testament. Amongst those which related to the Old Testament, there was a peece of Rachel's sepulchre; some part or peece of Moyses's altar, whereon he pow'r'd oyl; a part of Moyses's rod, whereby he led the Children of Israel out of Egypt; manna, etc. Amongst those things which related to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and the New Testament, there were two small pieces of his cradle; some of the gold which the Wise Men offered when they came to adore him; some pieces of the bread of those five loaves with which Jesus fed five thousand men; some of our Lord's hair; one thorn of the crown of thorns; some pieces of his cross and his sepulchre. There were some things that related to the Blessed Virgin; as some of her milk, some of her hair, one thread of her garment, etc. There was a bone of St. John Baptist's fore-finger, a small bone of his head; a large bone of St. Peter the Apostle, and two of his teeth, &c.; a tooth of St. Paul, and some of his bones, etc.; and besides these a multitude of reliques of other apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, which would be too tedious for a specimen of the History of this Abbey, (and that is all I here pretend to.) So if any one desires to be further informed of what reliques were there, I refer him to the Monasticon, where he will find an inventory of eight chapters of them. All, therefore, that I shall say more of these reliques is, that the Editors of the Monasticon tell us they were procured and presented to this Abbey chiefly by these three kings, Ethelstan, Edmund senior, and St. Edgar; by these three dukes, Elnoth, Alphar, and Ethelstan; by Earl Elstan; Poppa, archbishop of Treves; Brithwold, bishop of Winchester; Britwyne, bishop of Wells; Seaffrid, bishop of Chichester; Henry Blois, bishop of Winchester; and by Tictan, abbat, and Eustachius, prior, of Glastonbury; and by a certain noble matron named Ælswytha: all which persons were otherwise likewise great benefactors to this monastery.

7. And it was as well furnished with ancient curious monuments as any church of the kingdom. I have recovered the names of six kings and a queen, of five dukes, four bishops, sixteen abbats, with the three following, who were buried in the chapter-house, viz. Robert, first prior of Winchester,

and then abbat here; William Vigor and John Chinnoek, and six other persons of note, who lay here interr'd; for besides King Arthur and his Queen Guinever, (of whose tombs we are to give a further account hereafter,) there were here buried Coel the Second, father to St. Hellen, and grandfather to Constantine the Great; Kentwyn, king of the West Saxons; King Edmund the First, St. Edgar, and King Edmund Ironside. The dukes which lay here intombed were Alphar, Athelstan, Elwyn, and Humphrey Stafford duke of Devonshire. The four bishops whose bones rested here were Hedda, who was the third bishop of the see of Winchester; Brithwold, who was the eighth bishop of Wilton; Brithwyne, who was the twelfth bishop of Wells; and Seffride, who, from being the thirty-sixth abbat of Glastonbury, was made the twenty-ninth bishop of Chichester. The other thirteen abbats which laid here interred in the church, were, Michael de Ambresbury, Robert Pедerton, John de Tanton, John de Kantia, Geffrey Fromont, Walter Taunton, alias Hec, Adam Sadbury, John Braynton, Walter Monington, Nicholas Frome, Walter More, John Selwood, and Richard Bere. The six persons of note who lay here buried, were, Hugh Monington, S.T.D. brother to Abbat Monington; Abbat Sadbury's father and mother; John Bickonell, William Semar, and Thomas Stowell, knights. All that I have been able to learn more of this church is, that it had a curious clock in it, which stood on the south side of it, made by Peter Lightfoot, a monk of this house; that there were six goodly windows on the top of the east side of it; and that there were seven great bells in the tower, which were the benefaction of Adam Sadbury, whilst he was abbat.

8. Joyning to the church was the *Sacristy*, or vestry. On which side of the church it stood I cannot tell; but know it was a large room, wherein were kept the chalices which were in daily use, and all the sacred vestments. It was there the priests and their assistants vested, and for that reason it was called the vestry; as it was called the sacristy, for the keeping there the *sacraria*. It was full of cupboards and drawers, and such like conveniences, for keeping and locking up the holy utensils and church stuff. There were in it, likewise, conveniences for keeping wine, bread, candles, incense, etc. and a cistern and towels for priests to wash their hands before they went to the altar.

9. And within the sacristy, or neer it, stood the *Church Treasury*; wherein were kept all the sacred reliques which were not daily exposed or placed in or on the several altars, all the jewels and church plate which was not daily in use, the miters, crosiers, *cruces-pectorales*, and, in a word, all the *pontificalia* and richest ornaments that belonged to the church. The reliques for the most part were set in silver or in christall, and decently placed on shelves, as were likewise the plate candlesticks; and the most valuable church stuff was kept in presses and wardrobes, which were made either of iron or very strong wainscoat. Before the reliques, there was either a rail or bench for people to kneel against, and say their prayers. And here generally the priests said their preparations before they went to mass, and their prayers and thanksgiving, after they had done. In this room, or in the sacristy, or perhaps in both, stood a confessional, for the benefit of those who desired to go to confession, before they went to the altar. The care of the church, and the custody of the sacristy and the church treasury, were committed to the *Sacrista*, or *Sacristan*, who was one of the *Obedientarii*.

10. The *Cloyster* was a square place, with walks or allies round it, supported with peers or pillars, between which were windows; and within the square there was a flower-garden, the chief use of it was for the monks to make their processions, and to bury such of the religious as were not the chief superiors, for they, if I mistake not, were buried in the church, or else the chapter-house. In the cloyster, there were doors to the chapter-house, refectory, fraternity, etc. and to the several staircases. I cannot give the dimensions of the cloyster, there being no marks of it remaining, nor any scale to measure the buildings by, set down in the *Monasticon*.

11. In one of the allies of the cloyster stood the *Chapter-House*, which was a large place where

the monks met for the acknowledgement and correction of their faults, spiritual conferences, and the determination of those spiritual and temporal concerns, which required the assent of the whole house. At the upper end of it there was an elbow chair for the Abbat to sit in; and about it, joyning to the wall, there were benches for the religious to sit on. In the chapter-house laid buried Abbat Chinnock, who finisht it, and, if I mistake not, several of the priors, and some of the *obedientarii*.

12. The *Great Hall*, or *refectory*, was a room wherein all the profest monks eat daily together: there were in it seven long tables, about which, joyning to the wall, there were benches for the monks to sit on. The table at the upper end was for the abbat, (when he dined with his community,) the priors, and the other heads of the house; the two next tables were for those religious which were priests; the next two were for such as were in orders, but were not priests, and such as designed to enter into holy orders; one of the two lower tables, that is to say, the lower table on the right hand the abbat, was likewise for such as were to take orders, that the other two middle tables could not hold; and the lower table on the left hand of the abbat was for the lay brothers. In some convenient place of the refectory, there was a pulpit with a desk, wherein one of the religious, at the election and appointment of the abbat, or other presiding superior, daily read some part of the Old and New Testament at dinner and supper time. The Editors of the *Monasticon*, in one of their cutts, give us the situation and the imperfect dimensions of it, and shew that it stood on the south side of the cloyster, and tell us that it was twenty-two paces broad and eighty foot high. Some part of the western wall was standing in September, 1712.

13. There belonged three offices to the refectory, a little *Lavatory*, a *buttery*, and the *cellar*. The little lavatory was the place where the monks washed their hands before meals. This room had a cistern in it with water, ambrys and presses of through carved work, to give air to the towels which were there kept. The buttery, or, as others call it, the pantry, was a place wherein were kept the table-linen, salt-sellers, and mazers, that is to say, drinking-cups; which were, I presume, of silver; because in some Benedictin Abbeyes beyond seas the monks' drinking-cups are of silver. They held about a pint; and each monk had his mazer placed before him in the refectory, clean washt and filled. These and the like necessities were kept in cupboards, called in those days ambrys; which were made of through carved work to let in air, to the end that all things therein locked up might be kept sweet. The cellar was the place where the wine, beer, and ale, that was spent in the community, was constantly kept. The charge of the great hall, and these three offices belonging to it, was committed to the *Cellararius*, who was another of the *obedientarii*.

14. In which of all the allies of the cloyster stood the *Fraternity*, I cannot tell; but am sure it stood in one of them, and that it was an apartment for the novices. In it were several offices, separate and distinct from the main and principal offices of the Abbey; amongst others a refectory, common room, lavatory, and a dormitory. It was built by Abbat Chinnock, about six or seven score years before the dissolution of monasteries; and governed by one of the priors, who was also master of the novices. These were the principal offices and apartments in the cloyster, but perhaps there were more; yet not being certain whether there were or were not, I shall go up stairs, and survey the gallery, which (if this Abbey was built as some other topping abbeyes abroad of the Benedictin order are, as I presume it was) stood one pair of stairs high, and was directly over the cloyster; and in it were the Library, the Lavatory, the Wardrobe, the Common House, and the Common Treasury.

15. The *Library* was the place where the books of the Abbey were kept. How very numerous and full it was of choice and valuable books may be guest at by what the learned Leland reports of it, who saw it in Abbat Whiting's time; which could not be above sixteen years before the Abbey was dissolved. He says "that he was no sooner got over the threshold of the library, *vix certe limen intra-*

veram, cum antiquissimorum librorum vel solus conspectus religionem, nescio an stuporem, animo incuteret meo; eaque de caussa pedem paululum sistebam. Deinde salutato loci numine, per dies aliquot omnes forulos curiosissime excussi. Inter vero excutiendum, præter alia multa admirandæ vetustatis exemplaria reperi fragmentum historię, a Melchino scriptæ, &c. but that he was struck with devotion and astonishment at the very sight of so many sacred remains of antiquity; that he believed this library had scarce its equal in all Brittany; that he spent some days in most nicely examining the shelves, and in turning over the wonderful pieces he there met with; and that in rummaging, he found, among other books, a broken piece of history, written by Melchinus, an Avalonian, who writ about the year of our Redemption 560." And no wonder it was so well furnished with books, since there belonged to it a *scriptorium*.

16. The *Scriptorium* was a place adjoining to the library, where there were several monks constantly employed in composing and transcribing good books for the use of the library. Though they wrote missals, breviaries, *antiphonalia*, and other books used in divine service, and the leiger books, yet generally they were upon other works, (viz.) Fathers, Classics, Histories, etc. Doctor Tanner brings this Abbey of Glastonbury for an instance of the care the monks in general took to increase the number of good books. He gives us a catalogue of upwards of fifty volumes which were transcribed in one single abbat's time; which, for my reader's further satisfaction, I shall insert in my Appendix. And it is highly probable there belonged to the library a cabinet of coins, medals, pretious stones, and the like curiosities, such sort of cabinets being frequently found in libraries belonging to abbeys beyond seas. If there was one, it was committed to the care of the librarian, as were also the library and *scriptorium*.

17. The *Lavatory* was a place where the monks washt their hands and faces; and, therefore, in this room there was a great cistern or conduit, with several cocks, which was always supplied with water by the *Camerarius*, as he saw occasion; who did also provide them with towels, which were shut up in ambrys or presses of through carved work to let in the air. Joining to the lavatory was the shaving-room.

18. The *Wardrobe* was the place where all the monks' clothing and bedding were kept; and in this office were the Taylery, where there were taylers constantly employed in making and mending of habits. The apartment and lavatory were under the care of the *Camerarius*.

19. The *Common House*, or rather the Common Room, was a place where a fire was kept all the winter, for the monks to come and warm themselves at, being allowed no fire but that only; except the masters and officers of the house, who had their several fires.

20. The *Common Treasury* was the place where the ready money, the charters, registers, leiger books, evidences, and accounts of the Abbey were kept, in strong chests and presses of iron; and where neighbouring gentlemen (if they pleased) placed, by the Abbat's favour, their deeds or writings for better security. This place, I presume, had not so much as a peg of wood in it, but was all built of stone to prevent fire, and was carefully plaistered up in every chink and corner to prevent rats and mice getting in. I say I presume it was so built, because the treasury of the Abbey of Laycock, which is in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, and which is yet standing, is thus carefully built. The care of the treasury was committed to the treasurer, who had for his assistance another monk under him, called the under treasurer. The last who bore these offices were John Thorne and Roger James, the two monks which were executed with Abbat Whiting, on the Torr, for denying K. Henry the Eighth's supremacy.

21. And now I shall lead my reader up another pair of stairs, and survey the *Dorter*, or *Dormitory*, which was the place where the monks lodged, and had their chambers. It was built over the

cloyster and gallery, and had allys quite round it. In the allys were doors to each chamber. Every monk had his chamber to himself; which was close wainscotted, but small, by reason of the partition between chamber and chamber, but no chimney. In each chamber was a narrow bedstead, big enough to hold one person, and no more. Upon the straw bed there was a flock bed, commonly called a matrass, a coarse blanket, a rug, and a bolster of straw or flocks. By the bedside there was a *Priez Dieu*, or desk to kneel at, with a crucifix upon it; another desk and table, with shelves and drawers for books and paper; and a chair. At each end of the dortoir allys, and likewise in the middle of each dortoir, there were cressets, or lanthorns, wrought in stone, with lamps in them, to give light to the monks when they rose in the night to their mattens, or on other necessary occasions. Dr. Saunders and Father Reynier say there were one hundred religious, more or less, within this house at the time of its suppression; from whence, I presume, there must have been two dormitories to contain cells enough for so numerous a community, for I cannot conceive how there could be above forty-eight cells in a dormitory. The dortoir or dormitory was under the care of the *Camerarius*.

22. The *Infirmary* was an apartment for the sick; and, therefore, as soon as any of the religious sickened, they were conveyed hither, where they had a fire, and all other conveniences that can possibly be imagined, as well for this as the other world. St. Benedict, in his Rule, expressly commanding his children, above all things, to take care of the sick, and that they should serve the sick as they would serve Christ himself. There belonged to this apartment a chappel; several chambers, with furniture fit for sick people; a separate common-room; a separate kitchen; the dead man's chamber, which was the place where the dead were carried, as soon as in decency they could be removed out of their beds, where the corpse laid till it was washt, cleansed, and clothed in the habit, that it might be conveyed to the church, to be exposed and interred. Whether there were any apothecary's shop and a physick garden belonging to this infirmery, I cannot say; but 'tis highly probable there were, since I have seen such conveniences in monasteries of far less account than this of Glastonbury was, from whence the neighbourhood, particularly the poor sort of people, have their drugs and medicines gratis. This apartment was under the care of the *Infirmarius*, who had a cook and other handy servants under him, to assist him in the due execution of his office.

23. I flattered myself that I should give a pretty good description of the *Abbat's Apartment*; but not measuring it when I was upon the spot, I find it will be also imperfect. For the notion I have of its dimensions does not agree with the platform we have of it in the Monasticon. However, what I shall say of it, I hope will be sufficient for the reader to form an idea of it, though I do not give him its dimensions. Some part of it was standing, when I went first to Glastonbury, in September 1712; but a little while after, it was taken down, and the best of the materials employed in building a little neat new house on the south-west side of the inclosure. It stood, as I have already observed, south of the great hall, and the main of the building ran north and south; the front of it was towards the west, and was built almost in the form of a great Roman E, only at the north and south end of it; it jutted out some yards at each end. It was only three stories high; and, as near as I can remember, had ten large stone windows on each floor in the front. To come into this apartment, you mounted half a dozen or more large handsome stone steps, which let you into several stately rooms, which for the most part were all wainscotted with oak, the ceilings as well as the sides of the rooms; in divers pannels of the wainscot (particularly in the ceilings and over the chimneys) there were neatly carved the arms of England, quarterly France and England, and the coat of arms of the Abbey, which was vert, a cross, bottone argent. In the first quarter our blessed Lady, with our Saviour in her right arm, and a sceptre in her left, all Or, being the coat of arms that was borne by our famous Brittish King Arthur; who, in all likelihood, honoured this Abbey so far as to bestow this coat upon them. But to return

to the apartment. Up one pair of stairs at the south-eastern end of this building stood, as I was told, the Abbat's bedchamber. It was, as near as I can guess, about eighteen foot in length, and about fourteen in breadth: it had in it an old bedstead without tester or posts, was boarded at bottom, and had a board nailed shelving at the head. This bedstead, according to the tradition of the place, was the same that Abbat Whiting laid on; and I was desired to observe it as a curiosity. This apartment was much out of repair when I saw it; it rained in in many places by the roof's being faulty in many places; several pannels of the wainscot were shattered; the windows were much broken, and some of them were unglazed. I enquired how it came to lay so neglected, and was answered, that it laid for some years empty, nobody caring to live there, it having been observed that never any body that had dwelt there had ever thrived; nay, I was then and there told that the inclosure there had never continued in one family thirty years together since the Abbey was dissolved. To this apartment belonged a garden and two stables, one for the Abbat's saddle-nags and geldings, and the other for mules and horses for his horse-litter.

24. I can scarce form to myself an idea of the *King's Lodgings*. Leland assures us there was here such an apartment, but does not tell us whether it was part of the guest-house, or a distinct building from it; and all that I know more of it is, that King Edward the First, and his consort Queen Eleanor, with their retinues, came hither in April 1278, and were here conveniently lodged during their aboad, and were here magnificently entertained at the expense of the Abbey.

25. The *Guest-House* was an apartment for the entertainment of strangers and reception of travellers. Here all persons, from the prince to the peasant, were entertained according to their rank and quality; and none were brow-beaten or commanded to depart, if they were orderly and of good behaviour. They were obliged to this hospitality by the fifty-third chapter of their rule, where they are commanded to receive all comers as they would receive Christ himself; who hereafter will say, "I was a stranger, and you took me in." The manner how comers thither were to be received is described at large in that chapter, as much whereof as relates to this matter I shall transcribe in my Appendix, where I refer my reader, in case he desires further satisfaction, being unwilling here to make an unnecessary digression. To go forward, therefore, with the subject I am about. There was in this apartment a noble hall; several good lodging-rooms, very clean kept, and well furnish't, that they might not be unpleasant to the guest; a cellar well stored with wine and beer; a stable furnish't with good hay and provinder; and, in a word, there were here all the conveniences that might be met with in an inn, (nay, I may say in a nobleman or gentleman's house,) and all to be had gratis; for this reason I shall here observe from Mr. Aubry, "there were no alehouses, nor yet inns, before the Reformation, but upon great roads; for when they (the people) had a mind to drink (continues the author) they went to the frieries, and when they travelled they had entertainment at religious houses for three days, if occasion so required." This Apartment was committed to the *Hospitalarius*; who had under him a butler, grooms, and other proper servants, to help him in the execution of his office.

26. The *Eleemosynarium*, or Almonry, was a place where the alms of the Abbey were distributed. Here not only the poor of Glassenbury, but even all the poor of the neighbourhood, found relief; for whilst monasteries stood, (we are told by Sir William Dugdale,) there was no act for the relief of the poor, so amply did those houses give succour to them in want; whereas, in the next age, (viz. A. D. 1596, 39th of Elizabeth,) no less than eleven bills were brought into the House of Commons for that purpose. To distribute these alms, there was always a grave monk, called *Eleemosynarius*, or almoner, whose business it was likewise to make an inquiry after the sick, feeble, ancient, and disabled persons in the neighbourhood, and such as were ashamed to beg, whom he bountifully relieved,

as well as those who came to the Almonry. The Almoner, if I mistake not, was overseer also of the Hospital of the Pilgrims, and had likewise an inspection of the Hospital of the Poor Women, which was founded by Abbat Beere; of both which I design to say something more when I come to describe the Town of Glastonbury, for (as I conceive) they stood in the town, and not in the inclosure of the Abbey.

27. I take the *Apartment* of the *Clerks of our Lady* to have been a little colledge of secular priests, endowed with rents and allowances to say mass daily for the intention of the founder at some chappel or altar in the church, particularly at the chappel of our Lady. All that I know more of it is, that it was built by Abbat Beere; that these priests there lived under regular discipline; and were subject to the Abbat, who provided them with all necessary conveniences.

28. The *Boys' Apartment* was a kind of seminary for youth to be taught their christian doctrine, musick, and grammar learning, by which means they became fit for the University. What number there were of them I cannot tell; but find they served in the church as choristers, and were here found with all necessities gratis. There belonged to this apartment a school, dormitory, hall, etc. The care of these boys and their apartment was committed to one of the monks, who was their master, who had a cell in their dortoir, and laid constantly there to keep them in order.

29. I am now come to the *Kitchen*, which is the only entire building that remains. By it one may give a guess what a stately abbey it was before its overthrow. It is all built of stone, and hath not so much as a peg of wood about it, for its better security from fire: the outside of it, as it appears by the cutt in the Monasticon, is a four square, and the inside of it is drawn into an eight square figure. There are in it four fire-hearths, each hearth is about sixteen feet long, and faces each other. I call them hearths, because Dr. Plott, in his letter to Bishop Fell, of his designed journey through England and Wales, printed at the end of Leland's Itinerary, vol. ii., says this kitchen is without any chimney. I suppose Dr. Plott's meaning is, that these hearths having no tunnels to let out the smoke cannot be accounted chimnies; and which way the smoke of these hearths was conveyed away, I could not be informed. The inside of this kitchen is twenty foot high to the roof, which runs up in a figure of eight triangles, equal and equilateral. On the top whereof there is a sort of lanthorn, not unlike those we have now in the colleges of Oxford, or Inns of Court; to which lanthorn I conceive, by some means or other, the smoke of the four hearths was conveyed. On the east and south are two great doors, and in the squares opposite to these doors there are two large windows, if I remember well. There remains no sign of any dresser or pavement; and it is at present made use of for a barn. My landlord told me this kitchen was built by Abbat Whiting; and I presume he is in the right of it, since I find nothing to the contrary. Every monk of the house served a week in the kitchen, as it came to his turn, unless he was in a post wherein he could be more serviceable to the community, or was prevented by sickness. This St. Bennet enjoined his children, to the end they might all of them have an opportunity of assisting and serving each other. He was called *Dispenser*; and his business was to appoint what dyet was to be dress't, to carve the portions for the community, and to book down the papers and bills that related to his office. He had under him the *Coquus* and *Subcoquus*, and they under them porters to bring in fewel, garden-stuff, etc.; turnspit-boys, there being no jacks in those days. He also was obliged, at the end of the week, to see the towels, dresser-cloths, and the rest of the kitchen linen, clean wash't, and all the pots, kettles, pans, and the rest of the kitchen vessels, clean scoured, that he might deliver them up in that order to the *Cellararius*, who re-delivered them the next morning to the next dispenser that succeeded. I have no more to add of the inclosure, but to tell the reader that the remainder of the ground which was not built upon, was taken up in yards, courts, and gardens.

30. Having given a sketch of the History of this Abbey, and described a monastery, so that a man may frame an idea of what this house was before its suppression, I shall now give my reader a list of some of the great men that have been here trained up. In my historical notes I have mentioned several canonized saints, and by and by I design to give a Catalogue of all the Abbats; so here I shall only mention archbishops and bishops, who have been drawn out of this monastery to govern the Church of God, in which list will be found several other canonized saints. It hath given to the metropolitical church of Canterbury seven archbishops, (viz.) St. Brithwald, who was a monk of this house, (and, as many will have it, abbat,) and hence made archbishop of Canterbury; Athelmus, from being a monk here, became the first bishop of Wells, and was thence translated to Canterbury; St. Dunstan, from being a monk and abbat from this house, was first made bishop of Worcester, then bishop of London, and lastly archbishop of Canterbury; Ethelgarus, from being a monk of this house, became, first, abbat of Hyde, then bishop of Chichester, and thence translated to Canterbury; Sigericus, from being a monk here, was first made bishop of Wells, and thence translated to Canterbury; St. Elphegus, from being a monk here, was made prior of Bath, then bishop of Winchester, then archbishop of Canterbury, and lastly martyred at Greenwich, April 19th, 1012; and St. Elnothus, or Agelnothus, who, from being a monk of this house, as we are assured by the editors of the *Monasticon* and the *English Martyrologe*, became archbishop of Canterbury in King Canutus's days, that is to say, Anno Dom. 1020; though Godwin and his followers allow not this prelate to be a monk, but say he was a dean of Christ Church in Canterbury, when he was made archbishop of that see.

31. To these archbishops the editors of the *Monasticon* add twenty-one bishops, to wit, Gaufridus, a bishop, and a monk here, who died A. D. 782; Ethelwynus, who died the same year; Wibertus, who died in the year 800; Wigthegue, a bishop, and a monk here, who died in the year 836; Alstanus, who died in 842; Tumbertus, who died Anno 866; Daniel, who died in 956; Elficus, who died in 988; and in the time of King Edgar, Sigegarus, bishop of Wells, Brithelmus, bishop of Wells, Alfwoldus, bishop of Crediton, Sigefridus, bishop of Norwich; St. Ethelwold, first a monk here, then abbat of Abingdon in Berks, and thence made bishop of Winchester; Wilsinus Ælfstanus, Egelricus, Kenwaldus, Elmerus, Levingus, Brithwius, Britwaldus, all which of monks of this house became bishops of sees, or else suffragan bishops, in divers places of England; and there are some beside these that have escaped the diligent search of those two famous antiquaries. The ensuing Catalogue of Abbats affords us four not mentioned by these two gentlemen, who, of abbats of this monastery, became bishops, namely, Merwith, bishop of Wells; Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester; Savaricus, bishop of Glastonbury; and Henry de Saliaco, bishop of Worcester. Many of these great bishops have done great service to the church by their writings, amongst others, St. Brithwold, St. Dunstan, St. Agelnoth, etc.; but for want of books I cannot be particular. Could I come to a sight of their registers, (as I find by Dr. Tanner there are five of them still extant,) I am perswaded I could enlarge much upon this subject; skipping, therefore, for want of materials, what might be added further on this matter, I shall only transcribe the Catalogue of the Abbats of Glastonbury, out of Mr. Brown Willis's *View of the Mitred Abbeys*, adding here and there a marginal as I find occasion.

A Catalogue of the Abbats of Glastonbury, drawn exactly out of Browne Willis, esquire's, View of Mitred Abbays, with a few Marginal Notes, to make what I have collected of this Abbey something more clear and intelligible.

1. St. Patrick, who is said to have founded this place, anno 425, is reputed the first abbat. Our writers mention him to have lived here as an hermit thirty-nine years, and to have converted the Irish, anno 433. Sir James Ware tells us, in his Antiquities of Ireland, that he was the first bishop of Armagh.

[Since authors differ as to the time of St. Patrick's coming hither, the editors of the Monasticon, page 11, saying it was in the year 533, or the beginning of the year 534, and Cressy says he retired not hither till the year 439, I have chosen rather to follow Cressy's opinion, in the fifteenth paragraph of my historical part, than any other authors, because Cressy was a monk of the same order that the monks of this house were formerly of; and for that reason, I presume, made it more his business, and perhaps had better means, to inform himself of this matter than any other.]

2. St. Benignus, his scholar, is reckoned the immediate successor of St. Patrick, of Armagh, as well as here.

3. Worget, or Worgret, occurs next in William of Malmesbury's Catalogue: his name is mentioned in a charter, anno 601.

[Cressy spells him, p. 299, Worgrez; and Broughton, p. 602, Morgret; but he is the same abbat here mentioned by Mr. Willis. I have spelt his name as Cressy and Broughton spelt it in the twenty-second paragraph of my historical part, Mr. Willis's Catalogue not falling into my hand till after I had written it.]

4. Lademund occurs next; and after him

5. Bregoretd, or Beorgret, who was the last Brittish abbat; the next we meet with is

6. Bearthwald, or Butwold, who was the first Saxon abbat. Leland, and others, suppose he was made abbat of Reculver, by Theodore archbishop of Canterbury. He was made archbishop of Canterbury either in the year 691, or else in 692.

[He is spelt by the Popish authors, Brithwald, and is a canonized saint amongst them, his festival being in their kalendar upon the 9th of January. He is the same person that is mentioned in the thirtieth paragraph of our Description of the Abbey.]

7. Hengisel is mentioned in the Monasticon to have been made abbat, anno 678, and to have continued nine years after him.

8. Hemgislus, or Hemgistus, occurs as a different abbat, who was living anno 704, and was succeeded by

9. Berwald; whose successor, in the year 712, was

10. Albeorth, or Aldebeorth, or Albert; he was succeeded, anno 719, by

11. Æthfride, or Echfrid; who continued abbat ten years, and was succeeded, anno 729, by

12. Cengillus, called by others Cengisus; whose successor,

13. Cumbertus, called, in the Monasticon, Tumbertus, occurs abbat anno 745, and is said to have presided here nine years. He died about the year 754, and was succeeded by

14. Tican; after whom came

15. Guban, who was made abbat, anno 760; upon whose death,
16. Waldon, who was elected abbat, and sate here twenty-two years; as his successor,
17. Beadwlf, did six years. The next that I meet with is
18. Cuman, who continued abbat only two years, though according to some accounts eleven. He was succeeded, anno 811, by
19. Mucan. After whom
20. Guthlac, or Cutlac, occurs abbat, anno 824. He kept his preferment till the time of his death, which happened anno 840; and he was then succeeded by
21. Elmund, or Edmund, of whom I find mention in the year 851, but I am not certain when he died.
22. Hereferth occurs next. He is said to have continued abbat fourteen years; and was succeeded by
23. Styward, about the year 891.
24. Aldhunus (called Athelmus in the Monasticon, and by others Adelmus) was the next abbat; though Mr. Wharton questions whether either he or Sigegarus were ever abbats of Glastonbury. He is said to be uncle to St. Dunstan. Anno 905, he was the first bishop of Wells; from whence he was preferred to the archbishoprick of Canterbury.
He is the same prelate that we have mentioned in the thirtieth paragraph of our Description of the Abbey.
25. Ælfric is placed next in the Catalogue; but when he was made abbat appears not.
26. St. Dunstan, about the year 936, was made abbat; and continuing so twenty-two years, was first made bishop of Worcester, afterwards of London, and at length archbishop of Canterbury. During his being abbat he was banished for some time by King Edwyn, and one Elsius, who is called pseudo-abbat, was placed in his stead. This Elsius occurs abbat anno 956, the twenty-first of St. Dunstan, but was displaced the next year on St. Dunstan's return.
[According to Capgrave, quoted by Cressy, p. 838, St. Dunstan was not made abbat of this monastery till about the year 942, being promoted to that post by King Edmund, the son of King Edward the Elder, who came not to the crown till the year 940, as appears by Speed, Isaacson, and other chronologers; for which reason I say, in the thirty-third paragraph of my historical part, that he was made abbat in or about the year 942. Speed, Baker, and other historians, say King Edwyn not only sent St. Dunstan into banishment, but turned out of his abbey all his monks, placing in their stead married clergy, as I have observed above in the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth paragraphs of my historical part; and I am the rather inclined to believe King Edwyn did so, because he was incensed to the last degree against St. Dunstan, and hated the monks. And in that reign I find many monasteries (amongst others those of Winchester and Worcester) filled up with married clergy; of which, perhaps, this pseudo-abbat, Elsius, became chief superior.]
27. Egelwardus is mentioned as abbat anno 963, and again anno 965, in a charter of King Edgar's; after whom
28. Ælfstanus occurs abbat, anno 966; whose successor,
29. Sigegarus, (who is said to preside here twenty-eight years,) occurs abbat, anno 985. He was, according to some authors, made bishop of Bath and Wells, and died anno 995: he was succeeded as abbat of Glastonbury by
30. Berred, or Beorthred, anno 993; who, enjoying this office at least sixteen years, was succeeded by

31. Brithwinus, called in some authors Merewint, or Merethwith; who, after he had governed this monastery ten years, was made bishop of Wells, and was succeeded at Glastonbury by

[According to Isaackson, Brithwinus and Merewint are two different persons; they were both of them, according to him and Godwin, bishops of Wells. Brithine was only bishop thirteen days, as we are told by Godwin, in his Catalogue of the Bishops of Wells, and sitting there so little a time makes Mr. Willis, perhaps, take them to be but one person]

32. Ailwardus, or Egelward, anno 1027: he continued abbat twenty-six years, and then

33. Ailnothus, or Egelnoth, succeeded, anno 1053. He was the last Saxon abbat, and is said to have governed twenty-nine years, though the Saxon Chronicle mentions his deposition, anno 1077, and says nothing of his being restored again.

[This Abbat Egelnoth was esteemed one of the principal men in the nation at the time of the Norman conquest, and therefore the Conqueror carried him, amongst others, over with him into Normandy, and deposed him of his abbathship, as we have observed in the fortieth paragraph of our historical part.]

34. Turstinus succeeded, anno 1083. Great complaints were made against him by his monks: however he continued abbat nineteen years, and expended great sums, as his successor,

[Others write him Thurstan: the disorders he committed whilst he was abbat we have set down in the forty-first paragraph of our historical part. I have no author by me but Mr. Willis, which says this Thurstan made any amends to the Abbey of Glastonbury; but to be sure Mr. Willis hath, otherwise he would not report that this abbat expended there great sums on his Abbey, as all agree his successor did,]

35. Herlewinus, likewise did, in new building his church. This Herlewinus governed also nineteen years, and died anno 1120; after whom succeeded

36. Sigfrid, brother of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury; but he being made bishop of Chester,

37. Henry de Blois, brother to King Stephen, was made abbat of this place, which he held (with the bishoprick of Winchester, to which, three years after, he was promoted, anno 1129) for the space of forty-five years. He died anno 1171, and lies buried in Ivingho church, in the county of Bucks; in which parish he founded a nunnery, the mannour thereof belonging to the see of Winchester; and was succeeded, the same year, by

38. Robert, prior of Winchester, a person of eminent virtues, very charitable to the poor, and a considerable benefactor to the Abbey; who, having presided seven years, died anno 1178, on the fourth of the calends of May, (28th April,) and was buried in the south part of the chapter-house. After his death there was no abbat elected all the reign of Henry the Second; but this Abbey was in the king's hands, under custody, first, of Peter de Marcy, a monk of Cluny, who died anno 1184; in which year the whole monastery, except part of the abbat's lodgings and steeple, was consumed by fire. After which the king sent one of his chamberlains, Ralph Fitz Stephen, to take care of the revenues of the Abbey; who began, and in great part finished, a new church, and the offices of the house, which were perfected by

39. Henry de Saliaco, or de Soilli, called in some authors H. de Juliaco, and in others Henry Swansey; who was made abbat in the year 1189, being the first year of the reign of King Richard the First. In his time the tomb of the famous King Arthur was found in the cemetery; and by the care of this abbat (though others, with less probability, say 'twas done in the time of his predecessor, Henry de Blois) it was translated into the Abbey Church, and a noble monument was erected to his memory, on which were certain verses fixed, whereof this abbat is reported to have been the author. However this be, it's certain he governed not long, for being, anno 1193, made bishop of Worcester,

to the intent that Savaricus, bishop of Wells, might be his successor, and annex this Abbey to his see, the said

40. Savaricus accordingly succeeded him, and did annex the same to Wells for some time, and stiled himself bishop of Glastonbury; upon which a great controversy ensued, and the monks, anno 1199, elected

41. William Pica for their abbat; but this election was very hotly contested, even to excommunication. Whereupon William Pica repaired to Rome to the Pope, and died there, being thought to be poisoned by the means of Savaricus; but Savaricus did not survive long, nor did this controversy end with his death, which happened anno 1205; for Joceline, his successor in the see of Wells, continued his claim to the Abbey, which he kept on foot for above twelve years, when this confusion was ended by the final agreement made at Shaftesbury, the eighth day after the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, anno 1218; and shortly after (January 3),

42. William Vigor, monk, (or Capellanus, as he is stiled in *Anglia Sacra*,) of Glastonbury, was made abbat; who dying on the fourteenth of (Sept. 18) the calends of October, was buried in the chapter-house on the north side, and

43. Robert, prior of Bath, (a courteous, modest, pious, and good man,) was elected abbat 21st of Oct. 1223. He resigned on Thursday in Passion Week, and returning to Bath, contented himself with an annuity of £60 per annum from the monastery for life. Whereupon

44. Michael de Ambresbury succeeded on the Tuesday following, and received the benediction on St. Mark's day, in the year (April 25) 1235. After he had governed with great reputation several years, and done much good to the Abbey, he resigned, on account of his age, on the calends of March, anno 1252: he died the year after his resignation, on the (March 1st) Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and was buried (24th June) in the Abbey church, with this epitaph:

*Qui serpentinas fraudes et vincla resolvit
Restituitque ovibus debita rura suis:
Postquam turbida tranquillās et tempora saxo
Ecce sub hoc Abbas integitur Michael.*

45. Roger Ford, a man of great learning and eloquence, (March 4th,) was elected on the fourth of the nones, (March 9th,) and confirmed on the seventh of the ides of March, in 1252. He was killed at the Bishop of Rochester's palace at Bromley, in Kent, in a journey to defend the rights of the church, on the sixth of the nones of (October 2) October, anno 1261, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

46. Robert de Pereton, or de Pederton, succeeded in the month of November, 1261. He died on the last day of March, anno 1274, and was buried in the Abbey church, with this epitaph:

*Liberat oppressos Pedreton ab ære alieno,
Demum hac compositâ pace quiescit humo.*

47. John de Taunton, monk of Glastonbury, (June 14,) was elected the Thursday after the Feast of St. Barnabas, anno 1274. He died at Domerham (a great mannour in Wiltshire, belonging to this Abbey, and giving name to an hundred in that county) on Michaelmas day at night, in the year 1290; and was buried in the Abbey church, with the following epitaph:

*Vt multo tandem sumptu multoque labore
Fit pastor jamjam commoda multa parat:
Rura colit Christi docet & præcepta Johannes
Mox anima exuvias condit in hoc tumulo.*

48. John de Kanciae succeeded. He died on the eighteenth of the calends of December, anno 1303, and was buried (Nov. 14th) in a fine new tomb, which he built for himself in the north side of the high altar; and on the third of the calends of January (Dec. 30th)

49. Geoffrey Fromont succeeded. He began the great hall, and made the chapter-house to the middle; and dying anno 1322, was buried in the Abbey church, and thereupon

50. Walter de Tanton, *alias* Hec, was appointed his successor, but died before confirmation. During the short time he presided here, he made the front of the choir, with the curious stone images where the crucifix stood. He was succeeded by

51. Adam de Solbury, (called by Leland, Sodbyri, and by the continuer of Malmesbury, Sobury,) who gave the seven great bells belonging to the church; and dying anno 1335,

52. John de Breinkton, or Breinton, was elected; and was succeeded, in the year 1341, by

53. Walter Monington, or de Moynton, who being a very considerable benefactor to this Abbey, made the vault of the choir and of the presbytery, and lengthened the presbytery two arches; and dying anno 1374, 49 Edw. III. had for his successor

54. John Chinnock; who finished what had been begun by Monnington. He built the cloyster, dormitory, and frater, and perfected the great hall and chapter-house, begun by Abbat Fromond; and having continued abbat neer fifty years, was buried in the chapter-house, anno 1420, and was succeeded by

55. Nicholas Frome; who, dying anno 1455, was succeeded, anno 1456, by

56. Walter More; who died the same year, and was succeeded by

57. John Sellwode; who, dying anno 1493,

[Mr. Wood, in his *Athenæ*, part i. col. 640, tells us that after the death of Abbat Sellwode, one Thomas Wasyn, a monk of the same order, was elected abbat; but his election being made void the 12th of November, 1492, by Richard Fox, the then bishop of Bath and Wells,]

58. Richard Beere was installed abbat, Jan. 20, in the same year. He built the new lodgings by the great chamber, called the King's Lodgings, in the gallery; as also the new lodgings for secular priests, and clerks of our Lady. He likewise built the greatest part of Edgar's chappel, at the east end of the church; arched the east part of the church on both sides; strengthened the steeple in the middle by a vault and two arches, (otherwise it had fallen;) made a rich altar* of silver gilt, and set it before the high altar; and returning out of Italy, (where he had been embassadour,) made a chappel of our Lady of Loretto, joyning to the north side of the body of the church; he made withal a chappel of the Sepulchre in the south end of the nave or body of the church; an alms-house (with a chappel) in the north part of the Abbey, for seven or ten poor women; and the mannour place at Sharpham in the Park, (two miles west from Glastonbury,) which had been before nothing else but a poor lodge. He died on the 20th of January, 1524, and was buried in the south aisle of the body of the church, under a plain marble. He was succeeded on the 3d of March following by

[Abbat Beere, with others, was sent embassadour to Rome, anno dom. 1503, to congratulate Pius the Third on his election, and to pay his and the nation's obedience to the holy see. Harpsfield's *Hist. Eccles.* p. 648.]

59. Richard Whiting; who finished Edgar's chappel, and having governed with great prudence and judgement till the time of the Dissolution, was, for withstanding the Reformation, and refusing to surrender his Abbey, anno 1540, hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Glastonbury, being drawn thither upon a hurdle from Wells, where he had been condemned at the assizes, and then hanged

* An Antependium.

upon the hill where St. Michael's church, now called the Torr, stands; after which his head was set upon the Abbey gate, and his quarters were disposed of to Wells, Bath, Ilchester, and Bridgewater. So far from the learned and industrious Mr. Willis; to whom I shall add something of the dignity and munificence of the Abbat of this house.

[Doctor Sanders, Mr. Colleton, and others, say he was executed the year before, (viz.) in November, 1539, as we have observed in the forty-eighth paragraph of our historical part; where the reader may see a further account of the proceedings against him.]

He was abbat of the ancientest abbey in England, and as such had precedence of all the abbats in England, till about the year 1154; at which time Pope Adrian the Fourth (the only Englishman that ever was Pope) gave it to the Abbat of St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, in consideration that he himself had had his education in that Abbey, and for that our proto-martyr, St. Alban, (A. D. 303,) suffered there martyrdom. He was always a member of the Upper House of Convocation, and a Parliamentary Baron, being summoned by a particular writ to sit *inter pares, procures, & barones regni*. His apartment in the Abbey was a kind of well-disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and young gentlemen were wont to be sent for virtuous education, and returned thence home excellently accomplished. Dr. Sanders and Abbat Reyner report, that Abbat Whiting in his time had bred up near three hundred after this manner, besides others of a meaner rank, which he had fitted for the universities. At home, his table, attendance, and officers, were an honour to the nation. The two forecited authors tell us that he hath now and then entertained five hundred persons of fashion at a time; and that weekly, upon Wednesdays and Fridays, all the poor of the country were relieved by his particular charity; and when he went abroad, which he seldom did but to national synods, general chapters, and to Parliament, he was attended with near six score persons. I once was in hopes of giving my readers a Catalogue of the chief Priors of this house likewise; but I have not been able to get it, so, for want of materials, all I can say of the chief prior is, that he was a member of the Upper House of Convocation; that he always governed the Abbey in the absence of the abbat; and, in all likelihood, was called lord prior, since I find the Priors of Durham, Norwich, etc. were stiled lord priors; nay, I find William Sallyng, prior of the Canon Regulars of Merton, in Surrey, (which was but a little house to what Glastonbury was,) called lord prior. Skipping, therefore, what might be further said of the chief prior, I shall proceed to the Description of the Town of Glastonbury, and set down what I find remarkable of that ancient Borough.

A SHORT TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF GLASTONBURY.

1. THE ancient borough of Glastonbury is seated almost in the heart of Somersetshire, and lyeth about nineteen miles south of Bristol, fifteen south-west of Bath, about five south, veering a little west, of Wells, twelve miles almost east of Bridgewater, and about seven, inclining a little to the west of Ilchester. It lyeth in a fenny marshy country, and is a town (saith Leland) *nec situ nec amœnitate delectabilis*, no wise to be admired either for situation or pleasantness, however, in his time, a place easily to be got to on foot or horseback. Now it is become a great throughfare, and stands on the great road between Bristol and Exeter; from the latter of which cities it is distant forty-one computed miles north-east. Its longitude is 24 deg. 30 m.; its latitude is 51. 10.

2. From what I find in Leland's Collectanea, I guess it was built in King Ina's days, when he laid the first foundation of the Abbey, which (as I have before observed) was about the year of our Redemption 708. It flourish't mightily till the time of the Danes, in King Alfred's days, which was some time in or soon after the year of Christ 873, and then it laid desolate, as this learned antiquary reports. But Mr. Broughton says otherwise: he tells us those infidels in their invasion and persecution attempted to destroy it, but were prevented the doing of it, by two of their men being miraculously stricken blind: but be that as it will, it is certain that it was repaired by St. Dunstan; and by the liberality of King Edmund, the ninth Saxon monarch, gloriously re-edified. This King Edmund, A. D. 944, makes the town of Glastonbury entirely subject to, and depending upon, the Abbey; and exempts it from all impositions and oppressions, and endows the town with the rights, liberties, and privileges mentioned in the thirty-fourth paragraph of my historical account of the Abbey. This charter is set down in the Monasticon; and shall be inserted in my Appendix, for my reader's further satisfaction.

3. A. D. 970. Twenty-six years after King Edmund granted St. Dunstan and his monks this charter, Glastonbury became a small city, with a strong wall, of a mile about, and replenish't with stately buildings; and amongst which number, doubtless, was the Hospital for Pilgrims. The town suffered considerably when the Abbey was burnt, in the year 1171, or, as others will have it, in the year 1184; but it suffered more from the earthquake which threw down Saint Michael's church on the Torr, on the eleventh of September, 1276; but I find it was afterwards re-edified, for in Leland's time it consisted (as at present) chiefly of two streets, the principal whereof runs east and west to the market-cross, and extends itself six furlongs in length, leading you to Bridgewater; the other street runs from the west end of the market-cross south and almost north, and is the road to Exeter, and about two furlongs in length. There are in it two parish churches; the one dedicated to Saint John Baptist, on the north side of the principal street, towards the middle of it; and the other to Saint Bennet, (in the Monasticon called St. Cuthbert's,) in the other street.

4. *St. John Baptist's Church* stands about the middle of the principal street, on the north side of it. It is a fair lightsom church; and the east part of it, in Leland's time, elegant and isled. The body of the church had, in his days, arches of each side. This learned antiquary mentions three monuments in this church, which were standing in his days: the first is one of Richard Atwell, a great benefactor to the town of Glastonbury, who died circa annum domini 1472, and laid on the north side of the choir; the second of Joanna, his wife, who laid over against him on the south side of the choir, both being buried under very handsom marble stones; and the third was that of one Camell, a gentleman who lay buried in the south part of the transept of the church. Whether there are now any remains of these ancient tombs I know not, nor can I tell, what monuments have been there since erected, for it being the least of my thoughts of publishing my remarks of this place when I was there, so I was not so observing as I might, and wish I had been. All I have further to add of this church is, that the quadrate tower for bells is very high and very fair. If I remember well, they told me it had been new built about sixty years ago.

5. I remember nothing very remarkable of *Saint Bennet's Church*; but the date on the porch on the north side of the church. It is cut or carved upon a large stone in the front of the church, in very ancient figures, and shews this church to have been built in the year of Christ 1133. The two figures of [1] resemble two [SS], and the two figures of [3] resemble a great [B], which make some think these characters stand for *Sanctus Benedictus*. For as neer as I remember, it makes a rebus like this [5333], and perhaps at first it was designed to be taken either way. The late Serjeant Gold, who was a judge in the Prince of Orange's reign, lyeth buried in the north isle of this church, and

that is all I can remember in it that is observable. The church itself is little and low, and is to be esteemed (as I conceive) only for antiquity.

6. The next building worth observation that is now in being is the *Market-House*. It is a neat pile of building, built of late years with some materials the town had from the old Abbey; but I was told by a man of credit living in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, that the town hath lost in a great measure their market since its building, which he imputed to its being built with materials that belonged to the church, and whoever reads Sir Henry Spelman's History of Sacrilege will not wonder that such a fate should attend it. Their market-day, in Leland's time, was weekly on Wednesday; but by Mr. Ogilby I find they have changed it, for he says their market is on Tuesdays; and adds, they have annually two fairs, the one on the eighth day of September, and the other on Michaelmas Day, the chief commodities then sold being horses and fat cattle.

7. *Beere's Hospital*. There is a small old building of stone in the principal street, on the north side of it, at the coming into Glastonbury as you come from Wells. I enquired what it was, but none upon the spot could inform me; so I knew not what to make of it, till I light upon Leland's *Itinerarium*, and there I find that the venerable Abbat Beere built, on the north side of this Abbey, an alms-house for seven or ten poor women. So by its situation and resemblance to church and monastery building, I conclude this must be some remains of that hospital. And if so, it was built by that prelate soon after his return from his embassy at Rome, whither he was sent ambassador to Pope Pius the Third, by King Henry the Seventh, which happened in the year 1503, or the year following.

8. *The Pilgrims' Hospital*. There is another very ancient building in the same street, and on the same side of the way, a little beyond St. John Baptist's church. I take this building to be a remainder of the Pilgrims' Hospital; a place where all persons were entertained gratis, that resorted to Glastonbury on the score of devotion, as I have already observed in the twenty-sixth paragraph of my historical part of the Abbey. The front of this structure (for I was not in the inside of it) is stately, and not unlike the building of our colleges and halls in Oxford, being built with freestone. It is now an inn, and the sign of the White Horse. The inhabitants call it at present the Abbat's inn; but why they call it so I know not, being well assured the abbat, before the dissolution of the Abbey, had all conveniencies both for himself and his visitants within his own inclosure, and constantly received them there, without sending them to, or entertaining them at, an inn. Besides, women go often a pilgrimage to holy places as well as men, and women are not suffered to go into the inclosure of men, excepting only into their church and speak-house; for which reason, and for the ancientness of the building of this inn, I take this house to have been a part of the Pilgrims' Hospital, where to be sure there was an apartment and conveniencies for women as well as men. This hospital (as well as that of Abbat Beere) was (as far as I can yet learn) under the direction of the *Eleemosynarius* of the Abbey, who had under him a master, chamberlaines, cooks, and other necessary officers. It was endowed with distinct and separate lands, and was one of the hundred and ten hospitals which were suppress'd the close of King Henry the Eighth's, or the beginning of King Edward the Sixth's, days.

9. And there is a little neat new box, on the south part of the inclosure of the Abbey, which the curious, to be sure, will take notice of, the front of it being so very observable, by its being set off in several places of the front with the coat of arms of the Abbey carved out on large stones. It was built, as I have already observed, in 1713, or the year following, with the materials of the abbat's apartment, and this is all I know of it.

10. The Torr I have already described and mentioned in several paragraphs of my historical part of the Abbey. So all I shall here add to it is, that it may be seen many miles round the country; and that the ruinous tower still there standing strikes a man still with a kind of awe and

devotion. Weary-all-Hill shall be mentioned by and by, when we treat of the Holy Thorn. So I will proceed with an accident that happened at Glastonbury in or about the year 1680.

11. Mr. Paschal, in a letter to John Aubrey, esquire, dated November the 11th, 1684, tells him, "that a mason not long ago wanting a freestone, came to the renter of the Abbey for one, and gave sixpence for it; the saw standing somewhere fit for his turn, the mason saw'd it, and out came several peeces of gold, of three pound ten shillings value a peece, of how ancient coyn I cannot," saith he, "yet learn. That gentleman (that employed him) hath three of those peeces; while he and another lord were contending for the treasure here, it fell into a riotous person's hands, who soon set it going." How much it was Mr. Paschal could not learn; but the editor of the New Description and State of England, who likewise relates this story, but with some little difference, saith there were about sixty peeces. The stone belonged to some chimney-work, and the gold is supposed to have been hidden in it when the Dissolution was near. This is all I can find remarkable of the Town of Glastonbury, excepting that as a borough it hath been summoned to send in a representative to the Parliament; but Mr. Willis doth not find it ever comply'd with the sheriff's writ.

OF THE HOLY THORN, AND MIRACULOUS WALNUT TREE, THAT GREW AT GLASTONBURY.

1. The Holy Thorn of Glastonbury, mentioned in the first and eighth paragraphs of my historical part of the Abbey, to bud and blow yearly upon Christmas-Day, grew on the south ridge of Weary-all-Hill, at present called Werrall Park, a ground now or lately belonging to William Strode, esquire. Whether it sprung from St. Joseph of Arimathæa's dry staff, stuck by him on the ground when he rested there, I cannot find, but beyond all dispute it sprang up miraculously.

2. It had two trunks, or bodies, till the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in whose days a saint-like Puritan taking offence at it hewed down the biggest of the two trunks, and had cut down the other body in all likelihood, had he not bin miraculously punished (saith my author) by cutting his leg, and one of the chips flying up to his head, which put out one of his eyes. Though the trunk cut off was separated quite from the root, excepting a little of the bark which stuck to the rest of the body, and laid above the ground above thirty years together, yet it still continued to flourish as the other part of it did which was left standing; and after this again, when it was quite taken away, and cast into a ditch, it flourished and budded as it used to do before. A year after this it was stolen away, not known by whom or whither, as many old persons affirmed to Mr. Broughton, who went on purpose to Glastonbury, to see this and other curiosities and antiquities of the place.

3. The remaining trunk, and the place where it grew, Mr. Broughton describes; and says that it was as great "as the ordinary body of a man, that it was a tree of that kind and species, in all natural respects, which we term a white thorn; but it was so cut and mangled round about in the bark, by engraving people's names resorting thither to see it, that it was a wonder how the sap and nutriment should be diffused from the root to the boughs and branches thereof, which were also so maimed and broken by comers thither, that he wondered how it could continue any vegetation, or grow at all; yet the arms and boughs were spread and dilated in a circular manner as far or farther than other trees freed from such impediments of like proportion, bearing hawes (fruit of

“that kind) as fully and plentifully as others do. In a word, that the blossoms of this tree were such curiosities beyond seas, that the Bristol merchants carried them into foreign parts; that it grew upon (or rather neer) the top of an hill, in a pasture bare and naked of other trees, and was a shelter for cattle feeding there, by reason whereof the pasture being great, and the cattle many, round about the tree the ground was bare and beaten as any highway, floor, or any continued trodden place. Yet this trunk was likewise cut down by a military saint, as Mr. Andrew Paschal calls him, in the rebellion which happened in King Charles the First’s time. However, there are at present divers trees from it, by grafting and inoculation, preserved in the town and country adjacent; amongst other places there is one in the garden of a currier, named, living in the principal street, a second at the White Hart inn, and a third in the garden of William Strode, esquire.” There is a person about Glastonbury who has a nursery of them, who, Mr. Paschal tells us he is informed, sells them for a crown a peece, or as he can get.

4. Besides the Holy Thorn, Mr. Camden says there was a miraculous Walnut Tree, which, by the marginal notes that Mr. Gibson hath set upon Camden, I find grew in the Holy Churchyard, neer St. Joseph’s chappel. This tree, they say, never budded forth before the Feast of Saint Barnabas, which is on the eleventh of June, and on that very day shot out leaves and flourish’t then as much as others of that kind. Mr. Broughton says the stock was remaining still alive in his time, with a few small branches, which continued yearly to bring forth leaves upon Saint Barnabas’s day as usual. The branches, when he saw it, being too small, young, and tender, to bring forth fruit, or sustain their weight; but now this tree is likewise gone, yet there is a young tree planted in its place, as I find by Mr. Gibson’s abovesaid marginal notes, but whether it blows as the old one did, or indeed whether it was raised from the old one, I cannot tell. Doctor James Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells in King James the First’s days, was so wonderfully taken with the extraordinariness of the Holy Thorn and this Walnut Tree, that he thought a branch of these trees was a present worthy the acceptance of the then Queen Anne, King James the First’s consort. Fuller, indeed, ridicules the Holy Thorn; but he is severely reprov’d for it by Doctor Heylin, (another Protestant writer,) who says “he hath heard from persons of great worth and credit, dwelling neer the place, that it had budded and blowed upon Christmas-Day, as we have above asserted.”

THE APPENDIX, BEING CHARTERS, WRITINGS, AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THIS LITTLE TREATISE.

NUMBER 1.

St. Patrick’s Chart or Epistle, mentioned in the eighteenth paragraph of our historical part, being drawn out of the first volume of the Monasticon, pp. 11, 12.

A. D. 425. In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Patricius humilis serviunculus Dei, anno incarnationis ejusdem quadringentesimo vicesimo quinto, in *Hiberniam* a sanctissimo Papa *Celestino* legatus, Dei gratia *Hibernicos* ad viam veritatis converti. Et cum eos in fide catholica solidassem; tandem in *Brittaniam* sum reversus, ac, ut credo, duce deo, qui vita est et via, incidi in insulam *Unswitrym*. In qua inveni locum sanctum ac vetustum, a Deo electum et sanctificatum in honore

intemeratæ Virginis Dei genetricis Mariæ. Ibique repperi quosdam fratres rudimentis catholicæ fidei imbutos, et piæ conversationi, qui successerunt discipulis sanctorum *Phagani* et *Diruviani*, quorum nomina pro vitæ meritis veraciter credo scripta in cœlis. Et quia in memoria æterna erunt justi, cum eosdem fratres tenere dilexissem, eorum nomina scripto meo redigere volui, quæ sunt *Brumban*, *Hiregaan*, *Bremwal*, *Wencreth*, *Banttoniweng*, *Adelwolred*, *Loyor*, *Wellias*, *Breden*, *Swelwes*, *Hinloernus*, et alius *Hyn*. Hii cum essent nobilibus orti natalibus, nobilitatem suam fidei operibus ornare cupientes, heremiticam vitam ducere elegerunt. Et quoniam inveni eos humiles ac quietos, elegi potius cum illis abjectus esse, magis quam in regalibus curiis habitare. Set quia omnium nostrum erat cor unum et anima una, eligimus omnes simul habitare, comedere et bibere pariter, et in eadem domo dormire. Sicque me, licet invitum, sibi prætulerunt. Non enim dignus eram corrigiam calciamentorum eorum. Et cum vitam monasticam ita duceremus juxta normam probabilium patrum, ostenderunt mihi præfati fratres, scripta sanctorum *Phagani* et *Diruviani*. In quibus continebatur, quod duodecim discipuli sanctorum *Philippi* et *Jacobi* ipsam vetustam ecclesiam construxerant in honore prælibatæ advocatricis nostræ, per doctrinamentum beati Arch-angeli Gabrielis. Insuper, et quod dominus eandem ecclesiam cœlitus in honore suæ matris dedicaverat, et quod tres Reges Pagani, ipsis duodecim, ad eorum sustentementum, duodecim portiones terræ dederunt; necnon et in scriptis recentioribus inveni, quod sancti *Phaganus* et *Diruvianus* perquisierant ab *Elutherio* Papa, qui eos miserat triginta annos indulgentiæ. Et ego frater *Patricius* a piæ memoriæ *Celestino* Papa, duodecim annos tempore meo adquisivi. Post multum vero temporis, assumpto mecum *Wellia* confratre meo, per condensitatem silvæ cum magna difficultate, conscendimus cacumen montis, qui eminet in eadem insula. Quo cum pervenissemus aperuit oratorium unum vetustum, et fere dirutum, habile tamen devotioni Christianæ, et prout, mihi videbatur, a Deo electum. Quod cum ingressi essemus, tanta odoris suavitate replebamur, ut in Paradisi amœnitate positos nos crederemus. Egredientes igitur et reingredientes, locumque diligentius perscrutantes, invenimus volumen unum, in quo scripti erant actus apostolorum, pariter cum actis et gestis sanctorum *Phagani* et *Diruviani*, ex magna parte consumptum. In cujus tamen fine voluminis invenimus scripturam quæ dicebat, quod prædicti *Phaganus* et *Diruvianus*, per revelationem domini nostri Jesu Christi idem oratorium ædificaverunt, in honori Sancti Michaelis Arch-angeli, quatenus ibi ab hominibus haberet honorem, qui homines in perpetuos honores jubente Deo, est introducturus. At cum delectaret nos illa scriptura, nitebamur eam ad finem legere. Dicebat enim eadem scriptura, quod venerandi *Phaganus* et *Diruvianus* moram ibi fecerunt per novem annos, et quod ipsi etiam perquisierant triginta annorum indulgentiam omnibus christicolis, locum ipsum ad honorem beati *Michaelis* pia voluntate visitantibus. Invento ergo tanto divinæ bonitatis thesauro, ego et frater *Wellias* tribus mensibus jejunavimus, orationibus vacantes et vigiliis, dæmonibusque et beluis multiformiter apparentibus imperantes. Quadem autem nocte, cum me sopori dedissem, apparuit mihi dominus Jesus in visu dicens, *Patrici* serve meus, scias me elegisse locum istum ad honorem nominis mei, et ut hic honoranter invocent adjutorium Arch-angeli mei *Michaelis*. Et hoc tibi signum et fratribus tuis quatinus et ipsi credant; brachium tuum sinistrum arescet, donec quæ vidisti annunciaveris fratribus qui in cella sunt, inferiori, et denuo huc redieris; et factum est ita. Ab illo die statuimus duos fratres imperpetuum ibi, nisi pastores futuri ob justam causam aliter decreverint. *Arnulpho* autem et *Ogmar Herbinicis* fratribus, qui mecum venerant de *Herbernia*, pro eo quod ad exhortationem meam apud dictum humiliter oratorium manere cæperunt, præsentem paginam commisi; aliam similem in archa sanctæ Mariæ retinens, in monumentum posteris. Et ego frater *Patricius*, per consilium fratrum meorum, omnibus, qui silvam ex omni parte præfati montis, in securi et ascia, pia intentione dejecerint, ut faciliior paretur aditus Christianis, ecclesiam beatæ perpetuæque virginis pie visitaturis, et oratorium prædictum, centum dies veniæ concedo, &c.

NUMBER 2.

*The Inscription upon a Plate, which was fixed on a Pillar on the New Church, which remained there till the Dissolution of the Monastery, mentioned in the twenty-first paragraph of our Historical Part, taken out of Mr. Sammes's Antiquities of Ancient Britain, p. 212.**

Anno post passionem domini xxxi duodecim sancti, ex quibus Joseph ab Arimathæa primus erat, huc venerunt; qui ecclesiam hujus regni primam in hoc loco construxerunt, qui Christi in honorem suæ matris et locum pro eorum sepultura præsentialiter dedicavit, Sancto David Meneven-cium Archiepiscopo hoc testante. Cui dominus, ecclesiam illam dedicare disponenti, in sompno apparuit, et eum a proposito revocavit; necnon in signum quod ipse dominus ecclesiam ipsam prius cum cimiterio dedicârat, manum episcopi digito perforavit, et sic perforata multos videntibus in crastino apparuit. Postea vero idem Episcopus Domino revelante, ac sanctorum numero in eadem crescente, quendam cancellum in orientali parte huic ecclesiæ adjecit, et in honore Beatæ Virginis consecravit, cujus altare inæstimabili Saphiro in perpetuam hujus rei memoriam, insignavit. Et ne locus aut quantitas prorsus ecclesiæ per tales augmentationes oblivioni traderetur, erigitur hæc columpna in linea per duas Orientales angulos ejusdem ecclesiæ versus meridiem protracta, et prædictum cancellum ab ea abscondente. Et erat ejus longitudo ab illa linea versus occidentem, lx pedum, latitudo vero ejus xxvi pedum, distantia centri istius columpnæ a puncto medio inter prædictos angulos xlviii pedum.

NUMBER 3.

King Ina's Charter, mentioned in the twenty-seventh, twenty-ninth, and thirty-third paragraphs of our Historical Part, taken out of the first Volume of the Monasticon, pp. 13, 14.

Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster. Quæcunque secundum decreta canonum, atque ecclesiastica instituta, salubri consilio diffiniuntur, quamquam sermo tantum absque textu sufficeret, tamen quoniam plerumque nostris temporibus, tempestates et turbines secularium rerum, etiam portas ecclesiæ pulsan, iccirco operæ precium censuimus, ob cautelam futurorum, ea quæ diffinita sunt, paginis scripturarum annectere, ne in posterum oblivioni tradita, ignorentur. Qua propter, ego *Ina*, regali fretus dignitate a Domino, cum consilio *Sexburgæ* Reginae, et licentia *Beorthwaldi Dorobernensis* ecclesiæ pontificis, et omnium suffraganeorum suorum, necnon etiam hortatu *Baldredi* et *Athelardi* subregulorum, ecclesiæ vetustæ quæ est in loco qui dicitur *Glasteie* (quam magnus sacerdos, et pontifex summus Angelorum obsequio sibi ac perpetuæ Virgini *Mariæ*, beato *David*, multis et inauditis miraculis, olim se sanctificasse innotuit) ex hiis quæ paterna hereditate possideo, et in dominium peculiare teneo, locis continuis et congruentibus concedo, ad supplementum vitæ regularis, et ad usum monachorum: *Brent* decem hidas, *Sowey* duodecim hidas, *Pulton* viginti hidas, *Dulting* viginti hidas, *Bledeneie* unam hidam, cum hiis omnibus, quæ antecessores mei eidem Ecclesiæ contulerunt *Kenewalchius*, qui Sancto *Theodoro* archiepiscopo interveniente, *Ferlingmere*, *Beokery*, *Godeneie*, *Martinesei*, *Edredesei*: *Kentwinus* Rex qui *Elastingie* matrem sanctorum vocare solitus fuerat, et eam ab omni seculari et ecclesiastico obsequio immunem statuit, et hanc privilegii

* This inscription was in brass, and in Mr. Broughton's time, or a little before, in the custody of Thomas Hewes, of the city of Wells, esquire.—Broughton, Age 1, cap. 22, page 110.

dignitatem concessit, ut habeant fratres ejusdem loci potestatem elegendi, et constituendi sibi rectorem juxta regulam sancti *Benedicti*. *Hedda* episcopus, qui, *Cedwalla* annuente et propria manu, licet paganus, confirmante, *Antocai*. *Baldred*, qui *Peinnard*, sex hidas. *Athelward*, qui *Pohelt*, sexaginta hidas, me annuente et confirmante, dederunt. Quorum ego devocioni, et benigni petitioni assencio, et contra malignancium hominum, et oblatrancium canum insidias, regalium munimine invigilo literarum, quatinus ecclesia domini nostri Jesu Christi, et perpetuæ Virginis *Mariæ*, sicut in regno *Britanniæ* est prima, et fons, et origo totius religionis, ita et ipsa supereminentem privilegii obtineat dignitatem, nec ulli omnino hominum ancillare obsequium faciat in terris, quæ super choros Angelorum dominatur in cœlis. Igitur summo Pontifice *Gregorio* annuente, et, ut matrem domini sui, in sinum et protectionem sanctæ *Romanæ* ecclesiæ me, licet indignum, cum ipsa suscipiente, consentientibus etiam omnibus *Britanniæ* regibus, ducibus, atque abbatibus, statuo et confirmo, quatinus omnes terræ et loca, et possessiones beatæ *Mariæ Glasteie* sint quæta, et ab omnibus Regiis exactionibus, et operibus quæ indici solent, videlicet expeditione, pontis arcisve constructione, et ab omni episcoporum promulgationibus, et perturbationibus, sicut in antiquis ejusdem ecclesiæ cartis ratum esse invenitur, et a predecessoribus meis, *Kenewalchio*, *Kentwino*, *Cedwalla*, et *Baldredo*, confirmatum esse dinoscitur, inconcussa et illibata permaneant. Et quæcumque immerserint causæ in homicidiis, sacrilegiis, veneficiis, furtis, rapinis, in dispositione ecclesiarum et descriptione, et ordinatione clericorum, in conventiculis sinodalibus, et in omnibus judicariis examinationibus, absque ullius hominis præjudicio, abbatis et conventus dispositione diffiniantur. Sed et omnibus regni mei regibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Ducibus, et Principibus, super honorem suum, et amorem meum præcipio, et omnibus tam meis quam eorum ministris, super salutem corporis sui præcipio, ne ullus eorum in insulam domini nostri Jesu Christi, et perpetuæ Virginis *Mariæ Glasteie*, nec ejusdem ecclesiæ possessiones, causa placitandi, perscrutandi, capiendi, percipiendi, interdicendi, vel aliquid faciendi, quod ibidem Deo famulantibus posset esse in scandalum, audeat intrare. Illud autem omnipotentis Dei et perpetuæ Virginis *Mariæ*, et beatorum *Petri* et *Pauli*, et omnium intercessionem sanctorum interdictione interdico, ne in ipsa *Glostoniensi* ecclesia, nec in ecclesiis sibi subditis, videlicet, *Sowpy*, *Brent*, *Merling*, *Schapewik*, *Stret*, *Budcaeth*, *Pilton*, nec in earum capellis, sed nec in insulis, aliqua interveniente occasione, episcopus cathedram sibi episcopalem statuere, nec missas solempnes celebrare, nec ecclesias dedicare, nec ordines facere, nec aliquid omnino disponere præsumat, nisi ab abbate, vel a fratribus invitatus fuerit; quod si ad hæc invitatus fuerit, nihil de rebus, sed nec de ipsis oblationibus ipse sibi aliquid usurpet. Duobus in locis ex ipsius ecclesiæ possessionibus, duas ei delegamus mansiones, unam in *Pohelt*, alteram in villa quæ *Piltona* dicitur, ut habeat ubi adveniens hospitetur, vel inde veniens sese recipiat. Neque enim eum ibi nisi importunitate temporis, aut molestia corporis detentus fuerit, aut ab abbate, vel a fratribus rogatus fuerit; nec amplius quam cum tribus aut cum quatuor clericis pernoctare licet. Hoc etiam provideat idem episcopus, ut singulis annis cum clericis suis qui Fontaneum sunt, ipsam matrem suam, *Glostonensem*, videlicet, ecclesiam, feria secunda post ascensionem domini, cum Letania recognoscat. Quod si superbia inflatus eam distulerit, et quæ superius dicta et confirmata sunt, prævaricaverit, mansiones sibi superius delegatas amittat. Abbas vel monachi a quocumque voluerint episcopo, qui pasca canonicum celebret, ecclesiastica sacramenta in *Glostoniensi* ecclesia, aut in ecclesiis sibi subjectis, aut in earum capellis, percipiant. Quisquis autem hujus meæ munificentiae, et libertatis testamentum, quovis deinceps tempore, aliqua occasione, cujuslibet etiam dignitatis vel professionis vel gradus pervertere, vel in irritum deducere temptaverit, sciat, se cum *Juda* proditore, æterna confusione edacibus ineffabilium tormentorum perituro flammis. Scripta est autem hujus donationis et privilegii pagina, anno dominicæ incarnationis septingen-

tesimo vicesimo quinto, indictione quarta, [A. D. 725] sub præsentia *Inæ* regis, et *Beorthwaldi Doroborensis* pontificis, venerandorumque antistitum *Danielis* atque *Eordredis*, et aliorum quorum nomina inferius annotantur. Ego *Ina* rex, propriæ manus subscriptione hanc donationem et libertatem sub sigillo sanctæ crucis, ratam fieri decerno. Ego *Edelburga* regina consensi. Ego *Baldredus* rex confirmavi. Ego *Adelard* frater reginæ consensi. Ego *Beorthwaldus*, *Doroborensis* ecclesiæ archiepiscopus, *Inæ* regis donationem et libertatem sub sigillo sanctæ crucis corroboravi. Ego *Daniel*, plebis dei inspector, adquevi. Ego *Fordredus* episcopus signum crucis impressi. *Waldhere* præfectus, *Ethelheard*, *Umming* præfectus, *Winchelin* comes, cum præsencia populationis consenserunt, et firma-verunt.

NUMBER 4.

King Henry the Second's Charter, mentioned in the thirtieth and forty-fourth paragraphs of our Historical Part, taken out of Harpsfield's Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica, chap. ii. p 3, 4.

Henricus, Dei gratia, rex *Angliæ*, dux *Normaniæ*, *Aquitaniæ*, et Comes *Andegaviæ*, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, justitiariis, baronibus, vicec. et omnibus fidelibus suis *Francis* et *Anglis* totius *Angliæ*, salutem. Quoniam quæ seminaverit homo, hæc et metet; Ecclesiæ *Glasconiensis* fundamentum jaciens, quæ, dum in manu mea fuerat, incendio consumpta in cinerem resedit, eam, Domino volente, persuadentibus *Eraclio* patriarcha *Hierosolymitano*, *Balduino* archiepiscopo *Cantuariensi*, *Richardo* *Wintoniensi* episcopo, *Bartholomæo* *Exoniensi* episcopo, *Radulfo* de *Glanuill*, cum multis aliis, per me aut per heredes meos consummandam, magnificentius reparare decrevi. Quæcunque etiam a prædecessoribus meis *Willielmo* primo, *Willielmo* secundo, et *Henrico* avo meo, sed et ab antiquioribus, videlicet, Sancto *Edgaro*, patre Sancti *Edouardi*, ab *Edmundo* et patre ipsius *Eduardo*, et *Elfredo* avo ejusdem: *Bringwalthio*, *Henthwino*, *Baldredo*, *Ina*, inclyto *Arthuro*, *Cundredo*, et multis aliis regibus Christianis, sed et a *Kenewallo* quodam rege pagano, quorum privilegia et chartas feci diligenter inquiri, et coram me præsentari et legi, confirmata sunt prædictæ ecclesiæ, quæ olim a quibusdam Mater sanctorum dicta est, ab aliis tumulus sanctorum, quoniam ab ipsis discipulis domini ædificatum, et ab ipso domino dedicatum primo fuisse venerabilis habet antiquorum autoritas: Ego quoque, in honorem Dei, et Beatissimæ Virginis Matris suæ, (quæ locum sibi specialem et primum in hoc regno elegit,) et omnium sanctorum ibidem quiescentium, pro salute animæ meæ et antecessorum et heredum meorum concedo, et hac mea charta confirmo omnes libertates et dignitates, privilegia, et liberas consuetudines, quæ a prædictis nobilibus viris collata sunt præfatæ ecclesiæ, et apostolicis sanctionibus sunt munita, et a beatis *Ealfoago* et *Dunstano* archiepiscopis, et quondam loci illius Monachis, et a prædecessoribus eorum et posteris roborata. Habeat igitur et possideat sæpedita Ecclesia omnes possessiones suas et terras, et omnes forefacturas eorum, feoda, servitia militum, ubicumque fuerint in toto regno meo, in pace et quiete, libere et inconcusse, sicut ego res meas Dominicas liberius habeo; fugitivos suos, ubicumque inventi fuerint absque omni calumnia et impedimento habeant, et sint abbas, et Monachi, et familia eorum quieti per totum regnum meum de tomm et pagio. Habeat quoque eadem ecclesia, et omnes terræ suæ *Soccam* et *Saccam*, on *Sutude* et on *Sitme*, on *Uode* et on *Felde*, on *Gripbriche*, on *Burchbrich*, hundrensetene, *Adas* et *Ordelas*, *Galle*, *Wordas* *Bufa*, *Cor-dan* et *Benedan*, *Infangene*.—*Throf* et *Flemc*—*Ferdem*, *hansoene*, *Fridbrich*, *Forstcal*, *Toll*, et *Tean*. Sed præcipue villa *Glaston*, in vetusta ecclesia Genetricis Dei sita

quæ fons et origo totius religionis Angliæ pro certo habetur, præ ceteris sit liberior cum insulis suis, scilicet Becaria, quæ parva *Hibernia* dicitur, Godeneia, Martenesia, Ferramere, Dathanebga, et Adredesia, ut nullus hominum, rex, archiepiscopus, episcopus, justitiarius, vir forestarius, vel alius baillivus sive minister, vel aliquis alius hominum, audeat intrare prædicta loca, causa placitandi, aut perscrutandi, aut rapiendi, aut aliud faciendi, quod ecclesiæ dignitati vel inibi Deo servientibus contrarium esse possit aut molestiæ, sed abbati tantum et conventui sit potestas, in causis tam notis quam ignotis, in modicis et in magnis, et in omnibus omnino negotiis tractandis et terminandis. Concedo etiam iisdem eandem auctoritatem et potestatem puniendi et dimittendi commissa delinquentium in locis prædictis, quantum mea Dominica curia habet; et quantum ad regiam majestatem pertinet, volo et præcipio, sicut prædecessores mei statuerunt et summi pontifices sanxerunt, necnon et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis prælati confirmaverunt; sed et diocesani episcopi assensum præstantes roboraverunt, quod eadem ecclesia cum præfatis insulis, et cum septem ecclesiis ei subjectis, scilicet **de Streta, Pistoria, Dichseata, Budekeleia, Sapwica, Merelinus, Sowi**, cum capellis earum, presbyteris, clericis et seriventibus, libera sit omnino ab omni jurisdictione episcopi *Bathoniensis*, sicut mea propria corona. Benedictionem quoque abbatis, ordines et omnia sacramenta ab episcopo celebranda a quocumque voluerint episcopo faciant fieri. Habeant quoque Monachi libertatem, potestatem et dignitatem eligendi et constituendi sibi rectorem, justa regulam beati *Benedicti*, sine omni contradictione et impedimento; sed nec aliquis omnino hominum in ecclesia *Glasconia*, aut in prædictis insulis vel ecclesiis aut capellis suis, quacumque ex causa, præsumat Cathedram episcopalem statuere. Siquid tandem amplius regum vel pontificum privilegiis ecclesiæ sæpius memoratæ, quod ad dignitatem vel libertatem faciat, collatum fuerit, ratum et inconvulsum esse volo in perpetuum, et firmiter observari ab universis præcipio. Valde namque verendum, et modis omnibus cavendum est, tot sanctorum regum et pontificum contraire privilegiis, quibus ecclesia illa hactenus insignita est, ne tot sanctorum maledictiones in renitentes datas, vel alio modo statuere præsumentes incurrant. Testibus *Eraclio* patriarcha, iterum *Wilhelmo Remensi* archiepiscopo, *Balduino* archiepiscopo *Cantauriensi*, *Richardo Wintoniensi* episcopo, *Bartholomæo Exoniensi* episcopo, *Reginaldo Bathoniensi* episcopo, *Wilhelmo* comite de *Mandevill*, *Radulpho de Glanvill*, et multis aliis, apud *Westmonasterium*.

NUMBER 5.

King Edmund's Charter, mentioned in the thirty-fourth paragraph of our Historical Part, and the second paragraph of the Description of Glastonbury, drawn from the Monasticon, vol. i. p. 15.

In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego *Edmundus* rex Anglorum, cæterarumque in circuitu gentium persistencium gubernator, et rector, cum consilio et consensu optimatum meorum pro æternæ retributionis spe et relaxatione peccaminum meorum, concedo ecclesiæ S. Dei genitricis Mariæ *Glastonia*, et venerabili viro *Dunstano*, quem ibidem abbatem constitui, libertatem et potestatem, jura et consuetudines, et omnes forisfacturas omnium terrarum suarum, id est **Burgbrice, hundred Sacna, Athas, Ordclas, Kintangenetheofas, Homsoena, Frithbrice, Foresteall, et Toll, et Tram** in omni regno meo, et sint terræ suæ sibi liberæ et solutæ ab omni calumpnia, sicut meæ michi habentur. Set præcipue ipsa villa *Glastonia*, in qua celeberrima vetusta ecclesia sanctæ Dei genitricis sita est, præ cæteris, sit liberior cum terminis suis; abbati tantum ejusdem loci tantummodo potestas sit, tam in notis causis, quam in ignotis, in modicis et in magnis, et in hiis etiam quæ sint super et subter terram, in aridis et in rivis, in silvis et in planis. Et eandem auctoritatem

puniendi, aut dimittendi delinquentium in ea commissa habeat, quam mea curia, quemadmodum mei antecessores concesserunt, et statuendo firmarunt, videlicet pater meus *Edwardus* et *Elfredus* pater ejus, et *Kyntwines*, *Ines*, *Cuthredus*, et alii quam plures qui locum illum honorantes gloriosum habuerunt, et apostolica auctoritate roboraverunt. Et ne quisquam mortalium, seu episcopus, aut dux, aut princeps, aut quilibet ministrorum eorum audeat eam omnino, causa placitandi, vel rapiendi, vel quippiam faciendi quod contrarium possit esse inibi Deo servientibus, Dei interdictione prohibeo. Quisquis igitur benevola mente meam donationem ampliare, et privilegii dignitatem servare satagerit, in hoc præsenti seculo, vita illius prospera sit, et longiturnæ vitæ gaudia teneat. Si quis autem propria temeritate, violentur invadere temptaverit, sciat se, proculdubio, ante tribunal districti judicis titubantem, tremebundumque rationem redditurum, nisi prius digna satisfactione emendare maluerit. Acta est autem hujus privilegii pagina an. dom. Incarnationis nongentesimo quadragesimo quarto, indictione secunda. Ego *Edmundus*, rex *Anglorum*, præfatam donationem cum sigillo sanctæ crucis confirmavi. Ego *Eadred*, ejusdem regis frater, consensi. Ego *Eadgiua*, ejusdem regis mater, prædictum donum consignavi. Ego *Oda*, *Dorobernensis* ecclesiæ archiepiscopus, ejusdem regis donationem cum trophæo agiæ crucis subarravi. Ego *Wlfstanus* archiepiscopus præfatam donationem confirmavi. Ego *Elpheah*, *Wintoniensis* ecclesiæ episcopus, triumphalem trophæum agiæ crucis impressi. Ego *Wolfhelm*, *Fontanensis* episcopus, corroboravi. Scriptaque est litteris aureis in libro evangeliorum quem eidem ecclesiæ obtulit, opere satis eleganti composito, qui *textus Sancti Dunstani* dicitur.

NUMBER 6.

King Edgar's Charter, mentioned in the thirty-seventh paragraph of our Historical Part, drawn out of the first volume of the Monasticon, pp. 16, 17.

In nomine domine nostri Jesu Christi, quamvis decreta pontificum et verba sacerdotum incon-
vulsis ligaminibus velud fundamenta montium fixa sunt tamen plerumque tempestatibus et turbini-
bus secularium rerum religio sanctæ ecclesiæ, maculis reproborum, dissipatur ac rumpitur. Iccirco,
profuturum succedentibus posteris esse decrevimus, ut ea, quæ salubri consilio, et communi assensu
diffiniuntur, nostris literis roborata firmentur. Quapropter dignum videtur, ut ecclesia beatissimæ
Dei genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ *Glastoniæ*, sicut ex antiquo principalem in regno meo opti-
net dignitatem, ita speciali quadam et singulari privilegii libertate per nos honoretur. Hoc itaque
Dunstano Dorobernensi, atque *Oswaldo Eboracensi* archiepiscopis adortantibus, consentiente etiam, et
annuente *Brithelmo Fontanensi* episcopo, cæterisque episcopis, abbatibus, et primatibus, ego *Edgar*,
divina dispositione, rex *Anglorum*, cæterarumque gentium in circuitu persistencium gubernator, et
rector, in nomine almæ Trinitatis, pro anima patris mei, qui ibi requiescit, et antecessorum meorum,
præsenti privilegio decerno, statuo, confirmo, ut prædictum monasterium, omnisque possessio ejus,
ab omni tributo fiscalium negotiorum, nunc et imperpetuum, libera et quieta permaneant, et habeant
Socam et Sacam, on Stronde et on Streame, et on Wade et on Felde, on Grithebi ite,
Hundredsetena, Adas et Ordelas, Wallehordas, Bufan Eorderan, et Beneoderan,
Infangenetheof et Out Fangenetheof, et Flemenneterde, Hamsecne, Fridebrice,
Forsteall, Toll, et Team, ita libere et quiete, sicut ego habeo in toto regno meo; eandem quoque
libertatem et potestatem quam ego in curia mea habeo, tam in dimittendo quam in puniendo, et in
quibuslibet omnino negociis, Abbas et Monachi præfati monasterii in sua curia habeant. Si autem
abbas, vel quilibet monachus loci illius, latronem, qui ad suspendium, vel quodlibet mortis periculum,

ducitur, in itinere obviam habuerit, potestatem habeant eripiendi eum ab imminente periculo in toto regno meo. Confirmo etiam et corrobore, ut quod haecenus ab omnibus nostris antecessoribus diligenter observatum est, *Fontanensis* episcopus, vel ejus ministri super hoc monasterium, vel super parochiales ejusdem ecclesias, videlicet **Strete, Mireling, Budecle, Shapewike, Sowpy**, aut super earum capellas, nec etiam super eas quæ in insulis continentur, scilicet **Bekeria**, quæ *parva Hibernia* dicitur, **Godeneia, Marteneseia, Ferramere, Padeneberga, et Andredeseia**, nulla potestatem omnino habeant, nisi tantum cum ab abbate causa dedicandi vel ordinandi advocati fuerint, nec eorum presbiteros ad Synodum suam, vel capitulum, vel ad quodlibet placitum convocent, nec ab officio divino suspendant; et omnino nullum jus in eos exercere præsumant. Monachos suos et prædictarum ecclesiarum clericos secundum antiquam ecclesiæ *Glastoniæ* consuetudinem, et apostolicam auctoritatem archipræsulis *Dunstani* et omnium episcoporum regni mei assensu, abbas à quocumque comprovinciali episcopo voluerit ordinari faciat. Dedicationes vero ecclesiarum, si ab abbate rogatus fuerit, *Fontanensi* episcopo permittimus. In pascha quoque crisma sanctificationis, et oleum à *Fontanensi* episcopo ex more accipiat, et præfatas ecclesias suas distribuat. Hoc etiam super omnia Dei interdictione, et nostra auctoritate, salva tamen sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et *Dorobernensis* dignitate, prohibeo, ne persona cujuscumque potestatis, sive rex, sive episcopus, sive dux aut princeps, vel quilibet ministrorum eorum, *Glastoniæ* terminos vel supradictarum parochiarum perscrutandi, rapiendi, placitandi gracia, vel quicquam aliud faciendi quod contrarium possit esse ibidem Deo servientibus, intrare præsumant. Abbati tantummodo et conventui potestas sit, tam in notis causis, quam in ignotis, in modicis et in magnis, et in omnibus omnino negociis, sicut supra memoravimus. Quisquis autem hujus privilegii mei dignitatem qualibet occasione, cujuscumque dignitatis, cujuscumque ordinis, cujuscumque professionis pervertere, vel in irritum deducere, sacrilega præsumptione, amodo temptaverit, sciat, se, procul dubio, ante districtum judicem titubantem tremebundumque rationem redditurum, nisi prius digna satisfactione emendare studuerit. Acta est hæc privilegii pagina, et confirmata apud *Londoniam*, communi consilio omnium primatum meorum, anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi [A. D. 971] nongentesimo septuagesimo primo, indictione quarta decima. Hujus doni constipulatores fuerunt, quorum nomina inferius caraxari videntur. Ego *Edgar*, rex totius *Britanniæ*, præfatam libertatem cum sigillo sanctæ crucis confirmavi. Ego *Eilfgiva*, ejusdem regis mater, cum gaudio consensi. Ego *Edward*, Clito patris mei domini, cum triumpho sanctæ crucis impressi. Ego *Kinadius*, rex *Albanie*, adquevi. Ego *Mascusius*, archipirata confortavi. Ego *Dunstanus*, *Dorobernensis* ecclesiæ archiepiscopus, cum trophæo sanctæ crucis, et cum suffraganeis præsulibus regis domini, corroboraui. Ego *Oswaldus*, *Eboracensis* ecclesiæ primas, consensciens, subscripsi. Ego *Ethelwold*, *Wintoniensis* ecclesiæ minister, et *Glastoniæ* monachus, signum sanctæ crucis impressi. Ego *Brihtelm*, *Fontanensis* episcopus, consensciens, corroboraui. Ego *Elstan* episcopus confirmavi. Ego *Oswald* episcopus adquevi. Ego *Elfwold* episcopus concessi. Ego *Winsigie* episc. cum signo sanctæ crucis conclusi. Ego *Segeger* abbas vexillum sanctæ crucis impressi. Ego *Escwi* abbas confirmavi. Ego *Ethelgar* abbas concessi. Ego *Kineword* abbas consensi. Ego *Fideman* abbas consolidavi. Ego *Elpheh* abbas subscripsi. Ego *Adulph*, *Herefordensis* ecclesiæ catascopus, corroboraui. Ego *Elphere* dux, dominæ meæ sanctæ *Mariæ Glastoniensis* ecclesiæ libertatem, omni devotione, cum sigillo sanctæ crucis confirmavi. Ego *Oslac* dux consensi. Ego *Ethelwine* dux, hoc donum triumphale agiæ crucis, propriæ manus depictione impressi. Ego *Oswald*, minister, confirmavi. Ego *Elfwurd*, minister, corroboraui. Ego *Ethelsie*, minister, consensi. Ego *Elfsie*, minister, consensi. Hanc privilegii paginam Rex *Edgarus*, duodecimo anno regni sui, sacro scripto apud *Londoniam* communi consilia optimatum suorum confirmavit.

NUMBER 7.*

The Letter written by Four of the Monks of Glastonbury for the new founding of their Abbey, in Queen Mary's Days, mentioned in the forty-ninth paragraph of our Historical Part; extracted out of Dr. Burnett's Collection of Records to his second volume of his Reformation, mark't by him No. 30, page 306.

A Letter by the Monks of Glassenbury for the new founding of that Abbey.

AN ORIGINAL.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlayne to the Queen's Majesty.

Right Hon^{ble} in our most humble wise, your Lordship's daily beadsmen, sometimes att the House of Glassenbury, now here monks in Westminster, with all due submission we desire your Hon^r to extend your accustomed vertue, as it hath been alwayes heretofore propence, to the hon^r of Almighty God, to the hon^{ble} service of the King and Queen's Majesty, so it may please your good Lordship again, for the hon^r of them, both of God and their Majestyes, to put the Queen's Highness in remembrance of her gratiouse promise concerning the erection of the late Monastery of Glassenbury, which promise of her grace hath been so by her Majesty declared, that upon the same we, your Lordship's daily beadsmen, understanding my Lord Cardinal's Grace's pleasure to the same, by the procurement hereof our reverend Father Abbot hath gotten out the particulars, and through a warrant from my Lord Treasurer, our frends there have builded and bestowed much upon reparation, notwithstanding all now standeth att a stay. We think the cause to be want of remembrance, which cannot so well be brought unto her Majestye's understanding as by your Hon^{ble} Lordship's favor and help; and considering your Lordship's most godly disposition, we have a confidence thereof to sollicite the same, assureing your Lordship of our daily prayers while we live, and of our successors during the world, if it may so please your good Lordship to take it in hand. Wee ask nothing in gift to the foundation, but only the house and scite, the residue for the accustomed rent, so that with our labour and husbandry we may live here a few of us in our religious habbitts, till the charity of good people may suffice a greater number; and the country there being so affected to our religion, we believe we should find more help amongst them towards the reparations and furniture of the same, whereby we would happily prevent the ruin of much, and repair no little part of the whole, to God's honour, and for the better prosperity of the King and Queen's Majestyes, with the whole realm; for doubtless, if it shall please your good Lordship, if there hath ever been any flagitiouse deed since the creation of the world punished of God, in our opinion the overthrow of Glassenbury may be compared to the same, not surrendered as others, but extorted, the abbot preposterously put to death, with two innocent and vertuous monks with him; that if the thing were to be skanned by any university, or some learned counsell in divinity, they would find itt more dangerouse then it is commonly taken, which might move the Queen's Majesty to the more speedy erection, namly, that being a house of such antiquity, and of fame through all Christendome, first begun by St. Joseph of Arimathea, (who took down the dead body of our Saviour Christ from the cross,) and lyeth buried in Glassenbury, and him most hartily we beseech with us to pray unto Christ for good success unto your Hon^{ble} Lordship in all your Lordship's affaires, and now espe-

* Ex MS. Nob. Illust. Com. de Huntingdon.

tially in this our most humble request, that we may doe the same in Glassenbury for the King and Queen's Majesty as our founders, and for your good Lordship as a singular benefactor.

Your Lordship's daily beadsmen of Westminster,

JOHN PHAGON.

JOHN NOTT.

WILL. AILEWOLD.

WILL. KENTWYNE.

NUMBER 8.

A Catalogue of Books written or transcribed in one single Abbat's time, mentioned in the sixteenth paragraph of the Description of the Abbey, drawn out of Dr. Tanner's Preface to his Notitia Monastica, pp. 69, 70.

Bibliotheca una—Plinius de Naturali Historia—Cassiodorus super Psalterium—Tria Missalia magna—Duo Lectionaria—Breviarium (in domo infirmorum)—Jeronimus super Jeremiam et Isaiam—Origines super Vetus Testamentum—Ejusdem Omelia—Idem super Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos—Hieronymus super Epistolam ad Galathas, et ad Ephesoīs, et ad Titum, et ad Philemonem—Vitæ Patrum—Collationes Patrum—Breviarium (Hospitum)—Antiphonarium—Pars una Moralium—Cyprianus—Registrum—Liber dictus Paradisus—Jeronimus contra Jovinianum—Ambrosius contra Novatianos—Septem Volumina de Passionibus Sanctorum, per totum anni circulum—Vitæ Cæsarum—Gesta Britonum—Gesta Anglorum—Gesta Francorum—Pascasius—Radbertus de corpore sanguine Domini—Summæ Quædam—Liber Abbatis Clarevallensis de Amādo Deo—Hugo de S. Victore de duodecim gradibus Humilitatis et de Oratione—Physionomia Lapidarium, et liber Petri Alfinii in uno volumine—Rhetorica Prima et Secunda—Unum Volumen Quintiliani de Causis—Epistola Augustini de Oratione Dominica et super Psalmum Miserere mei Deus—Benedictionale unum Episcopale—Decreta Ivonis Carnotensis Episcopi—Jeronimus super xii Prophetas et Lamentationes Prophetæ Jeremiæ—Augustinus de Trinitate—Augustinus super Genesin—Ysidori Etymologiæ—Paterius—Augustinus de Verbis Domini—Hugo de Sacramentis—Cassianus de Incarnatione Domini—Anselmus cur deus Homo.

NUMBER 9.

Part of the Fifty-Third Chapter of St. Benedict's Rule, promised in the twenty-fifth paragraph of the Description of the Abbey, intituled, "De hospitibus suscipiendis."

Omnes supervenientes hospites, tamquam Christus, suscipiantur: quia ipse dicturus est: Hospes fui, et suscepistis me. Et omnibus congruus honor exhibeatur, maxime domesticis fidei et peregrinis. Ut ergo nunciatus fuerit hospes, occurratur ei a Priore vel a fratribus, cum omni officio caritatis; et primitus orent pariter: et sic sibi socientur in pace. Quod pacis osculum non prius offeratur, nisi oratione præmissa, propter illusiones Diabolicas. In ipsa autem salutatione omnis exhibeatur humilitas. Omnibus venientibus sive discedentibus hospitibus, inclinato capite,

vel prostrato omni corpore in terra, Christus in eis adoretur, qui et suscipitur. Suscepti autem hospites ducantur ad orationem: et postea sedeant cum eis Prior, aut cui jusserit ipse. Legatur coram hospite lex divina, ut ædificetur: et post hæc omnes exhibeatur humanitas. Jejunium à Priore frangatur propter hospitem: nisi forte præcipuus sit dies jejunii qui non possit violari. Fratres autem consuetudines jejuniorum prosequantur. Aquam in manibus Abbas hospitibus det. Pedes autem hospitibus omnibus tam Abbas quam cuncta congregatio lavet. Quibus lotis, hunc versum dicant: *Suscepimus Deus miserecordiam tuam, in medio templi tui.* Pauperum et peregrinorum maxime susceptio omni cura sollicite exhibeatur: quia in ipsis magis Christus suscipitur. Nam divitum terror ipse sibi exigit honorem. Coquina abbatis et hospitum per se sit, ut incertis horis supervenientes hospites, qui nunquam desunt monasterio, non inquietent fratres. &c.

NUMBER 10.

An Abstract of the Life of King Arthur, being likewise added here by way of Appendix.

Having mentioned King Arthur as a considerable benefactor to the Abbey of Glastonbury, and to have been buried in the Abbey Church there, I think proper to give here an abstract of his life, to render my foregoing collections the more authentick; for the many incredible stories that have been reported of this prince have made his history little better than a romance, nay, have made some people deny there ever was such a person. This notion proceeds from excess of matter recorded of him, which is occasioned by a custom of the old British poets, (called bards,) who were used in former ages, by their rithmes and verses, to recreate the minds of their miserable countrymen, the Britains, after they were driven by the Saxons out of the best part of the kingdom into the mountains of Wales, and into Cornwall, another extremity of the island. In these verses and ballads the bards, by their extravagant fictions, mingled with real truths, have much injured instead of adding to the reputation of their renowned kings and ancestors. Through which means fame hath been more injurious to this prince than it hath been to any other prince whatsoever. Thus beyond what is credible, they report he conquered Frolo, king of the Franks; whereas amongst the French writers, as we are told by Mr. Cressy, such a name as Frolo is not to be found; that he slew Lucius, the Emperour's governour in Italy, which no historian, (saith that author,) either Roman, French, or Saxon, makes mention of; that in a year's time he not only subdued the whole island of Ireland, and took Gillamur their king, and all his nobles, prisoners, but that he passed into Holland, Gottland, and the Isles of Orkney, and brought all those regions under tribute; that he not only subdued the Picts and Scotts, but overrun France, Germany, Dacia, etc. for which reason he is stilled Imperator Britanniae, Galliae, Germaniae, Daciae, etc. In a word, that he conquered no fewer than thirty kingdoms. Now who can believe that he should ramble so far to conquer new countrys, when (till towards the end of his reign) he had great difficulty to defend his own kingdom against his own enemies at home. These, and such like incredible stories, Geffrey of Monmouth and others have reported from the fictions of the old British bards, making a medley of truth and falsehood, which they have done either for beautifying their histories, or delighting their readers, or extolling their own blood; whereas, without speaking more than truth, they might have set off King Arthur as a prince of a most magnanimous and heroical spirit, it being allowed by most of our judicious and impartial historians, "that had it not been that Almighty God had given up the Britains to

“destruction, no hand could have been more proper and able to rescue them, than King Arthur’s; and
“no doubt it was to his valour (saith Mr. Cressy) we ought to ascribe the security of the remains
“of them among the mountains of Wales.” Thus much by way of introduction. I shall now proceed
with his life.

2d. As touching his birth and descent, “some writers report (saith Mr. Cressy) that his father,
“Uter Pendragon, falling in love with the wife of Gorlois, duke of Cornwall, called Igerna; and by
“flattery and subtilty having gained her affection, he begot of her Arthur, being, say they, by
“Merlin’s magical art transformed into the shape of her husband. But Arthur’s virtues, piety, and
“courage, wonderfully prospered by Almighty God, are strong proofs that his birth was not so
“infamous,” saith that venerable author.

3d. But a more sober account is given of this great prince (continueth that grave author) in
the Antiquities of Glastonbury, written by John a Monk and Adam Domerham, where we read this
passage. “Uter Pendragon, the brother of Ambrosius, dying by poyson, in the tenth year after the
“coming of Cerdic the West Saxon, his son Arthur, a youth of fifteen years, began to rule the
“Brittains. His mother’s name was Igerna, and he was born in a castle of Cornwall, called Tin-
“tagell.” In which narration, continueth my author, we find no aspersion cast on his birth; though
it be not very credible what follows in the same Antiquities, that by his mother he was descended
from a nephew of St. Joseph of Arimathæa, called Hellanis, or, as Broughton writes him, Helains.
’Tis certain that after the death of Gorlois, King Uter married his widow; and one would think
there can be no greater proof of Igerna’s integrity and loyalty to her first husband the Duke of
Cornwall, than the report of King Uter’s being obliged to transform himself into the form of her
first husband, by the means of magick, to enjoy her, the possibility whereof I shall leave the wise to
determine. But be his birth what it will, I do not find his legitimacy was the least questioned by
any but by his father’s sisters, and their husbands, nor could they prevail on any but their own
subjects to hearken to it till many years after King Uter his father’s death, which some say happened
in the year 506, others in the year 508, and others not till the year 516, which Cressy will have to be
the year of his coronation; which ceremony both Leland and Cressy say was performed by St. Dubri-
tius, but the former will have him to have been crowned at Winchester, and the latter at Caerlegion,
adding that it was done there in a general assembly of the bishops and nobles.

4. King Uter left his son Arthur engaged in a war against the Saxons; and Arthur’s accession
to the crown was much stomacht at by Lotho, king of the Picts, and by Gowran, king of the Scots,
who had married his own aunts Anna and Alda, his father King Uter’s sisters, the former whereof
(Lotho) pretended to the crown in right of his wife, the elder sister, of which marriage was descended
Mordred, who in this cause at last lost his life, as we shall shew at large by and by. The Saxons
being informed of this uneasiness, brought these princes, though christians and uncles, into an alliance
with them against King Arthur.

5. King Arthur being thus beset, marched his forces into the north, and attacking the Saxons
in Northumberland, he drove them thence to York, where he besieged them. However, Colgerne,
their leader, privately conveying himself out of the city, went into Germany, where he got fresh
succours from another Cherdick, a king in that country, who with seven hundred sail, came in person
to the relief of the Saxons, landing in Scotland. King Arthur hearing of the arrival of this new
supply, raised the siege of York, and retiring towards London, he sent for aid to his nephew Hoel, his
sister’s son, the then King of Armorica, now called little Brittany, who immediately came over to him
in person, bringing with him a powerful army.

6. The King, being reinforced with these auxiliaries, marched from South Hampton to Lincoln,

which city Cherdick had strongly besieged, where he not only raised the siege, but forced them to fly to a wood, where being encompassed, they were compelled to yield to King Arthur's victorious army, on condition to depart the land, and leave behind them their horse-armour and other furniture. After this he fought twelve set battles with the Saxons, and overthrew them in every one of them. The first was at the mouth of the river Gleyne, alias Gledy; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, upon the river Douglas, in Lenox; the sixth upon the river Bassus; the seventh in the wood Calidon, *alias* Catcost Celidon; the eighth neer the Castle Guinien; the ninth in Wales, at the city of Caerlegion; the tenth at Traitherith, or Rydthrwyd, upon the sea side; the eleventh at a hill called Agned Cathregonion; and the twelfth at Bath, or Bathen Hill, called by Latin authors Badonis, and Mons Badonicus; which victories (particularly the last) Popish authors say he obtained by invoking the assistance of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the time of battle, whose image he wore over his armour, and painted, bore in his standard.

7. King Arthur having, as he thought, pretty well settled his affairs at home, made an expedition upon some unknown occasion into France, and having quite forgotten the unkindness he had formerly met with from his uncle Lotho, he not only took Mordred, Lotho's son, into favour, but intrusted him with the government of the kingdom, and committed to him the care of his wife Queen Guinever. Mordred, instead of faithfully acquitting himself of the trust reposed in him, took advantage of the king's absence, upon a pretence that King Arthur was a bastard, as not being born in lawful marriage, and to this treason he added the crime of incest, violently taking his cousin's wife, Queen Guinever. Moreover, to strengthen himself he entered into confederacy with the King of the West Saxons, to whom he yielded several provinces. These infamous crimes being come to the ears of King Arthur, he presently returned out of Brittany, inflamed with an unquenchable rage and hatred against his abominable kinsman. Mordred was prepared to hinder his landing; at which time a cruel battle was fought between them, in which Augusellus, king of Albania, and Walwan, two relations of King Arthur, and called by Leland *duo fulmina belli*, two noted warlike thunderbolts, with many others, fell on King Arthur's side. This battle was fought at Richborough, near Sandwich in Kent, as we are told by Stow, in his Chronicle.

8. King Arthur having the advantage renewed the fight, and compelled Mordred to fly to Winchester, whither he pursued him, and put him again to flight, which he directed towards Cornwall; but King Arthur not ceasing to follow, he at last overtook him near the river Alaune, by corruption called Camblan, where the town of Camelford now stands, in which place the controversy was ended, but fatally to them both. For Mordred, having ranged his army, in a desperate fury rush't amongst his enemies, resolved rather to dye than once more to shew his back to them. In this combat, which continued almost a whole day, after horrible bloodshed on both sides, King Arthur, with the courage and fury of a lion, rush't into the troop where he knew Mordred was, and making way with his sword, he slew Mordred out right, and dispersed his enemies; but in the fight he himself received his own death's wounds. Whereupon he was conveyed to the Abbey of Avalon, now called Glastonbury, by the charity of a noble matron, a kinswoman of his, called Morgains, where he died of his wounds on the 21st of May, in the year 542.

9. As the noble matron Morgains had continued to convey King Arthur from Camblen to Glastonbury, and lookt after the dressing of his wounds there whilst he was alive, so she took upon her the chief care of his funeral after he was dead; which was managed with a great deal of privacy, (though several of the British nobility were present at it), lest his death taking air should dispirit the Britains, and flush the Saxons; for which reason 'twas given out that he was alive, and upon recovery, when actually they had buried him sixteen foot under ground, which was done to prevent

the Saxons insulting and offering any indignity to his corps in case they prevailed, which, for the sins of the Britains, Almighty God shortly after permitted; but they never could find out where King Arthur was buried, for the place of his burial was not known till six hundred and odd years after his death, and then it was discovered upon the following occasion.

10. King Henry the Second having obtained for two campaigns successively considerable advantages over the Irish, chiefly by the courage and bravery of Richard Clare earl of Pembroke and Chepstow, and the Welsh under his command, went himself into Ireland in October, 1172, to compleat the reduction of that kingdom, passing through Wales, where at Pembroke he thanked the Welsh for their service, and told them that in great measure the success was owing to their ancient British courage and valour. The Welsh, pleased with King Henry's taking notice of their loyalty, entertained him according to the dignity of a king, and wished him the prosperity and victory that attended heretofore their great King Arthur, whose exploits, one of their bards, playing upon the harp, sung to the king whilst he was at dinner. In that ballad mention was made of the place where King Arthur lay buried, which was there said to be between two pyramids in the Holy Church-yard at Glastonbury, many foot deep.

11. Henry the Second (bearing a due regard to the memory of King Arthur his renowned predecessor) at his return out of Ireland acquainted Henry de Blois, at that time abbat of Glastonbury, with what he had learn't from the ballad of the bard, and desired him to dig and search after the bones of that great king. Henry de Blois search't as he was ordered, and according to the report of Stow, and some other writers, he found King Arthur's bones towards the close of King Henry's reign; but according to Leland and other authors, they were not found out till the year 1189, after King Richard the First came to the crown, and when Henry de Saliaco, or Henry de Soilly, (as others call him) was abbat, who after the abbey was burnt, commanded men to dig again between those two pyramids, and at seven foot deep they found a huge broad stone, where on that side that layd downwards was found a thin plate of lead, about a foot long, in the form of a cross,* and on that side of the plate towards the stone was engraven, in rude and barbarous letters, this inscription; *Hic jacet sepultus inclytus rex Arturius in insula Avalonia.* And digging nine foot deeper his body was found in a trunk of a tree; and neer the bones of King Arthur were found those of his wife Queen Guinever, who after her husband's death retired either to the nunnery of St. Julius the Martyr, in Caerleon, or else to that of Ambrebury, in Wiltshire, from one of which places her corpse was conveyed privately to Glastonbury, and there privately buried in or near her husband's grave. The king's bones were of so great a bigness, that when his shin-bone was set to the foot of a very tall man it reached three fingers breadth above his knee; and in his skull were perceived ten wounds, one whereof was very great, and look't upon to have been the cause of his death. The queen's body seem'd to be perfect and whole, and her hair was found to be neatly platted, and of the colour of burnish't gold; but her corps being touched with the finger of one of the spectators, it fell to dust. This is reported by Leland, Stow, Speed, Bishop, Usher, and others, from Giraldus Cambrensis, who is an author of repute, and was an eye-witness to the matter of fact.

12. After the spectators had gratified their curiosities, the abbat and his monks, with great satisfaction and reverence, took all the remains of the two bodies out of their separate coffins, and putting them into decent chests made for the purpose, they deposited them first in a chappel in the south alley of the church, till such time as a monument suitable to the dignity of a king and queen

* This leaden cross was placed, by the command of the Abbat, in the treasury, and there exposed and shewn as one of the curiosities of it, till the dissolution of the Abbey.

could be made for them in the middle of the presbytery of the choir, where, in finishing the church, they erected a stately mausoleum of touchstone, nobly engraven on the outside, in which they placed the king's body by itself, at the head of the tomb, and the queen's at his feet, being the east side of it. On the west side of the tomb, that is to say where King Arthur's bones were deposited, there was engraven this inscription :

*Hic jacet Arturus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores probitas commendant laude perenni.*

And on the east side, where Queen Guinever's were placed, there was this inscription :

*Arturi jacet hic conjux tumultata secunda,
Quæ meruit cælos virtutum prole fecunda.*

And here did the remainders of this great king and his queen quietly rest some eighty-five years; at which time, that is to say, in the year 1278, King Edward the First, and his wife Queen Elianor, partly out of devotion, and partly out of curiosity, came to Glastonbury, attended by many of the topping men of the nation, clergy as well as nobility. Whereupon the 19th of April they caused King Arthur's tomb to be opened, and both the shrines to be taken out of the monumant, which when the Court and its attendants had throughly viewed, King Edward opened the shrine wherein King Arthur's bones laid, and Queen Elianor the chest wherein were those of Queen Guinever, and then each of them taking the respective bones out of their respective chests, they exposed them on two credences, or side tables, neer the high altar, till the next morning, for every one, that had a mind, to gratify their curiosity; and early the next morning, being the Wednesday before Easter, the King and Queen, with great honour and respect, wrapt up all the bones (excepting the two skulls, which were set up and to remain in the treasury) in rich shrouds or mantles, and placing them again in their separate shrines, the King put into that of Arthur's this following inscription: *Hæc sunt ossa nobilissimi regis Arturii, quæ anno dominicæ incarnationis 1278, decimo tertio calend. Maii, per dominum Eadueardum, regem Angliæ illustrem, hic fuerunt sic collocata, præsentibus Leonora, serenissima ejusdem regis consorte, et filia domini Ferrandi regis Hispaniæ, magistro Gulielmo de Middleton, tunc Norwicensi electo, magistro Thoma de Becke, archidiacono Dorsetensi, et prædicti regis thesaurario, domino Henrico de Lascey, comite Lincolnæ, domino Amadio comite Sabaudia, et multis magnatibus Angliæ.* And then the King and Queen fixing their royal signets to each chest, they caused the chest to be placed in the old mausoleum, where they remained undisturbed about two hundred and fifty years, that is to say, till the dissolution of the Abbey in King Henry the Eighth's days; "and then this noble monument, (saith Speed,) among the fatal overthrows of infinite more, was altogether razed at the dispose of some then in commission, whose over hasty actions, and too forward zeal in these behalves, hath left unto us the want of many truths, and cause to wish that some of their employments had been better spent."

13. This (I hope) will be sufficient to convince my reader that there was such a person as King Arthur; and that I have not imposed upon him in saying in the twenty-second paragraph, that he bestowed upon the Abbey of Glastonbury the towns of Brent Marsh, Poulton, and other lands; and that he was buried in the Abbey Church there. Whoever desires to know more of this great prince, let him read Leland's account of him, printed in the fifth volume of his Collectanea, and Mr. Cressy's eleventh book of his Church History, from whence, in a great measure, all that is said of him here is taken.

Nº. II.

CARTA INÆ REGIS. Mon. Ang. Nov. Edit. No. 1, Append. No. vi.

In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Ina rex, decreto et consilio præsulis nostri Adelmi, simulque cunctorum Dei sacerdotum suggestio, et monachorum petitione qui in parochia West-Saxonum conversantur, hanc libertatem monachis, qui in ecclesia beate Dei genetricis Mariæ, et beati Patricii, omnipotenti Deo, sub Abbate Hemgislo famulantur, in pristina urbe que dicitur *Glastingay* impendo, et hanc privilegii dignitatem super altare pono, ut sine impedimento sæcularium rerum, et absque tributo fiscalium negotiorum, liberis mentibus, soli Deo serviant, et monasticam disciplinam, Christo suffragium largiente, regulariter exerceant, et pro statu et prosperitate regni nostri, et indulgentia commissorum criminum, ante conspectum divine majestatis preces fundere dignentur: et orationum officia frequentantes, in ecclesiis pro nostra fragillitate interpellare nitantur. Si quis vero contra hujus decreti singrapham venire temptaverit, sciat se coram Christo, novemque angelorum ordinibus, in tremendo examine rationem redditurum. Pro ampliori firmitatis testimento, principes et senatores, judices et patricios, subscribere fecimus; actum publice, et confirmatum, in *lignea basilica*, anno ab incarnationis Domini septingentesimo quarto.

Nº. III.

CHARTER of CONFIRMATION of PRIVILEGES, &c. by King Edmund to Glaston Abbey, and the Town of Glastonbury, A. D. 944. Mon. Ang. Nov. Edit. No. 1, Append. No. ix.

Concedo ecclesiæ Sancte Dei genetricis Marie Glastonie et venerabili viro Dunstano quem ibidem abbatem constitui, libertatem et potestatem jura, &c. omnium terrarum suarum, *Burghbrice Hundred-Socna, Athas, Ordela, Infangenetheofas, Hamsocna, Frithbrice, Forestealle, et Tol, et Team*, in omni regno meo, et sint terre sue sibi libere et solute ab omni calumpniâ, &c. Set (pro sed) precipue ipsa villa Glastonie, in qua celeberrima vetusta ecclesia sancte (Dei) genetricis sita est, pre ceteris sit liberior, cum terminis suis, abbati tantum ejusdem loci tantummodo potestas sit tam in notis causis quam in ignotis, &c. Et eandem auctoritatem puniendi aut dimittendi delinquentium in ea commissa habeat, quam mea curia, quemadmodum mei antecessores concesserunt: vid. pater meus Edwardus, et Elfredus pater ejus, et Kentwinus, Ines, Cuthredus, &c.

Nº. IV.

The COPY of a PAPER, relating to the Manor of Ashdowne, or Ashbury, (in Berkshire,) that belonged to Glastonbury Abbey; which Paper was lent me on the 10th instant, (viz. Nov. 10th, 1725,) by my friend Mr. George Wigan, M.A. and student of Christ-Church. Johan. Glas. apud Hearne, App. 567.

Regnante in perpetuo Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Manifestum est cunctis, quod omnia celestia et terrestria providentiâ Dei gubernantur; quæ sollicitudo mortalis vitæ totis nisibus in Carorum,

amicorumque amissione conqueritur et defletur: ideo certis astipulationibus mellita oracula diem clamationis nos frequentantinis orationibus suadet, ut cum hiis fugitivis, et sine dubio transitoriis possessionibus jugiter mansura regna Dei suffragio adipiscenda sunt. Quamobrem ego *Edredus*, rex *Anglorum*, cæterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector, cuidam mei fideli comiti, vocitato nomine *Edrigo*, ob illius amabile obsequium, ejusque placabili fidelitate, viginti mansas ei libenter largiendo, concedens perdonabo; illic ubi vulgus prisca relatione vocitat *at Ash-downe*, quatenus ille bene, &c.—This gift was made to Edrig, anno 947. To this is appended the following note:

Postea præfatus Edricus memoratum Manerium quod nunc vocatur *Ayshebury*, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, adeo plene et libere, sicut præfatus Rex illud sibi donaverat, dedit Sancto Dunstano tunc Abbati Glastoniæ, ejusdem loci conventui, ac Monasterio Glastoniæ imperpetuum possidendum offerens chartam præsentem cum jure manerii.

Abbatia de Glaston tenet Ayshebury, et semper tenuit. Tempore regis Edwardi defendit pro 40 hidis, modo pro 16 hidis, et duabus virgatis et dimidiâ. Terra est 20 caruc. In Dominio sunt 3 caruc. et 13 villani, et 26 bordarii, cum 5 carucis. Ibi 5 servi et molendinum de 10 solidis, et 200 acræ prati, et parva silva. De hac terrâ hujus maner, tenet Robertus de Clay 4 hid' et dimidium de Abbate, Alwinus 3 hidas, et Edwardus 2 hid'. Ibi sunt in dominio 5 carac', et 2 villani, et 7 bordarii, cum una caruca. Ibi ecclesia et presbyter habent unam hidam, et 4 servos. Ibi molendinum de 12 solidis 6d. Totum tempore Regis Edwardi valuit £16, et post £20. Modo quod Abbas tenet £20 et 5d. Homines 12.

Charta hæc desumitur ex registro Monasterii de Glaston. quod quidem reponitur in bibliothecâ hon. viri Vice-comitis de Weymouth, apud Palatium suum vulgo voc^m *Longleat*.

Memdum. That the said paper was transcribed by Mr. Robinson, who had lately the sinecure of Ashbury, and, upon his death, was succeeded in the same by the foresaid Mr. George Wigan.

Nº. V.

*CHARTER of CONFIRMATION by King Edred, to Glaston Abbey, of Pucklechurch, Gloucestershire.
From the Archives in the Muniment Room at Wells.*

Pax dño nro Jhū Xto cū coeterno patre et spū scō in eternum regnante, qui ineffabili modamine universa disponit, ac ne in nihilum defluant potestissime custodit. Qui rationabili hominum creatura ut mala devitans bonis perseveranter insistat, ammonet, et temporalis lucri commoda celo recondere mandat inquiens: Thesaurizate vobis thesauros in celum. Qua propter ego Eadredus, gratia divina Anglorū rex, cuidam Monasterio quod celebri Glæstingabyri nuncupatur onomate. dono quandam villā xxv cassatorum quæ *Pucelancyram* appellatur. p̄ anime ereptione fr̄is mei *Eadmundi* regis quem admodum ipse prius me annuente predicto loco condonaverat. Maneat igitur meū hoc immobile donum æterna libertate jocundum cum universis que p̄tinent. sibi. tum pascuis quā pratis. silvis. et solutum omni regali sarcina. excepto communi labore. expeditione. pontis. arcisve ædificatione. Siquis vero contra hanc munificentiam tyrannica potestate inflatus venire temptaverit. aut infringere voluerit. sciat se obstaculum ire Dei incurrere, et sancte Dei genetricis Marie et scōrum omniū et in ultimo examine corā Xto et Anglis ejus rationē reddere. Is terminibus p̄dicta trā circum nata videtur. [Here follow the boundaries in Saxon.]

- Acta est hec prefata donatio anno ab incarnatione Dñi nri Jhu Xti DCCCCL. indictione viii.
- † Ego Eadredus, rex Anglorum, prefatā donationē firmavi ut firmam p̄maneat et signum triumphale agie crucis p̄prie manus depinctione impressi.
 - † Ego Eadgifu genetrix p̄fati regis consensum prebui.
 - † Ego Oda archiēps ejusdem regis principāt et benevolentiam sub sigillo sce crucis conclusi.
 - † Ego Wulstanus archiēps consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Ælsige episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Wulfsige episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Alfwold episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Osulf episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Brihthelm episcopus consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Æthestan dux consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Æthelsige dux consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Eadmund dux corroboravi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Brihtferth dux consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Ælsige minist. consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Ælfnod minist. consensi et subscripsi.
 - † Ego Dunstan abbas ad confirmandam hujus libertatis cartulam signum sc̄e crucis exaravi.

Hanc cartulam ego Eadredus rex propā manu sup. altare Dñi in vetusta basilica sc̄e dī genetricis Marie posui. deprecans Dñm n̄rum ut siquis tm̄ inflatus phylargirie seductus amentia quō n̄ optamus hanc n̄re munificentie largitatē ausu temerario infringere tēptavit sit, ipse avenatus a consortio sc̄e dī ecclē. necnon a participatione sacros̄ci corporis et sanguinis Jhu Xti Filii Dī p̄ quē totus trārū orbis ab antiq̄o humani generis inimico liberatus est et cum Juda cū proditore sinistra in parte deputatus. ni p̄ius hic digna satisfactione humilis penituerit q̄d contra n̄rm decret' rebellis agere pr̄sumpsit. nec in vita hac practica veniā. nec in theōrica requiē Apostatus obtineat ullā sed eternis barathri incendiis trusus cum Annania et Saphyra miserrimus p̄petualiter crucietur. Amen.

(Endorsed) † hoc to pucelan cyrcean DCCCCL.

Nº. VI.

EXTRACT from DOMESDAY BOOK, as far as relates to the Possessions of the Abbey of Glaston, within the County of Somerset.

Terra Sanctæ Marie Glastingberiensis.

ECCLESIA GLASTINGBERIENSIS habet in ipsa villa 12 hid. quæ nunquam geldaver. Terra est 30 car. De ea sunt in dominio 10 hidæ dimid. virg. minus & ibi 5 car. & 17 servi & 21 villani & 23 bord. cum 5 car. Ibi 8 fabri & 3 arpenz vineæ & 60 ac. prati & 200 ac. pasturæ & 20 ac. silvæ & 300 ac. silvæ minutæ. Valet 20 lib.

Huic M. adjacet insula quæ vocatur MERE. Ibi sunt 60 ac. terræ. Terra 1 car. quæ ibi est & 10 piscatores & 3 piscariæ redd. 20 den. & 6 ac. prati & 6 ac. silvæ et 2 arpenz vineæ. Valet 20 solid.

Alia insula pertinet ibi quæ vocatur PADENEBERIE. Ibi sunt 6 ac. terræ & 3 arpenz vineæ & unus bord. Valet 4 solid.

Tercia insula adjacet ibi & vocatur EDERESIGE, in qua sunt 2 hidæ quæ nunq. geldaver. Ibi est 1 car. cum 1 bord. & 2 ac. prati & una ac. silvæ minutæ. Valet 15 solid. Goduinus ten. de abbate.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. WINESCOME. T. R. E. geldabat pro 15 hid. Terra est 30 car. De ea sunt in dominio 5 hidæ una verg. minus & ibi 2 car. & 3 servi & 28 villani & 6 bord. cum 9 car. Ibi molin. red. 5 solid. & 60 ac. prati & una leu. pasturæ in long. & lat. Silva 2 leu. long. & una leu. lat.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. de Abbate Rogerius 2 hid. et dim. Radulfus 1 hid. et unam vīrg. Pipe dim. hid. Ibi sunt 5 car. Hoc M. valet abbati 8 lib. Hominibus ejus 55 solid.

De terra hujus M. ten. Episcopus Constantiens. de Rege 1 hid. & val. 20 solid. Brictric libere tenuit T. R. E. sed non poterat ab æcclesia separari.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. MIDELTONE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 6 hid. Terra est 6 car. De ea sunt in dominio 4 hidæ & 7 ac. & ibi 2 car. & 8 villani & 6 bord. cum 4 car. Ibi 50 ac. prati & 100 ac. pasturæ. Valuit & val. 6 lib.

Rogerus ten. de Æcclesia LIDEFORD. Aluuardus tenuit T. R. E. nec poterat ab æcclesia separari & geldabat pro 4 hid. Terra est 5 car. De ea sunt in dominio 3 hidæ & dimid. virg. terræ & ibi 2 car. & 6 servi & 6 villani & 3 bord. cum 1 car. & dim. Ibi molin. redd. 10 sol. & 40 ac. prati. Valuit & val. 4 lib.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. SAPESWICH. T. R. E. geldabat pro 30 hid. Terra est 40 car. Præt. hanc habet abb. terram 20 car. quæ nunq. geld. Ibi sunt 12 car. [villanorum] & alibi 4 car. in dominio & 6 servi & 5 coliberti & 15 villani & 16 bord. Ibi 60 ac. prati & 60 ac. pasturæ & 57 ac. silvæ minutæ. De his 30 hid. ten. Rogerius de Abbate 5 hid. in Sutone & 5 hid. in Eduuinetone & 5 hid. in Ceptone & 5 hid. in Caldecote. Has teneb. 14 taini T. R. E. & non poterant ab æcclesia separari. Ibi sunt in dominio 9 car. & 11 servi & 19 villani & 23 bord. cum 8 car. & dimid. Ibi 100 ac. prati una minus & 31 ac. silvæ minutæ. De eisd. 30 hid. ten. Aluredus 5 hid. in Hvnlauintone & ibi habet 2 car. Ibi 5 servi & 12 villani & 8 bord. cum 6 car. De ead. terra ten. Warmund dimid. id. de Abbate & ibi habet 1 car. & 4 bord. Val. 10 sol. Hoc M. valet Abbati 12 lib. Rogerio 19 lib. Aluredo 7 lib.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. SOWI. T. R. E. geldabat pro 12 hid. Terra est 20 car. De ea sunt in dominio 5 hidæ & ibi 2 car. & 2 servi & 12 coliberti & 27 villani & 13 bord. cum 14 car. Ibi 30 ac. prati & 12 ac. silvæ minutæ. Valuit 10 lib. Modo 24 lib.

Walterius ten. de Abbate COSINTONE. Aluvin [Pic] tenuit de Abbate T. R. E. & geldabat pro 3 hid. Terra est 6 car. De ea est in dominio 1 hida & ibi 1 car. & 4 servi & 9 villani & 9 bord. cum 5 car. Ibi 10 ac. prati & 2 ac. silvæ minutæ. Valuit & val. 6 lib.

Rogerus ten. de Abbate DEREERGE. Osuuald tenuit de abbate T. R. E. & geldabat pro 2 hid. Terra est 3 car. Ibi sunt 3 villani & 3 bord. cum 2 car. & in dominio dimid. car. & 11 ac. prati & 20 ac. pasturæ & 10 ac. silvæ. Val. 30 solid. Cum recep. 40 solid. valeb.

Ailuuacre ten. de Abbate BLACHEFORD. Alnod tenuit de Abbate T. R. E. & geldabat pro 4 hid. Terra est 6 car. In dominio sunt 3 car. & 5 servi & 7 villani & 10 bord. cum 4 car. Ibi 115 ac. prati & 43 ac. pasturæ & 47 ac. silvæ. Valet 100 sol. Quando recep. 4 lib.

Godescal ten. de Abbate STAWELLE. Aluuard tenuit T. R. E. & geldabat pro 2 hid. & dimid. Terra est 2 car. & dim. In dominio est 1 car. & 3 servi & 3 bord. cum 1 car. & 20 ac. prati. Valet 40 sol. Quando recep. 5 solid.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. WALTONE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 30 hid. Terra est 40 car. De ea sunt in dominio 10 hidæ & ibi 4 car. & 4 servi & 17 villani & 12 bord. cum 18 car. Ibi 50 ac. prati. Pastura 7 quarent. long. & una quarent. lat. Silva 7 quarent. long. & 3 quarent. lat. Valet Abbati 15 lib.

De his 30 hid. ten. de Abbate Rogerius 5 hid. in CONTONE. Walterius 3 hid. in AISSECOTE & 3 hid. in PEDEWELLE. Qui teneb. T. R. E. non poterant ab æcclesia separari. In dominio sunt ibi 3 car. & 6 servi & 15 villani & 12 bord. cum 8 car. Rogerius habet 20 acras prati & 6 quarent. silvæ long. & una quarent. lat. Walterius 12 ac. prati & 40 ac. silvæ minutæ. Int. eos valet 8 lib.

Rogerius ten. de Abbate BODESLEGE. Winegod tenuit T. R. E. & geldabat pro 3 virg. terræ. Terra est 1 car. & dim. quæ ibi sunt cum 7 bord. Ibi 6 ac. prati & 2 ac. silvæ. Valet 10 solid.

Idem Ro. ten. de Abbate DONDEME. Algar tenuit T. R. E. & geldabat pro 5 hid. Terra est 4 car. De ea sunt in dominio 3 hidæ & dim. virg. terræ & ibi 2 car. & 4 servi & 5 villani & 10 bord. cum 3 car. Ibi 40 ac. prati & 10 ac. silvæ. Valet 100 solid.

Idem Ro. ten. de Abbate AISSECOTE & pertin. ad WALTONE M. Abbatis. T. R. E. geldabat pro 2 hid. Terra est 3 car. Ibi sunt 2 villani & 3 bord. & 2 servi cum 1 car. & 4 ac. prati. Valuit & val. 40 solid.

Girardus ten. de Abbate GRAINTONE. Vlmer tenuit T. R. E. & geldabat pro 2 hid. & dim. Terra est 2 car. & dimid. In dominio est 1 car. & 5 servi & 2 bord. & 2 coliberti cum 1 car. Ibi 20 ac. prati & 3 ac. silvæ. Valet & valuit 50 solid.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. LEGA. T. R. E. geldabat pro 4 hid. Terra est 10 car. De ea sunt in dominio 2 hidæ. Una ex his fuit teinland non tamen poterat ab æcclesia separari. In dominio sunt 4 car. cum 1 servo & 7 villani & 10 bord. cum 5 car. Ibi 35 ac. prati & 30 ac. pasturæ & 6 ac. silvæ. Valet 8 lib.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. HAME. T. R. E. geldabat pro 17 hid. Terra est 20 car. De ea sunt in dominio 5 hidæ & 2 virg. & dim. & ibi 3 car. & 5 servi & 22 villani & 21 bord. cum 8 car. Ibi 30 ac. prati & 16 ac. silvæ. Valet 10 lib.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. de Abbate Robertus 1 hid. & unam virg. & Serlo 5 hid. Girardus 3 virg. terræ. Leuric & Aluold & Almar tenuer. T. R. E. nec poterant ab æcclesia separari. In dominio sunt 2 car. 4 servi & 2 villani & 14 bord. cum 2 car. Ibi 30 ac. prati & 20 ac. pasturæ. Valet inter tot. 110 solid.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. BODVCHELEI. T. R. E. geldabat pro 20 hid. Terra est 20 car. De ea sunt in dominio 5 hidæ & ibi 5 car. & 7 servi & 11 villani & 7 bord. cum 6 car. Ibi 30 ac. prati & 100 ac. silvæ. Valet abbati 10 lib.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. Turstinus 8 hid. Rogerius 2 hid. Duo taini teneb. de æcclesia T. R. E. & non poterant inde separari. In dominio sunt ibi 4 car. & 6 servi & 11 villani & 6 bord. cum 3 car. Ibi 14 ac. prati & 12 ac. silvæ minutæ. Valuit & val. 7 lib. int. eos.

De eadem terra ten. Allestan de Abbate dimid. hid. & ibi habet 1 car. Valet 10 sol.

Hunfridus ten. de Rege 2 hid. in LODREFORD & pertin. huic M. Aluric teneb. T. R. E. nec poterat ab æcclesia separari. Terra est 2 car. Valet 20 solid.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. PILTONE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 20 hid. Terra est 30 car. Præter hanc habet abbas ibi terram 20 car. quæ nunq. geldavit. In dominio sunt 10 car. & 15 servi & 21 villani & 42 bord. cum 10 car. supra terram non geldantur. Ibi 2 molini redd. 10 solid. & 46 ac. prati & 40 ac. pasturæ. Silva 1 leu. long. & dim. leu. lat. De terra quæ non geld. ten. Alnod. monach. 1 hid. liberalit. de Abbate concessu Regis. Hæc tainland fuit nec potest ab æcclesia separari. Totum valet 24 lib. Valuit 16 lib.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. Rogerius in SEPETONE 6 hid. & dimid. & in CORISTONE 3 hid. Vluert & Elmer tenuer. T. R. E. & non poterant ab æcclesia separari. In dominio sunt 3 car. & 8 servi & 13 villani & 19 bord. cum 6 car. Ibi 2 molini redd. 6 solid. & 3 denar. & 50 ac. prati & 42 ac. silvæ minutæ. Pastura 3 quarent. long. & una quarent. lat. Valet tot. 9 lib.

De eadem terra ejusdam M. ten. de Abbate Adret 5 hid. in VTONE & Serlo 5 hid. in PILLE & Radulfus 2 hid. in ipsa PILTONE. Qui teneb. T. R. E. non poterant ab æcclesia separari. In dominio sunt ibi 4 car. & dimid. & 8 servi & 8 villani & 18 bord. cum 3 car. Ibi 2 molini redd. 4 sol. & 6 den. & 36 ac. prati & dimid. & 20 ac. pasturæ & 4 ac. silvæ. Tot. valet 7 lib. & 10 sol. int. eos.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. PENNARMINSTRE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 10 hid. Ibi sunt tamen 20 hidæ. Terra est 12 car. De ea sunt in dominio 12 hidæ & ibi 5 car. & 4 servi & 17 villani & 9 bord. & 10 cotar. cum 6 car. Ibi 30 ac. prati & 40 ac. pasturæ. Silva 1 leu. & dimid. long. & 4 quarent. lat. Valet Abbati 12 lib.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. Serlo de Abbate 1 hid. Ailmarus tenuit T. R. E. Ibi sunt 4 villani habentes 2 car. & 8 ac. prati & 30 ac. silvæ. Valuit & val. 30 sol.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. BALTVNESBERGE. T. R. E. geldab. pro 5 hid. Terra est 6 car. De ea sunt in dominio 4 hidæ & una virg. & ibi 2 car. & 4 servi & 5 villani & 9 bord. & 3 cotar. cum 2 car. Ibi molin. redd. 5 solid. & 30 ac. prati. Silva una leu. & dim. long. & dimid. leu. lat. Valuit & val. 6 lib.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. DOLTIN. T. R. E. geldabat pro 20 hid. Terra est 20 car. De ea sunt in dominio 12 hidæ & ibi 2 car. & 5 servi & 10 villani & 6 bord. & 4 cotar. cum 6 car. Ibi 30 ac. prati & 60 ac. pasturæ & 60 ac. silvæ minutæ. Valet Abbati 14 lib.

De hac terra ten. Rogerius 3 hid. & unam virg. terræ in CERLETONE & alibi 2 hid. & 3 virg. terræ. In dominio est una car. cum 1 servo & 8 villani & 6 bord. cum 2 car. Ibi molin. redd. 9 denar. & 23 ac. prati & 10 ac. pasturæ & 30 ac. silvæ minutæ. Valet 100 solid.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. BATECVMBE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 20 hid. Terra est 16 car. De ea sunt in dominio 9 hidæ & 3 virg. terræ & ibi 2 car. & 6 servi & 4 villani & 14 bord. cum 3 car. Ibi molin. redd. 5 solid. & 20 ac. prati & 6 ac. pasturæ & 40 ac. silvæ. Valet Abbati 20 lib.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. Rogerius 2 hid. Vluui tenuit T. R. E. & non poterat ab æcclesia separari. Ibi habet 1 car. cum 1 servo & 3 bord. Ibi 12 ac. prati & 10 ac. pasturæ. Valet 20 solid.

De ipsa terra ejusdem M. ten. Azelinus in WESTCVMBE 7 hid. & 3 virg. terræ. Alfhillia tenuit T. R. E. & non poterat ab æcclesia separari. In dominio sunt 2 car. & 6 villani & 7 bord. & 6 cotar. cum 1 servo habent. 2 car. & dimid. Ibi 2 molini redd. 5 solid. & 12 ac. prati & 12 ac. pasturæ & 16 ac. silvæ. Valet 4 lib. & 10 solid. Duæ hidæ de hac terra fuerunt de terra villanorum & aliæ virg. erant tainland.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. MVLE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 20 hid. Terra est 20 car. De ea sunt in dominio 10 hidæ & ibi 2 car. & 2 servi & 8 villani & 7 bord. & 5 cotar. cum 3 car. Ibi molin. redd. 5 solid. & 15 ac. prati & 12 ac. pasturæ. Silva 1 leu. long. & 2 quarent. lat. Valet abbati 10 lib.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. Godeue de Abbate 1 hid. Vir ejus tenuit T. R. E. nec poterat ab Æcclesia separari. Valet 78 den.

Episcopus Constantiensis ten. de Rege 5 hid. & dim. pertinent. huic M. Duo taini teneb. T. R. E. sed non poterant ab Æcclesia separari. Azelinus ten. de Episcopo.

Walterius ten. de Abbate in WATELEI 4 hid. Vlgar [Monac.] tenuit T. R. E. & non poterat ab Æcclesia separari. Terra est 4 car. De ea sunt in dominio 2 hidæ & dimid. & ibi 2 car. & 4 servi &

8 villani & 5 bord. cum 2 car. Ibi molin. redd. 5 sol. & 6 ac. prati & 50 ac. pasturæ & 14 ac. silvæ. Val. 70 sol.

In eodem M. ten. Johannes de Abbate 1 hidam de terra villanorum. Terra est 1 car. quæ ibi est cum 2 villanis. Valet 15 solid.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. WERITONE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 20 hid. Terra est 32 car. De ea sunt in minio 11 hidæ & ibi 6 car. & 7 servi & 41 villani & 12 bord. cum 20 car. Ibi 3 molini redd. 14 sol. & 2 denar. & 44 ac. prati & 200 ac. pasturæ. Silva 2 leu. long. & tantund. lat. Valet Abbati 30 lib.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. Rogerius 1 hid. & dimid. de Abbate. Unus tainus tenuit T. R. E. & non poterat ab æcclesia separari. Ibi sunt 3 car. & 2 villani & 6 bord. Valet 30 solid.

De ipsa terra ten. Saulf 1 hid. & dim. Ipse tenuit T. R. E. Ibi habet 1 car. & dimid. & unus villanus cum 4 cotar. habent. 1 car. Valet 30 solid.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. MONECHETONE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 15 hid. Terra est 20 car. De ea ten. Walchel Episcopus de Abbate 5 hid. & unam virg. terræ in dominio & ibi 3 car. & 7 servi & 20 villani & 7 bord. cum 7 car. Ibi 20 ac. prati & 100 ac. pasturæ & 24 ac. silvæ. Valet 7 lib.

In ipsa villa ten. Rogerius de Abbate 4 hid. & 3 virg. terræ & Serlo 2 hid. & dimid. Qui teneb. T. R. E. non poterant ab æcclesia separari. Ibi sunt 4 car. in dominio & 3 servi & 8 villani & 11 bord. cum 2 car. & dimid. & 19 ac. prati & 40 ac. pasturæ. Valet inter eos 4 lib. & 10 solid.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. MERCESBERIE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 10 hid. Terra est 8 car. De ea sunt in dominio 4 hid. & dim. & ibi 2 car. & 5 servi & 6 villani & 5 bord. cum 3 car. Ibi 19 ac. prati & 40 ac. silvæ. Valet 10 lib. De hac terra ten. unus tainus 2 hid. et dimid. Valet 20 solid. Osualdus tenuit T. R. E. et non potuit ab æcclesia separari.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. DICESGET. T. R. E. geldabat pro 30 hid. Terra est 30 car. De ea sunt in dominio 3 hidæ & ibi 3 car. & dimid. & 2 servi & 13 villani & 18 bord. & 3 coscez. cum 7 car. Ibi molin. redd. 7 solid. & 5 den. & 40 ac. prati et pastura 6 quarent. long. & 2 quarent. lat. Silva una leu. et dim. long. et quarent. lat. Valet Abbati 12 lib.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. de Abbate Serlo 5 hid. & dim. in HORBLAWETONE. Radulfus 6 hid. & dim. in ALENTONE. Nigellus 5 hid. & dimid. in LAMIETA. Qui teneb. T. R. E. non poterant ab æcclesia separari. In dominio sunt 4 car. & 4 servi & 29 villani & 12 bord. & 3 coscez. cum 15 car. Ibi 3 molini redd. 13 sol. & 4 den. & 55 ac. prati & 20 ac. pasturæ. Silva 9 quarent. long. & una quarent. & dimid. lat. Tot. val. inter eos 14 lib. and 10 solid. Valuit 11 lib.

De eisdem 30 hid. ten. de Rege Alfric & Eurardus 1 hid. Hanc tenuit unus tainus T. R. E. nec potuit ab Æcclesia separari. Valet 20 solid.

De eisdem 30 hid. ten. Comes Morit. de Rege 7 hid. Has tenebat unus tainus de Abbate T. R. E. nec poterat ab æcclesia separari. Valet 100 sol.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. CAMELERTONE. Edmer tenuit T. R. E. & geldabat pro 10 hid. Terra est 10 car. De ea sunt in dominio 7 hidæ & ibi 2 car. & 8 servi & 6 villani & 6 bord. cum 2 car. Ibi 2 molini redd. 5 solid. & 80 ac. prati & 20 ac. pasturæ & 40 ac. silvæ. Valet 7 lib.

De hac terra hujus M. ten. Rogerius de Abbate 1 hid. & ibi habet 1 car. cum 1 servo & 1 bord. Ibi 10 ac. prati & 6 ac. silvæ. Val. 10 sol. Hoc M. ded. com. Moriton Abbati pro excambio TVTENELLE.

Harding ten. de Abbate CRENEMELLE. Ipse tenuit similit. T. R. E. & geldabat pro 12 hid. Terra est 10 car. De ea sunt in dominio 6 hidæ & ibi una car. & 6 servi & 8 villani & 2 bord. & 7 cotar. cum 3 car. Ibi molin. redd. 30 den. & 50 ac. prati & 60 ac. pasturæ & 100 ac. silvæ. Valet 4 lib. Hæc terra non potest separari ab æcclesia.

Ipsa Æcclesia ten. BRENTMERSE. T. R. E. geldabat pro 20 hid. Terra est 30 car. De ea sunt in dominio 4 hidæ & ibi 8 car. & 5 servi & 50 villani & 47 bord. cum 16 car. & 20 ac. prati. Valet Abbati 50 lib.

De his 20 hid. ten. de Abbate Rogerius 1 hid. Radulfus 5 virg. Alfrie 5 virg. Goduinus 1 hid. & dim. Qui teneb. de Abbate T. R. E. non poterant ab æcclesia separari. In dominio sunt ibi 4 car. cum 1 servo & 3 villani & 5 bord. & 10 cotar. cum 3 car. Valet inter eos 4 lib. & 10 sol.

Walcinus ten. de Abbate LODENWRDE. Unus tainus tenuit T. R. E. nec poterat ab æcclesia separari & geldabat pro 2 hid. Terra est 5 car. In dominio sunt 2 car. & 4 servi & 4 villani & 5 bord. & 5 cotar. cum 4 car. Valet 40 sol.

Erneis ten. de Abbate DVNEHEFDE. Vlgar Monachus tenuit T. R. E. & geldabat pro 3 hid. Terra est 5 car. De ea sunt in dominio 2 hidæ & ibi 3 car. cum 5 villanis & 4 bord. Ibi 5 ac. prati. Pastura 5 quarent. long. et 2 quarent. lat. Silva dimid. leu long. & tantundem lat. Valuit & val. 40 solid.

Siuuardus ten. 3 virg. terræ de Æcclesia Glastingberie in M. quod vocatur DINNITONE. Valet 13 solid. & 2 den.

Mauricius Episcopus ten. Æcclesiam [S. Andree] de Givelcestre cum 3 hid. terræ de Rege. Hanc teneb. Brictric T. R. E. de Æcclesia Glastingberie, nec ab ea poterat separari.

Episcopus Constant. ten. de Rege Hutone, Eleberie, Hetsecome & Stretone. Hæ terræ erant tainland T. R. E. nec poterant ab æcclesia separari. Valent 100 solid. & amplius. Æcclesia servitium inde non habet.

Comes Moriton ten. de Rege hæc M. Stane, Stoca & Stoca Dreicote. Hæ terræ fuerunt tainlande in Glastingberie T. R. E. nec poterant ab ea separari. Valent 14 lib.

Idem com. ten. in M. BODECHELIE 2 quarent. silvæ in long. & unam quarent. lat. quod fuit in Glastingberie T. R. E.

Rogerus de Corcelle habet unum M. LIMINGTON pro quo ded. pat. ejus 5 hid. in excambio quas teneb. de æcclesia Glastingberie, nec inde poterant separari. De his æcclesia servitium perdit.

Nº. VII.

CHARTA HENRICI Regis Anglie de feria apud Glastoniam, in Nativitate Sancte Marie, que duret per Septem dies. 1127.

Henricus, rex Anglie, episcopo Bathoniensi et omnibus baronibus et vicecomitatibus et omnibus fidelibus et ministris suis Francis et Anglis, de Somerseta salutem. Concedo Henrico nepoti meo abbati Glastonie, quod ecclesia sancte Marie Glastonie habeat feriam quandam in nativitate sancte Marie, que duret per septem dies, quare precipio quod omnes illi mercatores et omnes alii qui illuc veniunt meam firmam pacem et omnia sua illuc eundo et inde redeundo habeant faciendo mercata sua et reddendo inde justas consuetudines suas. Testibus Roberto de Sig. et comite Theobaldo, et comite Gloucestrie, et Willelmo de Cancia, et Andrea de Baldiniente, et Willelmo filio eidem, et Henrico filio Humfredi Aup. Archid. *Mon. Ang. Nov. Edit. App. 72.*

Nº. VIII.

*CHARTA MATILDIS IMPERATRICIS, et Reginae Angliæ.**Johan. Glaston. edit. Præfat. p. xxvii.*

Matildis imperatrix, Henrici regis filia, Anglorum regina, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, justitiariis, comitibus, baronibus, vicecomitatibus, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francicis et Anglicis, totius Angliæ, salutem. Sciatis, me concessisse Glaston. ecclesiæ, et Henrico ejusdem ecclesiæ prælato, et successor. ejus in perpetuum, omnes tenendas et possessiones ejusdem ecclesiæ, unde ecclesia et ipse saisiati et tenentes fuerunt die, quo Henricus rex, pater meus, fuit vivus et mortuus, et unde ecclesia et idem prælatus saisiati et tenentes fuerunt die dominicâ incarnationis quadragesimæ, quando venit contra me, et locutus est mecum apud Whereswell, quæ præcessit diem Lunæ quando idem prælatus et omnes Wynton me honorifice in ecclesia, et in urbe receperunt. Hæc omnia concedo et confirmo prædict. Glaston. ecclesiæ, et H. ejusdem ecclesiæ prælato et successor. ejus, integre, libere, et quiete, et honorifice possidenda, et nominatim manerium de Offeculum, cum omnibus pertinen. suis. Quare volo et firmiter præcipio, quod prænominata ecclesia et prælatus suus H. et successores sui omnia supra memorata, bene, et pacifice, et plenarie, et quiete, et libere, et integre, et honorifice teneant, in silvis et in agris, &c. Com Soco et Saca, et Tol et Tearn, et Infangthef, et Hamsokene, cum *Moneta* et *Monetariis*, et cum omnibus libertat. inconcusse. Test. Bernardo episcopo de Sancto David, Nigello episcopo Eliensi, S. episcopo Cicestriensi, S. abbate Glovern. et multis aliis.

Nº. IX.

*CHARTA REGIS HENRICI II. super restauratione ecclesiæ Glastenburiensis, totius Angliæ et orbis christiani antiquissimæ, cum in manibus ejusdem regis existens in cineres fuisset redacta. Citante Spelmanno.**

Papæ Rom. Lucii iii. iv.

Archiepis. Cant. Baldwin. I.

Anno Christi 1184.

Reg. Ang. Hen. II. 30.

Henricus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, justitiariis, baronibus, vicecomitatibus, et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis totius Angliæ. Quod quisquis seminaverit homo hoc et metet. Ecclesiæ Glastoniensis fundamentum jaciens, quæ, dum in manu fuerat incendio consumpta, in cinerem recidit, eam Domino volente, persuadentibus Heraclio patriarcha Hierosolymitano, Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuariæ, Ricardo Wintoniensi episcopo, Bartholomæo Exoniensi episcopo, Randulpho de Glanvill, cum multiis aliis, per me aut per hæredes meos consummandam magnificentius reparare decrevi. Quæcunque etiam a prædecessoribus meis, Willielmo primo, et Willielmo secundo, et Henrico, avo meo, sed ab antiquioribus, videlicet, ab Edgardo, patre S. Edwardi, ab Edmundo, et patre ipsius Edwardi,

* Wilkin. Conc. vol. i. p. 489.

et Elfredo, avo ejusdem, Kinemricho, Kentwino, Baldredo, Ina, inclyto Arthuro, Cuthredo, et multis aliis regibus christianis; sed etiam a Kenewalla quodam rege Pagano, quorum privilegia et chartas feci diligenter inquiri, et coram me præsentari ac legi, confirmata sunt ecclesiæ prædictæ, quæ olim a quibusdam "mater sanctorum" dicta est, ab aliis "tumulus sanctorum," quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini ædificatam, et ab ipso Domino dedicatam primo fuisse, venerabilis habet antiquorum auctoritas. Ego quoque in honorem Dei, et beatissimæ Virginis, matris suæ, quæ locum illum sibi specialiter et primum in hoc regno elegit, et omnium sanctorum ibidem quiescentium, pro salute animæ meæ, et antecessorum et hæredum meorum, concedo, et hac mea charta confirmo, omnes libertates et dignitates, privilegia et liberas consuetudines, quæ a prædictis nobilibus viris collata sunt præfatæ ecclesiæ, et apostolicis sanctionibus munita, et a beatis Elphego et Dunstano archiepiscopis, et quondam loci illius monachis, et a prædecessoribus eorum, et posteris roborata. Habeat igitur et possideat sæpedita ecclesia omnes possessiones suas, et terras, et omnes forisfacturas earundem feuda, et servitiæ militum, ubicunque fuerint in toto regno meo, in pace, et quiete, libere, et inconsulte, sicut ego res meas dominicas liberius habeo. Fugitivos suos ubicunque inventi fuerint, absque omni calumnia et impedimento habeant. Et sint abbas et monachi, et familia eorum quieti per totum regnum meum de **Tolneto et Passagio**; habeat quoque eadem ecclesia et omnes terræ suæ **Soram et Sacum, on Stronde on Strene, on Wade et on Feilde, Grithbrich, et Burghbrich, hundredsetene, Athas et Ordelas, Calle Mordas** bufan eortham et benetham, **Infangenetheof et Flenenfirme, Ham-socne, Fridbrich, Forestal, Toll et Team**, sed præcipue villa Glastoniæ, in qua vetusta ecclesia genetricis Dei sita est, quæ fons et origo totius religionis Angliæ pro certo habetur, præ cæteris sit liberior cum suis insulis, scil. *Bekeria* quæ *parva Hibernia* dicitur, *Godeneia, Martinescia, Feramere, Patenebergia, Adredescia*, ut nullus hominum, rex, archiepiscopus, episcopus, justitiarius, vicecomes, forestarius, vel alius ballivus, sive minister, vel alius aliquis hominum, audeat intrare prædicta loca, causa placitandi, aut perscrutandi, aut capiendi, aut aliud faciendi, quod ecclesiæ dignitati, vel inibi Deo servientibus contrarium esse possit aut molestiæ: sed abbati tantum, et conventui sit potestas in causis, tam notis quam in ignotis, in modicis et in magnis, et in omnibus omnino negotiis tractandis et terminandis, concedo etiam eisdem eandem auctoritatem et potestatem puniendi et dimittendi commissi delinquentium in locis prædictis, quam mea dominica curia habet; et quantum ad regiam majestatem pertinet, volo et præcipio, sicut prædecessores mei statuerunt et summi pontifices sanxerunt, necnon et ecclesiæ Cantuariensis prælati confirmaverunt, sed et episcopi diocesani assensum præstantes roboraverunt, quod eadem ecclesia, cum præfatis insulis et cum septem ecclesiis ei subiectis, scil. de *Strete, Piltona, Dichesgata, Budekeleia, Schapewica, Merelinge, Sowi*, cum capellis earum, presbyteris, clericis, et servientibus, libera sit omnino ab omni jurisdictione episcopi Bathoniensis, sic ut mea propria corona; benedictionem quoque abbatis ordines, et omnia sacramenta ab episcopo celebranda, a quocunque voluerint episcopo faciant fieri. Habeant quoque monachi libertatem, potestatem, et dignitatem eligendi et constituendi sibi rectorem juxta regulam beati Benedicti, sine omni contradictione et impedimento. Sed nec aliquis omnino hominum in ecclesia Glastoniensi, aut in prædictis insulis vel ecclesiis aut capellis suis quacunque ex causa præsumat cathedram episcopalem statuere siquid tandem amplius regum vel pontificum privilegiis ecclesiæ sæpius memoratæ, quod ad dignitatem vel libertatem faciat, collatum fuerit ratum et inconvulsum esse volo in perpetuum et firmiter observari ab universis præcipio. Valde namque verendum et omnibus modis cavendum est tot sanctorum regum et pontificum contraire privilegiis, quibus ecclesia illa hactenus insignita est, ne tot sanctorum maledictiones in renitentes datæ vel alio modo statuere præsumentes incurran-
tur. Testibus Heraclio patriarcha Hierosolymitano, Willielmo Remensi archiepiscopo, Baldewino archiep. Cantuariensi, Richardo Winton episcopo, Bartholomæo Exoniensi episcopo, Reginaldo

Bathoniensi episcopo, Willielmo comite de Mandevill, Randulpho de Glanvill, et multis aliis, apud Westmonasterium.

Nº. X.

PRIVILEGIUM CELESTINI tercii de usu Mitre et Anuli, et Sacerdotalibus Vestimentis benedicendis.

Mon. Ang. Append. No. liv. Nov. Edit.

Celestinus episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis, Henrico abbati et fratribus de Glastonia salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Decor apostolice culminis et dignitatis augetur, cum ecclesiarum status integer et incolumis custoditur, et unicuique honor suus et dignitas conservatur; ea propter petitioni tue gratuitum et benignum impacientes assensum tibi, filii abbas, et successoribus tuis mitre et anuli, cirotecarum, Dalmatice, tunice et sandaliorum, necnon et vestimenta sacerdotalia benedicendi de consueta clemencia et de benignitate sedis apostolice duximus concedendum, indulgentes in hiis omnibus et solemnibus diebus infra monasterium vestrum et obediencias ejus in processionibus quoque ipsius monasterii conciliis. Romanus pontifex et legati ejus atque in sinodis episcoporum incunctanter utamini, statuentes ut nulli omnino homini liceat hanc paginam nostre concessionis infringere vel ei aliquatenus contrahere; si quis autem hoc attemptare præsumpserit, indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Laterani decimo Kalend. Martii pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Nº. XI.

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION by Robert, Prior of Bath, of a grant by Savaric, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to the Sacristy of Glaston. of the Church of St. John the Baptist, of Northbinne, with the chapel of Pennard. [Communicated by the Rev. Jos. Hunter, Bath.]

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Robertus Prior et Conventus Bathon salutem in Domino. Ad universitatis vestre volumus devenire noticiam nos ratam et gratam habere donationem quam pie recordacionis venerabilis Episcopus noster Savaricus provide deliberatione fecit Sacristarie de Glaston super ecclesiam Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Northbinne cum capella de Pennard, et omnibus earundem pertinenciis dicte Sacristarie de Glaston, in usus proprios in perpetuum concessa. Salva honesta sustentatione ministrorum eam deservientium. In hujus igitur rati habitionis nostre testimonium presens scriptum sigilli nostri munimine duximus communiendum.

BULLA HONORII III. Papæ de dissolutione unionis Bathon. et Glaston. Ecclesiarum.

Ex. Reg. Well. Anno Dom. 1218, 3 Henry III.

Honorius, servus servorum Dei, vener. fratri episcopo Bathon. ejusque successor.....Cum inter te, et priorem, et conventum Glaston. super unione Bath. et Glaston. ecclesiarum quam ipsi dissolvi petebant fuisset quæstio diutius agitata.....Nos.....vener. fratri nostro R. Saresbur. episcopo, et Pandulpho Norwicen. electo, camerario nostro, sedis apostolicæ legato, nostris dedimus literis in mandatis, ut tam te quam priorem et convent. prædictos ad concordiam prudenter moverent: sed quia legatus interesse non potuit, commiset vices suas abbati de Radinges, coram quibus cum tu personaliter, et illi per procuratores comparuissetis, tandem in compositionem amicabilem convenistisquam auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, unionemque prædictam penitus dissolventes, statuimus, ut monasterium Glaston. de cætero sub proprii abbatis regimine a conventu libere eligendi juxta regulares observantias gubernetur.....salvo jure patronatus quod rex Johannes tibi contulit in monasterio supradicto. Dat. Romæ 16 cal. Junii indict. vii. MCCXVIII. pontif. III.....

Compositio inter eos fuit talis. Quod de portione, quæ cesserat in partem episcopi per ordinationem Innocentii Papæ III. remanebunt ipsi episcopo, et successoribus suis in perpetuum, maneria de *Wynescumbe*, *Pukeleschirch*, *Blakeford*, et *Cranemer*; de portione etiam, quæ per ordinationem prædictam monachis cesserat, remiserunt dicti monachi eidem episcopo et success. suis sectam, quam prædictum manerium de *Cranemer* faciebat hundredo eorum revertentur autem ad monachos prædictos de portione ipsius episcopi maneria subscripta, *Mere*, *Bokeland*, *Kynton*, *Cristemeleford*, *Badebyr*, et *Aissebyr*, cum libertatibus, per episcopum eisdem acquisitis quantum in eo est et omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis exceptis advocationibus ecclesiarum. De militibus ita quoque convenit quod episcopus habeat et successores sui in perpetuum illam partem militum, qui pertinere noscuntur ad feuda, et terras ipsi episcopo remanentes, et præterea feudum et servitium unius militis in *Kamelarton* cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Monachi vero haberunt omnes alios milites de portione episcopi ad eos reversura, et tam de illis quam aliis, quos prius habuerant per ordinationem memoratam, excepto feudo de *Kamelarton* quod respondebit episcopis immediate; facient servitium regale prædicto episcopo et succ. suis in perpetuum. Et episcopus et succ. sui per manus suas illud facient domino regi, et inde eos erga dominum regem acquietabunt. De spiritualibus autem et spiritualibus annexis partes eadem ordinationi dicti episcopi Salesbir. et abbatis sese pure et absolute commiserunt; qui ordinarunt, quod dictus episcopus et succ. sui habeant patronatum monasterii Glaston. advocationes etiam ecclesiarum de *Aissebyr*, *Cristemeleford*, *Kynton*, et *Bokeland*, quæ prius per ordinationem episcopo remanserant et advocationem ecclesiæ de *Kamelarton*. Habebunt etiam dicti episcopus et succ. sui in perpetuum plenam jurisdictionem in monasterio Glaston. ad diocesanum jure ordinariæ potestatis pertinentium. Idem autem episcopus concessit monachis liberaliter, quod ad eos revertatur advocatio ecclesiæ de *Mere* quæ prius in portionem episcopi devenerat, et quod habeant antiquas et debitas pensiones, scil. de ecclesia de *Pukeleschirch*, *Wynescumbe*, et *Kamelarton*, quarum advocationes episcopis remanebant. Hæc concordia confirmatur per dominum Papam.

Nº. XIII.

INDULGENCIA (Abbati et Conventui Monasterii Glastoniensis concessa) de utendis Pilleis.

E cod. MS. vet. in Bib. Coll. Trin. Cantab. fol. 93, b.

Innocencius, &c. venerabili fratri archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilectorum filiorum abbatis et conventus monasterii Glastoniensis, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Bathoniensis diocesis, fuit nobis humiliter supplicatum, ut, cum idem monasterium sit in frigido loco constructum, propter quod ipsis frequenter periculosum existit discoopertis capitibus interesse divinis, utendi pilleis eis de benignitate sedis apostolicæ licenciam concedere curaremus. Ipsorum igitur supplicationibus inclinati, fraternitati tuæ presencium tenore committimus, ut cum eis, quod pilleos, eorum ordini congruentes, deferre valeant, auctoritate nostra dispenses. Dat. Lug. iiii. Idus Marcii, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

B. divina permissione Cantuariensis episcopus, tocius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Christo filiis abbati et conventui monasterii Glastoniensis, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Bathoniensis diocesis, salutem in vero salutari. Noveritis nos Domini papæ recepisse sub hac forma. Innocencius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte dilectorum filiorum abbatis et conventus Glastoniensis, &c. ut supra. Hujus igitur auctoritate mandati, ut pilleis, ordine vestro congruentibus, uti possitis, secundum mandatum apostolicum, vobiscum duximus dispensandum. Dat. Altecombe xvii. kal. April. anno domini M°.CC°. quadragesimo septimo.*

Nº. XVI.

HENRICI III. CHARTA Cænobio Glastoniensi.

Fol. 88. a. Secretum Domini fo. 82.

Henricus, Dei gracia rex Angliæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, &c. Quod nos inspeximus cartam inclitæ recordacionis Regis Henrici, avi nostri, concessam ecclesiæ Glastoniensi in hæc verba. Henricus, Dei gracia, &c. Quoniam quæ seminaverit homo, hæc et metet. quæcunque a prædecessoribus meis, W. primo, secundo, et Henrico avo meo, si ab antiquioribus, videlicet, Sancto Edgardo patre Sancti Edwardi, ab Edmundo et patre ipsius Edwardi, et Elfredo avo suo ejusdem, Brinwalchio, Kenewyno, Baldredo, Ina, inclito Arturo, Cundredo, et multis aliis regibus christianis, set eciam a Kenewalla quondam rege pagano, quorum privilegia et cartas feci diligenter inquiri, et coram me presentari et legi, confirmata sunt Glastoniensi ecclesiæ, quæ olim a quibusdam Mater Sanctorum dicta est, ab aliis tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini ædificatam, et ab ipso Domino dedicatam primo fuisse, venerabilis habet antiquorum auctoritas. Ego quoque, in honorem Dei, et beatissimæ Virginis matræ suæ (quæ locum illum sibi specialem et primum hoc in regno elegit) et omnium sanctorum ibidem quiescentium, pro salutæ animæ meæ, et antecessorum et heredum meorum, concedo,

* Joh. Glaston. apud Hearne, App. No. ix. p. 580. Vide etiam Mon. Ang. Nov. Edit. Append. No. lviii. et infra.

et hac mea carta confirmo, omnes libertates et dignitates, privilegia et liberas consuetudines, quæ a prædictis nobilibus viris collata sunt præfatæ ecclesiæ, et apostolicis sanctionibus munita, et a beatis Delfego et Dunstano archiepiscopis, et quondam illius loci monachis et a prædecessoribus eorum et posteris, roborata. Habeat sibi et possideat sæpedita ecclesia omnes possessiones suas, et terras, et omnes forisfacturas eorum, fœda et servicia militum, ubicunque fuerint in toto regno meo, in pace et quiete, libere et inconcusse, sicut ego res meas dominicas liberius habeo; fugitivos suos, ubicunque inventi fuerint, absque omni calumpnia et impedimento habeant; et sint abbas, et monachi, et familia eorum quieti per totum regnum meum de towīn et pāgio. Habeat quoque eadem ecclesia, et omnes terræ suæ, Socam et Sacam, on Stronde et on Streame, on Wode et on Felde, on Grithbruche or Burhbriche, Hundredesetene, Adas et Ordela, Ealle Hordas, et Bufa Eorda, et Beneorda, Infangeneth, et Utfangeneth, et Flemene Ferdere, Hamsokne, Frithbriche, Forstal, Tol et Theam. Set præcipue villa Glastoniæ, in qua vetusta ecclesia genetricis Dei sita est, quæ fons et origo tocius religionis Angliæ pro certo habetur, præ cæteris sit liberior cum suis insulis S. Bekeria, quæ parva Hybernia dicitur, Godenya, Martinesya, Ferlyngemere, Patheneburge, Andredesya, ut nullus hominum, rex, justiciarius, vicecomes, forestarius, vel alius ballivus sive minister, vel aliquis alius hominum, audeat intrare prædicta loca, causa placitandi, aut perscrutandi, aut rapiendi, aut aliud faciendi quod ecclesiæ dignitati, vel inibi Deo servientibus, contrarium esse possit aut molestiæ; set abbati tantum et conventui sit potestas in causis, tam notis quam ignotis, in modicis et magnis, et in omnibus omnino negociis tractandis et terminandis; concedo eciam eisdem eandem auctoritatem et potestatem puniendi et dimittendi commissa delinquencium in locis prædictis, quam mea dominica curia habet. Siquid tandem amplius regum privilegiis, ecclesiæ sæpius memoratæ, quod ad dignitatem vel libertatem faciat, collatum fuerit, ratum et inconcussum esse volo in perpetuum et firmiter observari ab universis præcipio. Valde namque verendum, et omnibus modis cavendum est, tot sanctorum regum contraire privilegiis, quibus ecclesia illa hactenus insignita est, ne tot sanctorum maledicciones in renitentes datæ, vel alio modo statuere præsumentes, incurrantur. Testibus Eraclia patriarcha Ierosolymitano, Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo, Baldewyno archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Ricardo Wyntonensi episcopo, Bartholomæo Exoniensi episcopo, Reginaldo episcopo Bathoniensi, Willelmo comiti de Mandeville, Randulfo de Glanville, et multis aliis apud Westmonasterium. Nos autem omnes præscriptas libertates, dignitates, et liberas consuetudines prædictæ ecclesiæ Glastoniæ concessas, quicquid de præfata carta, quam debilem vidimus et vetustam, in posterum contigerit, ratas habemus et gratas, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris in perpetuum, et ipsas eidem ecclesiæ præsentī carta nostra in perpetuum confirmamus. Ad hoc eciam sciatis, quod nos, intuitu Dei, et pro salute animæ nostræ et animarum antecessorum et successorum nostrorum, volentes de aliquibus, quæ in supradictis tacite continentur, expressam fieri mencionem, concedimus, et hac præsentī carta nostra confirmamus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quod Rogerus abbas Glastoniensis, et monachi sui, et successores eorum, et ecclesia sua Glastoniensis, habeant in perpetuum, per omnes terras suos returnum brevium nostrorum a vicecomitibus nostris immediate ad ballivos ipsorum, tanquam adjuratos nostros. Concedimus eciam eisdem abbati, et monachis, et eorum successoribus, et ecclesiæ suæ Glastoniensi, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quod ipsi per omnes terras suas habeant in perpetuum placitandi de namio vetito. Concedimus insuper sæpeditis abbati, et monachis, et eorum successoribus, et ecclesiæ suæ Glastoniensi; et ipsi nunquam in posteram coram aliquo implacentur, nisi coram nobis, vel successoribus nostris, seu capitalibus nostris justiciariis. Concedimus insuper sæpeditis abbati, et monachis, et eorum successoribus, et ecclesiæ suæ Glastoniensi, quod eorum maneria subscripta, cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, videlicet, Deverel Lungpunt, in comitatu Wyltoniensi, Nywetone Castel, Boclonde in comitatu Dorsetensi, et Wryngtone in comitatu Sumerssetensi, et ipse abbas, et monachi sui, et suc-

cessores eorum, et ecclesia sua Glastoniensis, et omnes homines de terris et feodis suis eorundem maneriarum quæta sint in perpetuum *de expeditacione canum suorum*, de Reguardo, de inquisicione de morte bestiarum, de agistiameto, de omni jure assesa et consuetudine forestæ, et quod ex nunc semper in posterum in omnibus quibuscumque casibus et rebus penitus sint de afforestata. Concedimus et memoratis abbati, et monachis, et eorum successoribus, et ecclesiæ suæ Glastoniensi in perpetuum, si aliquo casu inciderint in materiam coram nobis, vel successoribus nostris, justiciariis, vicecomitatibus, aut quibuscumque aliis ballivis, seu ministris nostris, quod ipsi rationabiliter amercientur, solummodo secundum quantitatem delicti, et non aliter.*

Nº. XV.

NOTA ad BELLUM de BANNOKBURNE pertinens, e Boweri additionibus ad Johannem Fordunum, penes Nobilissimum comitem Oxoniensem, l. xii. c. xx.

Hujusmodi victoria Scotis cessit, ut creditur, in hoc bello (de Bannokburne), diversis ex causis. Tum primo quia rex Angliæ injustum contra Scotos movit bellum, quia injusta de causa et iniquo animo. Tum quia Deum non timuit, nec in ipso congressu eum præ oculis habuit. Tuncetiam quia patrem suum regem Scotorum contempsit. Tum quia in potencia virtutis suæ et in multitudine bellatorum præsumpsit. Tum quia injuste terram alienam, et in alieno solo innocuos invasit. Tum etiam propter innocentis sanguinis effusionem, vindictam Dei expartus est, sicut in sequenti viridieo relatu patet manifeste, quod cum prædictis anno et die, ix S. Kal. Junii, vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, apud nobile monasterium de Glasinberi in Anglia ejusdem sacrista satis sero pro concinnandis luminaribus, ad matutinas accendendis, in sua officina provisionem fecisset, et clausis cunctis foribus, tam monasterii quam officinæ suæ, cubatum ire decrevisset, ex insperato apparuerunt infra ambitum curiæ officinæ suæ duo valentes armigeri, de caballis suis albis suaviter descendentes et intuitu sanctæ caritatis hospitalitatem ab eo quæritantes. Qui sacrista morum ipsorum gravitate, personarum dignitate, et virorum facunditate attentis, equisque ad stabulum intromissis, et ad pabulum applicatis, ipsos, ad huc, ut dicebant, jejunos, refeccione tunc, qualitercumque tunc parata, curialiter reficiebat. Quibus cicius reffectis surrexerunt. Sed et sacrista, qui multum in aspectu eorum delectabatur, ad quiescendum in cubili parato invitante, recusaverunt, et sibi multiplices pro refeccione reddederunt, dicentes quod ipsa eadem nocte ante solis ortum oportuit eos necessario apud Bannokburne cuidam certo bello, inter reges Scociæ et Angliæ committendo, interesse, et pro parte Scotorum assistere, ad inferendum vindictam pro injusta morte Domini Simonis de monte forti comitis Laicestriæ, et suorum sequacium, a quinquaginta annis transactis adveniente pridie non Augusti vigilia Sancti Oswaldi per Bellum de Eveshame crudeliter illata. Et hoc dicto, a visu audientis prolapsi sunt, nec ultra ibidem comparuerunt. Monachus inde multum stupefactus, rem tacitus pendens, considerabat omnia verba hæc conferens in corde suo. In crastino vero abbatem suum adiens, omnia, quæ audivit et vidit, retulit, et abbatem in stuporem flexit. Qui ab omnibus inquirens, ubi Bannokburne foret, nec est repertus, qui sibi satisfaceret, quousque perventum est, ad quendam decrepitum senem Scotum, pro Anglico per

* Johan. Glaston. apud Hearn, p. 422.

prius reputatum. Qui de corrodio abbatis sustentatus, confessus est, per optime Bannokburne cognovisse. Qui locus est, inquit, apud Bergum regium de Strivelyne (Sterling) in Scocia ad fines Britanniae constitutus. Hæc ille. Dicitur enim quod pons Strivelyne de Forth infra Britanniam et Scotiam situatur, utriusque marginem apprehendens. Unde in circumferencia burgi communis sigilli de Strivelyne hæc metra sculpuntur. Continet hoc in se pontem castrum Strivelense, hic armis Bruti hic stant Scoti cruce tuti.*

Nº. XVI.

CHARTA ADAMI le EYR de Sowy, Cænobio Glastoniensi concessa, de redditu quodam annuo, ad sustentationem cuiusdam cerei ac luminaris. Johannes (de Tantonía) Abbas.

Joh. Glas. apud Hearn, p. 366.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, præsens scriptum visuris vel auditoris Adam le Eyr, filius Willelmi le Eyr de Sowy, salutem in Domino. Cum quondam magister Rogerus de Sowy, avunculus meus, dedisset michi, et heredibus vel assignatis meis, unum messuagium, cum pertinenciis suis, in villa Glastoniæ, quod Hugo de Gadhurst tenet, habendum et tenendum de capitalibus dominis feodi illius, reddendo eis inde per annum decem solidos et octo denarios, ad tres anni terminos, et præterea prædictus magister Rogerus obligaverit, oneraverit, et assignaverit me et hæredes meos, seu assignatos meos, in perpetuum, quinque solidos solvere Deo et beatæ Mariæ, Sancto Dunstano, Sanctis Johanni Baptistæ, et Benigno, nec non et abbati, et conventui, eorumque successoribus, ac monasterio suo Glastoniensi, in liberam, puram, et perpetuam elemosinam, habendos per manus monachi custodis beatæ Mariæ Glastoniæ, qui pro tempore fuerit, in forma subscripta, ad loca inferius innotata, distribuendos, scilicet, ad sustentationem unius cerei, ad quinque festa principalia beatæ Mariæ Virginis, in dicta capella, singulis annis renovandi, duos solidos et sex denarios. Item ad luminare capellæ Sancti Dunstani, ad Pascha et ad Natale Domini, duodecim denarios. Item ad Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, quæ parochialis dicitur ecclesia, sex denarios. Item, ad sustentationem unius lampadis ardentis in capella beati Benigni per totum annum, duodecim denarios, ad festum Sancti Michaelis in perpetuum solvandos. Et quia prædictus abbas et conventus per manus prædicti Rogeri fuerunt in seysina per longum tempus de prædicto redditu ad loca prædicta, scilicet per manus monachi custodis prædictæ capellæ, et etiam per manum meum, postquam seysinam dicti messuagii habui et recepi de dicto redditu sic onerati, ego protestor et volo, necnon et hæredes meos obligo, dictum redditum singulis annis solvere, ad sustentationem cerei et luminaris singulis annis ad loca prædicta, in forma prædicta. Si vero contigerit, quod dictus redditus aliquo tempore futuris temporibus a retro fuerit, bene licebit dictis abbati et conventui, eorumque successoribus, ac monacho prædicto, custodi capellæ prænotatæ, per ballivos suos dictum tenementum distringere, ad quascumque manus devenerit. Et de bonis in eodem tenemento inventis dictum redditum fieri facere et levare. Et ego et hæredes sive assignati mei illis tenentibus prædictum redditum volumus et tenemur allocare, tanquam nobis veraciter esset solutum. In cujus rei testimonium præsentis scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Dominis Galfrido de Stawelle, Roberto de Brenta, militibus, Hugone de Longelonde, Godefrido de Sowy, Luca de Hacche, Hugone Pruwet, Johanne Pastrel, Philippo Monn, et aliis.

* Johan. Glast. apud Hearne, Append. No. viii. p. 577.

Nº. XVII.

*EXTRACTS from a TERRIER, formerly in the possession of Thomas Dyer, Esquire, of Sharpham Park ;
communicated by Messrs. Prat.*

(Endorsed.)

Terraria de Strete.

Strete, Walton, Aysshcote, Shapewyke, Hamme, Greyngton, Murylinch, Withyes, Weston,
Middelsowy, Othery, Middleton, Up Lyme, Sevyngton.

Strete.

Terrarium omnium terrarum et tenementorum una cum firmibus redditibus et herietis (heriots) ejusdem manerii, factum ibidem mense Maii anno regni regis Henrici octavi septimo, et anno domini Ricardi Bere abbatis xxiiº. coram fratre Thoma Sutton cellario forinsico per sacramentum et fidelitatem Thoma Boddon ballivi et propositi ibidem, Johannis Baker, Thome Gyet, Thome Seywell, Roberti Rode, Willelmi Walter, et omnium aliorum tenentium Domini ibidem ad idem terrarium vocatorum et distincte examinatorum, propter specialem perambulationem et mensurationem factam ibidem atque probatam.

Shapewyke.

February 6th, Hen. VIIIth. 22 Rich^d. Bere.

Manerium Domini ibidem cum aula, camera, panetria, coquina, stabulo, gardino, et bartono infra *la mote*, continentibus 1 acram et dimidium et dimidium perticæ unde valor non extendit quia ad placitum domini, &c.

Boveria cum bartona extra *la mote* continens 1 acram et dimidium et dimidium perticæ quæ arrentantur ad xx denarios per Johannem Coke, juniorem, ut patet post in tenura sua.

Grangia Domini ibidem non arrentatur quia in manum Domini ob defectum tenentium ideo provideatur inde remedium.

Quarrura. Est ibidem quedam quarrura *de Lyas*, de qua quidem quarrura (ut fertur) tumba in nave ecclesiæ Glastoniensis venerabilis, patris Nicholai Frome abbatis, ibidem quiescentis erat exsculpta et facta.

Prior de Byrtle tenet unam peciam prati in Westmore continentem acras, et ii acras terræ arrabilis quo titulo hucusque ignoramus.

Prior Glastoniensis tenet unum toftum cum curtilagio et acras terræ et prati vocatum *Keneis* tenement. nuper magistri Vicory alias Spekyngton, et assignatum per Dominum nunc abbatem ad sustentationem Hospitalis decem mulierum pauperularium infra portam abbathiæ.

(On a piece of paper sewed on to the Greyngton Memoranda.)

After my hastye comendacons thes shall to certyffye you that my coosen, Tho^s. Dyer, esquyer, hathe pchasyed of the King's Matye the manor of Greyngton, with thappurtānces, in the countye of Soms^t. Thes maye be therfore to desyer you to deliv^r, or cause to be delyv^d, unto the same Thomas

Dyer, or to the brynger hereof in his name, all suche evydenc^s, cōtrolls, escripts, and munūmts, as comly belong'd, or in any wyse appteine, to the said manō; and this bill subscribed w'h my hand shal be yo^r sufficyent warrante of dyschardge in that behallffe. Ffrom London, the xxi of Julye, A^o R R^o Henr. VIII. xxxviii.

Y^r frend,

RIC. HUNTSWELL.

(Indorsement.)

"To the right wursshypfull Sir Tho^s Speke, knyght, high steward of Glaustonbury londs, and Sir Hugh Pawlett, knyght, survey^o. of the same; and in thur absens to thur deputye and deput^s, and to eyther of them, gove thes."

(Indorsed also.)

M^d. rec. of John Norrys, gentelman, deputye surveyour, and Willm Walton, of Shapwike, gent. deputye steward, the viith daye of November, in xxxviii yere of the reyn of o^r. sovergn lord Kyng Henry the viii. xix pcells of evidens & 1 charter, contaynng the man. of Greyngton, in the countye of Som^r. to the use of Thom^s Dyer, esquir. In wittnes whereof to this p^sents i have subscribed my name, gevyn the daye and yere above written,

By me,

JOHN WALTON.

Greyngton.

June 7. Henry VIIIth. 22^d Beer.

Et assignatur per dominum abbatem ad usum hospitalis mulierum pauperularium infra portam abbathie.

Weston.

February 7 Henry VIIIth. 23rd Beer.

Est ibidem unum mansum amplum et largum ac sumptuose per Johannem Selwode nuper abbatem Glastonie de novo constructum et erectum continens aulam cameras capellam cum fenestris ex laquearibus et vitreo decenter ornatas, coquinam et alias domos officinar. amplas et spatiosas et cum muris lapideis circa mansum predictum circumvallatis unde curia inferior per muros predictos sic divisa cum gardino pomifero stabulo et pandoxiatorio continentibus 1 acram dimidium perticam curia exteriore cum Bertona Granitorio grangia larga et lata crofta vocata *la Pynnyng* oratorio ii gardini queercuum continentes insimiliter xii acras iii perticas unde focalia non existimantur quia pro *ffirebote* et *housebote* (for the boot or use of the fire and house), fructus tamen inde perveniunt ut crocus et cepia ac herbagia pro exthure (incense) seisita et capta valent communibus annis xx. s.

Est ibidem domus columbarum qui valet cummunibus annis xxvjs. viiid.

Sowp.

Mem. quod venerabilis pater et pastor Glastoniensis Dominus Ricardus Beer nomine inter cetera sua opera pietatis praeipue considerans salutem animarum placuit ei itaque instanter elaborasse segregare et separare curam vicarii de Weston in tres curatos atque perpetuos vicarios quorum unus perpetue existet apud Weston secundus apud Othery et tertius vero apud Middelsowey et ista segregatio erat anno prelationis predicti patris xxij^o.

Nº. XVIII.

Glastonbury. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SUPREMACY.*Chapter House, Westminster.*

Quum ea sit non solum Christiane religionis et pietatis ratio, sed nostre etiam obedientie regula Domino regi nostro Henrico Octavo, fundatori nostro preexcellentissimo cui uni et soli post Christum Jesum servatorem, nostrum debemus universa non modo omnimodam in Christo et eandem sinceram integram perpetuamque animi devotionem fidem et obedientiam honorem cultum et reverentiam prestemus sed etiam de eadem fide et observancia nostro rationem quotienscunque postulabitur reddamus et palam omnibus (si res poscat) libentissime testemur. Noverint universi ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit quod nos Ricardus Dei patientia Abbas Monasterij beate Marie Virginis Glaston Bathon. et Wellen. diod. et ejusdem loci conventus uno ore et voce atque unanimi omnium consensu et assensu hoc scripto nostro sub sigillo nostro communi in domo nostra capitulari dato pro nobis et successoribus nostris omnibus et singulis imperpetuum profiteamur testamur ac fideliter promittimus et spondemus nos dictos abbatem et conventum et successores nostros omnes et singulos integram inviolatam sinceram perpetuamque fidem observantiam et obedientiam semper presturos erga dominum regem nostrum Henricum Octavum et erga Annam reginam uxorem ejusdem et erga sobolem ejus ex eadem Anna legitime tam progenitam quam progerandam et quod hac eadem populo notificabimus predicabimus et suadebimus ubicunque dabitur locus et occasio. Itemque confirmatum ratumque habemus semperque et perpetuo habituri sunt quod predictus rex noster Henricus et Caput ecclesie Anglicane. Item quod episcopus Romanus qui in suis bullis Pape nomen usurpat et summi pontificis principatum sibi arrogat, non habet majorem aliquam jurisdictionem a deo sibi collatam in hoc regno Anglie quam quivis alius externus episcopus. Item quod nullus nostrum in ulla sacra concione privatim vel publice habenda eundem episcopum Romanum appellabit nomine Pape aut summi pontificis sed nomine episcopi Romani vel ecclesie Romane et quod nullus nostrum orabit pro eo tanquam Papa sed tanquam episcopo Romano. Item quod soli dicto domino regi nostro et successoribus suis adherebimus et ejus leges ac decreta manu tenebimus episcopi Romani legibus decretis et canonibus qui contra legem divinam et sacram scripturam aut contra jura hujus regni esse invenientur imperpetuum renunciantes. Item quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione quicquam ex sacris scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere presumat sed quisque Christum ejusque verba et facta simpliciter aperte sincere et ad normam seu regulam sacrarum scripturarum et vere Catholicorum atque orthodoxorum doctorum predicabit catholice et orthodoxe. Item quod unusquisque nostrum in suis orationibus et comprecationibus de more faciendis primum omnium regem tanquam supremum caput ecclesie Anglicane Deo et populi precibus commendabit deinde reginam Annam cum sua sobole tum demum archiepiscopos Cantuariens. et Eboracens. cum ceteris cleri ordinibus prout videbitur. Item quod nos et omnes et singuli Abbas et Conventus predicti et successores nostri conscientie et jurisjurandi sacramento nosmet firmita obligamus quod omnia et singula predicta fideliter imperpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto nostro commune sigillum nostrum appendimus et nostra nomina propria quisque manu subscripsimus. Dat. in domo nostra capitulari decimo nono mensis Septembris anno regni regis nostri Henrici Octavi predicti vicesimo sexto.

P. me Ric. Abbēm.

Nichola^s London, *Prior*.
 Nichola^s Wedmor.
 Robert. Clerk.
 Johēs Taunton.
 Thomas Dunstone.
 Tho^s Clenn.
 Johēs Selwood.
 Johēs Bennett.
 Johēs Bennyng.
 Richard^s Bede.
 Johēs Wolfryde.
 Thomas Appollynar.
 Henricus Yve.
 Ricūs Besyll.
 Robētus Chylde.
 Johēs Vernley.
 Edmundus Coker.

Nicholaus Androw.
 Johēs Arthur.
 Johēs Abaramathia.
 Willmūs Dunstane.
 Willmūs Kentwyne.
 Johēs Derynyon.
 Martinus Indratt.
 Laurencius Mary.
 Galfridus Bennyng.
 Walterus Herstang.
 Ricardus Worscetur.
 Johēs Exceter.
 Willmūs Joseph.
 Johēs Baptista.
 Johēs Ambros.
 Rychard Whitam.
 Wills. Brytwold.

Johēs Aydam.
 Robtus. Yder.
 John Oswolde.
 Jo. Pauly.
 Jacobus Anselmus.
 Johēs Elphege.
 Wills. Adelwoldus.
 Symon Edge.
 Johēs Phegan.
 Johēs Pantales.
 John Allendor.
 Arystothel Alvernon.
 Rychard Rabone.
 Thomas Brentt.
 Henry Mowntegaw.
 Johēs Aldelam.
 Roger Wylfryd.

Nº. XIX.

*VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS, temp. HEN. VIII. MONAST'IU' GLASTON.**Mon. Ang. Nov. Edit. No. i. Append.*

Anno r' Henrici viii^{vi} xxvij^o. Et tempe Dñi Riçi Whityng nūc Abbatis ibm̄.

Declarāo annui & integri valoris tam oīm terr' et teñtor' ac al' possessionū tempaliū q'm Exit' oīm spūal' eidm̄ Monastio spectan' viz. ut taxat' fuer' & exāiat' p' Revēdū in Xpo p̄rem & Dñm Johēm Clerke Ep̄m Bathon' & Wellen' & Willm̄ Storton Militem cū al' Commissionar' Dñi Reg' ut sup^a & pūt infer' pleni' liquet.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Strete val' in - - Redd' &c. &c.	51	7	— $\frac{1}{2}$	Weston - - - Redd' &c.	107	9	11
Walton - - - Redd' &c.	50	8	8	Southbrent - - Redd' &c.	80	18	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Aisshecotte - - Redd' &c.	33	12	9	Berghes - - - Redd' &c.	50	10	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Shapwyke - - - Redd' &c.	51	1	6	Lymplesham - - Redd' &c.	58	5	4
Wythis - - - Redd' &c.	17	—	11	Estebrent - - - Redd' &c.	84	6	7
Greyngton - - - Redd' &c.	24	3	6	Mere - - - Redd' &c.	60	10	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Otherey - - - Redd' &c.	81	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	Goderihay - - - Redd' &c.	42	9	7
Middelsowye - - Redd' &c.	94	11	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Northlode - - - Redd' &c.	34	6	6

			£.	s.	d.				£.	s.	d.
Wryngton	-	Redd' &c.	-	108	—	3 ob' q ^a di'			Hund' de		
Merkysbury & Hundestert	}	Redd' &c.	-	26	1	7½			Whitson val' in	Exit' hundr'	- 12 — —
Doultynge	-	Redd' &c.	-	49	15	1			Whitlegh	-	- 10 — 8
Melles	-	Redd' &c.	-	53	7	11½			Glaston'	-	- 7 19 11
Badecombe	-	Redd' &c.	-	32	12	6½			Brent & Wryngton	}	Exit' hundr' - 8 18 9
Dychesiaett	-	Redd' &c. &c.	-	70	19	6½			Buckelonde	-	- 7 — —
Estpennard	-	Redd' &c.	-	63	17	7¾					
Pulton	-	Redd' &c.	-	108	19	8 q ^a di'					
Myddelton	-	Redd' &c.	-	25	11	10¼					
Hamme	-	Redd' &c.	-	51	10	9¼					
Sevynhampton	}	Redd' &c.	-	10	8	4					
Denys	-										
Budleigh	-	Redd' &c.	-	52	9	9½					
Baltonsborough	-	Redd' &c.	-	110	13	5¼ ob' q ^a di					
Westpennard	-	Redd' &c.	-	110	11	5 ob' q ^a di					
Estrete	-	Redd' &c.	-	10	17	3					
Uplyme in com'	}	Redd' &c.	-	30	16	5					
Devon'	-										
Cert' Mañia in com' Wiltes'.											
Domhū val. in	{	Redd' assis' &c. &c.	-	139	11	6½					
Idmyston	-	Redd' &c.	-	20	10	4					
Wynt'bo'ne	-	Redd' &c.	-	27	14	10					
Badb'ry	-	Redd' &c.	-	31	7	8½					
Cristmalford	-	Redd' &c.	-	59	4	7 ob' q ^a di					
Kyngton	-	Redd' &c.	-	31	7	—¼					
Grutlyngton	-	Redd' &c.	-	22	10	8¾					
Netylton	-	Redd' &c.	-	35	2	8¼					
Aissheb'y in com' Berks	}	Redd' &c.	-	49	19	9½					
Buckelond Dors'	-	Redd' &c.	-	79	6	5					
Newton	-	Redd' &c.	-	105	6	9					
Marnehull	-	Redd' &c.	-	65	8	5					
Glaston'	-	Redd' &c.	-	336	—	3					
P'ci de											
Pulton val' in	{	Exit' h'ba-gij &c.	-	2	—	—					
Wyrehall	-	Redd' &c.	-	—	16	8					
Sherpham	-	Redd' &c.	-	2	13	4					
Soñs' et Dors' &c.											
Maner' de Camelegh cū al' hamlett' & pcell' terr' &c. ex donac' Johñis Byconnell' milit' ad cert' usū ut inferi' est express'.											
Camelegh Nuny et Brodewynsor val' in	}	Redd' &c. &c.	-	9	—	3					
London	-	Redd' &c.	-	21	2	7					
Bristol	-	Redd' &c.	-	5	—	—					
Byndon firma	-	Redd' &c.	-	25	13	4					
Bradleigh	-	Redd' &c.	-	9	16	2					
Westmoncketon	-	Redd' &c.	-	62	8	—¼					
Wiltes'.											
Devellangbrigge val' in	}	Redd' &c. &c.	-	67	16	2 di.					
Estemoncketon	-	Redd' &c.	-	30	4	6¾					
Shappwyck Pedwell Sutton Sowe & Murelynch	}	Redd' &c.	-	6	16	2½					
Barselake in Wallia	-	Redd' &c.	-	23	15	3					
Valor oīm spūal' subseq'n' p'dict' Monast'io annex'.											
Weston psonat' val' in	}	X ^{mis} p'dial' &c.	-	65	6	8					
Dultyng psonat'	-	X ^{mis} p'dial' &c.	-	18	13	4					
Budclegh psonat'	-	X ^{mis} p'dial' &c.	-	12	—	—					
Baltonsborough psonat'	}	X ^{mis} p'dial' &c.	-	8	10	—					
Domham psonat'	-	X ^{mis} p'dial' &c.	-	26	—	—					
Oblac' Sci Joseff	-	Exit' sive p'fic' &c.	-	6	13	4					

£. s. d.			£. s. d.		
Exit' psonat' Eccleie	X ^{mis} pdial' &c.	67 15 4½	Higham	-	40 ^s
Sçi Johñis Bapte			Westmoncketon		26 ^s 8 ^d
Glaston cū Ca-			Battemcombe		20 ^s
pella Sçi Benigni			Wryngton		40 ^s
& Westpen'd val'			Dycheate		40 ^s
in - - -			Wells - -		20 ^s
Estpen'd & Brad-	X ^{mis} pdial' &c.	24 - -	Pokulchurche		50 ^s
legh psonat' -			Westpen'd	23 ^s 4 ^d	24 - -
Estrebente psonat'	X ^{mis} pdial' &c.	20 - -	Ecclesia Sçi Stephi		
Sturmyster psonat'	X ^{mis} pdial' &c.	10 2 -	Bristol	26 ^s 8 ^d	
Mere et Dev'ellang-	X ^{mis} psonal &	22 - -	Estbrent	13 ^s 4 ^d	
brigge psonat' -			Devell	- 26 ^s 8 ^d	
Exit' psonat' sup	X ^{mis} pdial' &c.	2 13 4	Lympsham	13 ^s 4 ^d	
Monte Sçi Michis			Murelynche	20 ^s	
jux ^a Glaston' -	X ^{mis} pdial' &c.	44 15 4	Strete	- - 60 ^s	
Shapwyk et Mure-			Marnell'	- 20 ^s	
lynche psonat' -					

S^m^a to^{lis} Valoris tam oīm possess' tempal' q^am spūal' sup^adict' £3508 : 13s. : 4½d. di'

N^o. XX.

From Bib. Bod. Arch. Bodl. A. inter Rot. Mon. Ang. Nov. Edit. No. 1, Append.

THE CERTIFICAT of RICHARDE POLLARD and THOMAS MOYLE, esquyers, generall surveyors of the king's highnes landes, made upon the survey of all the lordships, mannors, landes, tenementes, woodes, parkes, fysshing, waters, and other hereditamentes, belonging to the late attainted monasterye of Glastonburye, lying and beyng in sondry counties, hereafter specified, now in the king's handes, by the attaincture of Richard Whiting, late abbot of the same, of haute treason attainted. And according unto the vew therof by us in particular bokes made doe declare, as hereafter doth ensue, videlicet.

The state, value, and condition of the sayde landes, woods, waters, games of fesauntes, games of suannes, heronsewes, and all other possessions,

as well spirituall as temporall, apperteyning unto the saide late atteynted monasterye of Glastonburye within

The Countie of Somersetshere.

TEMPORALTIES.

THE LORDSHIP OF GLASTONBURYE.

Demaynes kept in the Abbat's handes.

The demaines whiche don apperteyne unto the saide late monasterye attaynted, beyng allwayes kept in the handes and occupacion of the saide abbat and convent, unto the tyme of thattaincture therof, over and besydes certayn other demayne landes, letton to divers persons by indenture

for terme of theire lyves, the parcells wherof in the particular Boke of Survey, at this present tyme therof made, severally don appere, ar of the yerely value of xlviili. xs. viiid.

Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenannts.

The rente of assise of the freholders apperteynyng unto the saide lordship of Glastonburye allwayes payable at the feasts of thannunciacion of our Ladye, Mydsomer, Michelmas, and Christmas, is of the yerely value of xxxvs. vid. ob.

The rente of customary tenaunts, and copiholders apperteyning unto the said lordship, with the workes and customes whiche they are bounde to doe by the tenure of theire landes, is of the valew of cclxiili. xvs. vid. ob.

(Total of rents of assise and customary tenants)
cclxiili. xis. id.

Demaynes lett oute to Ferme.

The demaynes apperteynyng unto the said lordship beyng lett to ferme to dyvers persons, for terme of theire lyves, by the same late abbat and convent, long before his attayncture, with the herbage of the Park of Norwood, xxvili. xiiis. iiiid. Wyrral xvis. and Sharpham xls. are of the yerely value of xlixli. xis. viiid.

Wood and Tymbre.

Within the Park of Norwood there are clxxii acres of woodde of the age of xx yeres, and heretofore have allwayes ben used to be felde and solde every xvi yeres, every acre therof at this present surveye worth xxs. clxxiiili. xs. vid.

Also within the Parke of Wirral is lx acres of fayre tymbre esteemed to be worth..... ccxcli. xs.

Also within the Parke at Sharpham there are lxxx acres of wood, well sett with okes, ashes, and maples, which allwayes have ben used to be felled and solde everye xiv yeres, and every acre is worth at this present tyme vis. and viiid.... lxli.

Also within the same parke there are cc okes fytt for tymber, every oke esteemed to be worth iis. xxli.

(Total of the Park of Sharpham) lxxxli.

(Total of wood and timber) dxliiili. vid.

Oute of the coppies and underwoods of the saide woods, there may a yerely wood sale be made, not hurtyng nor spoyling any of the tymbre or underwoodde, but the sayde woodes allwaies to contynewe as good as they are now, to the value of xxxs.

(Sum total of the lordship of Glastonbury).....
ccclxxxiiili. iis. id.

Northwood, Wirral, and Sharpham Parks.

Northwood Parke conteyneth in circuite iiii myles, the pales well repayred, therbage verye good and swete, wherin are dccc dere, wherof there ar of dere of anntler clx, dere of rascall dclx.

Wyrral Parke conteyneth in circuite one myle and one quarter, the pales have nede to be repayred, therbage verye good and fertile, with a ronnyng streme throwe the same, c dere, wherof are of deere of anntler xv, deere of rascall lxxxv.

The Parke of Sharpham conteyneth in circuite ii long myles of good meade and pasture, with ii fayre pondes in the same, wherin are clx dere, wherof are of deere of anntler xx, deere of rascall cxi.

Commons.

Also there is apperteynyng unto the saide lordship one fayre common, called Glastonburye More, the pasture therof ys very fertile, and in effect as good as meade, wherin the tenaunts doe common with theire cattall at all seasons of the yere; and it conteyneth in circuit xvi myles.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there ben of tennants, and other able men, reciaunt and inhabiting within the precinctte of the saide lordship, beyng in a redyness to serve the King's high Majestie, when so ever they shall be called upon, to the nombre of cxiii.

Bondmen.

Also there are apperteyning unto the saide manor certayne men called bondemen, whose bodyes and

goodes are alwayes at the Kynges pleasure, as lorde thereof, to the nombre of xiiii.

Perquisites of Courtes.

The profitts commyng of the perquysites of the courtes, with the fynes of landes, are this present yere as appereth in the boks of accompts xviii. viiis. viiid.

THE MANNOR OF MERE.

The Scite of the Manour.

The scite of the saide manor ys of an auney-ent buyldyng, having a fayre large hall, thone halfe wherof is covered with leade, and thother with slate, with viii fayre chambers, a propre chapel, with a kytchin, buttery, and pantrye, and all other howses of office very necessary. Fynally, the howse is fitt for a man of worship, but thayer therof is not very holesome, savyng to suche as have contynued long therein, whereunto are apperteynyng iii fayre orchardes, well replenyshed with fruitefull trees, with iii large pondes in them conteyned, full of all manner of fysshe, whiche is not here put in value, untill the Kings Highnes pleasure therin be knowne nl.

Customary Rent and Perquisites of Courtes.

The rent of customary tenaunnts lixli. vis. iiid. q. and perquisites of courtes viiili. iiis. viiid. apperteynyng unto the saide manor, alwayes payable at the feastes of thannunciacion of our Ladye, and Saynt Michell tharchangel, are of the yerely valu of lxviii. ix. xid. q.

Fysshinges.

Also there ys apperteynyng unto the sayde manor one fysshing, called the Mere, whiche ys in circuite fyve myles, and one myle and an halfe brode, wherin are greate abundance of pykes, tenches, roches, and yeles, and of dyvers other kyndes of fysshes, whiche hath allwayes ben kept to the use of the house, and is worthe by the yere to be letton to ferme xxviii. xiiis. iiid.

Wooddes.

Also to the sayde lordship there are apperteynyng ii wooddes, wherof one ys called Styveley Wood, conteynyng fyve acres of thage of xvi yeres, every acre estemed to be worthe vis. viiid. and the other called Westbye Wood, and conteyneth iiii acres of thage of x yeres, at vis. viiid. thacre, whiche are not here put in value, for so moche as heretofore they have not ben used to be solde iili.

Games of Swanes.

Also there ys a game of swannes apperteynyng unto the same water, whiche were allwayes belonging unto the sayde atteynted monasterye of Glastonburye, and vewed upon the survey to nombre of xl cowple.

Game of Heronsewes.

Also there were vewed at this present survey certayne heronsewes, whiche have alwayes used to brede there, to the number of iiii.

Game of Fesauntes.

Semblablye in the sayde woodes there were founde at this present survey dyverse fesants, whiche don allwayes use to brede there to the nombre of xvi.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are of tenaunts and other able men, recyante and inhabiting within the sayde lordship, redye to serve the kyng, when so ever they shall be called upon, to the nombre of xxx.

Bondmen.

Also there are apperteynyng unto the sayde manor certayne bondemen, whos bodyes and goodes are alwayes subject to the kyngs pleasure as lorde therof, to the nombre of xv.

(Sum total of the Manor of Mere) xciiii. iiis. viid. q.

THE MANOR OF WESTON.

Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenauntes.

The rentes of assise of the freholders, and customary tenauntes, belonging unto the sayde lordship, payable at the feastes aforesayde, are of the yerely value of xciiii*li*. iiis. viid. ob.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fines.

The perquisites of the courtes, there kept twyse in the yere, with the lawe dayes and fynes, were answered this present yere to the kings highnes, as appereth in the bokes of accompts ...
xx*li*. iiis. xd.

Common.

Also there is a common there, called Weston Moore, and the tennantes of this lordship, with the tenauntes of Chedsay, may dryve or praye from a common, called Rowyng Lake, unto Dower, and the king, as lorde of this lordship, shall have the moytie of the strayes, and conteyneth ccc acres.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are able men, inhabitants within the precinct of the sayde lordship, beyng in a redynes to serve the kyng, when so ever they shall be called upon, to the nombre of l.

Bondmen.

Also there are within the sayde lordship certayne persons called bondemen, whose bodyes and goodes are allwayes at the kings pleasure, to the nombre of vii.

(Sum total of the manor of Weston)
cxv*li*. viis. vd. ob.

THE MANNOR OF WRINGTON.

Rentes of Assise, and Customary Tenauntes.

The rents of assise and customary tenauntes there, with their workes, whiche they are bounde unto by tenure of their landes, are of the yerely valewe of lxxxv*li*. vis. iiid. ob. di. q.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The profites comyng of the perquysites of the courtes holden there, with the ii greate lawe dayes and fynes of landes at this audite, was answered to the king, come to the some of xlvi*iii*. viis. viid.

Woodes.

Also within the sayde manor there are dyverse woodes growing, of dyvers ages, as in the particular boke of this survey fully it doith appere, whiche are nowe worth to be solde clxxx*li*. viis. viid. which allwayes have ben used to be solde every xviii yeres, owt of whiche woodes there may a yerely wood sale be made of cs.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also within the sayde lordship there be able men, beyng all in a redynes to doe the king service, when so ever they shal be called upon, to the nombre of xl.

Bondemen.

Also there are within the circuit of the sayde lordship certayne bondemen, beyng at the kyngs highnes pleasure, in subjection and bondage, bothe bodyes and goodes, to the nombre of ii.

Common.

Also a commone, there called Blackemoore and Warmeshaw, wherof the kyng ys chief lorde, and hathe the profitts of the dryving therof, and conteyneth i myle dim.

(Sum total of the Manor of Wrington)
cxxxviii*li*. xiiis. xid. ob. di. q.

THE MANOR OF PYLTON.

Rents of Assise and Customary Tenauntes.

The rentes of assyse and customary tennants, with their workes, which they are bounde to doe by custome of their tenures, are of the yerely value of lxxxv*li*. xiiis. vid. ob. di. q.

Demaynes.

The demaynes apperteynyng unto the sayde

manor, now letton owt by indenture for terme of yeres, with the herbage of the parke there, are of the yerely value of xvli.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The profitts of courts and fynes of landes apperteynyng unto the sayde manour, were answered this yere, in the boke of accompts, to the somme of xixli. xvs. viiid.

Woodes.

Also within the parke, and other woodes aboute the manor, there are cxlvi acres of wood, the pryce of the acre xxs. whiche allwayes heretofore have ben used to be felde and solde, out of whiche wood there may a yerely wood sale be made of xs.

The Parke.

The parke there contayneth in circuite iii long myles of goodde pasture, the pales in good case, wherin are of deere cccl, wherof there ar of deere of anntlott lx, deere of rascall ccxc.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there be within the precinct of the sayde lordeship able persons to doe the king servyce at all tymes, when so ever nede shall requyre the same, to the nombre of xx.

Bondemen.

Also there be inhabiting within the sayde lordeship certayne servyle and bonde persons, to the king's pleasure, in bodye and goodes, to the nombre of xxii.

(Sum total of the Manor of Pylton)
cxxili. xixs. iid. ob. di. q.

THE MANNOR OF GODENHAY.

Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenautes.

The rentes of certayne customarye tenautes there, whiche are let by cople and not by indenture, are of the yerely value of xvliis. xid.

Rentes and Fermes.

The scite of the saide manor, with the demaynes and other customarye landes there, were letton out by indenture, for terme of lyves, and are of the yerely valewe of xlii.

Perquisites of Courts and Fynes.

The perquisites of courtes, fynes, and other casualties, were ansured this yere, as apperith in the boke of accompts ix. xd.

Woodes.

Also there are apperteynyng unto the same manor iiij woodes, called Brode Oke Common, Godley Moore Common, and Blackwars Wood, and Heath Moore Common, wherin is moche fayre tymbre, and hathe allwayes used to be felled and solde to the tenaunts there, and upon this survey esteemed to be worthe to be solde clxii. ix. iiiid. wherof there may a yerely wood sale be made of iiiid.

Common.

Also there is a common belongyng unto the sayde mannore, called Godley Moore Common, whereof the kings highnes is chief lorde, by thanttaincture of the sayde late monasterye, and the Deane of Wells dothe entre commyne there, and it contayneth vi myles.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are inhabiting within the sayde lordeship tenannts and other able persons, at all tymes in redynes when so ever it shall please the kings highnes, and they are in nombre xxiii.

Bondmen.

Also there be recyannte within the saide lordeship certayne bondemen dependyng bothe bodye and goodes upon the king's pleasure, whiche are in nombre i.

(Sum total of the Manor of Godenhay)
xlvli. xvliis. ix.

THE MANOR OF DULTYNG.

Rentes of Assise and Customarye Tenanntes.

The rentes of assise and custome there, with the workes and customes, which they are bound unto by tenure of theyre landes, ar of the yerely valewe of xxxli. xviiis. vd. ob. q.

Rentes and Fermes.

The scite of the sayde manor, with the demaynes apperteynyng unto the same, are letton owt by indenture for xli.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fines.

The profitts comyng of the perquysites of the courts and fynes, and other casualties, are answered this yere in the boke of accompts exis. iiid.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there are apperteynyng unto the sayde manor of tenauntes, and other able men, to the nombre of xx.

(Sum total of the Manor of Dultyng)
xlvi. ix. ix. ob. q.

THE MANOR OF BADCOMBE.

Rentes of Assise and Customarye Tenauntes.

The rentes of assise and customarye tenauntes, apperteynyng to the sayde manor, payable at the feastes of thannunciation of our Ladye and Saynet Mychaell tharchangell, are of the yerely value of
xxvli. xis. vid. q.

Rentes and Fermes.

The scite of the same manor, with the demayne landes apperteynyng unto the same, beyng lett owt by indenture, for terme of yeres, are of the yerely value of vii. xd. q.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The profitts comyng of the courtes there, with fynes of landes, and other casualties, are of the yerely value, as is answered in the bokes of the accompts, of lxvs. iid.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there are within the precincte of the sayde lordship of able men, to doe the kyng service, to the nombre of xxx.

(Sum total of the Manor of Badcombe)
xxxiii. xviiis. vid. ob.

THE MANOR OF MELLES.

Rentes of Assise and Customarye Tenauntes.

The rentes of assise and customary tenanntes there apperteynyng unto the sayde manor, with the workes and customes, whiche they are bounde to doe by tenure of there landes, are of the yerely value of xxxviii. xviiis. iiid. ob.

Rentes and Fermes.

The scyte of the sayde manor with the demaynes apperteynyng unto the same, are letton by indenture for the some of vii. vis. viiid.

Perquisites of Courts and Fynes.

The profitts of the courtes, fynes, and other casualties, are answered ty the kyngs highnes this yere at xxviii. iiis. iid.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are of able menne belonging unto the same, able to doe the kyng service, to the nombre of xxx.

Bondmen.

Also there be within the same lordship certayne bondemen, to the nombre of i.

(Sum total to the manor of Melles)
lxxii. viiis. iiid. ob.

THE MANNOR OF BUDCLEIGH.

Rents of Assises and Customary Tennants.

The rentes of assise and coppye holders belonging unto the sayde manor, with the workes and customes, whiche they are bounde to doe by tenure of their landes, are of the yerely value of
xxxix. iiis. viiid. ob.

Rentes and Fermes.

The scyte of the sayde manor, with the demayne landes apperteynyng unto the same, are of the yerely value of xlii.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fines.

The perquysites of the courtes, fynes, herietts, and other casualties, as appereth in the boke of accompts, are worth vs. xd.

Woodes.

Also there ys a woodde, called Westwood, conteynyng xciii acres, well sett with oakes, maples, and haysll, of the age of xx yeres, every acre esteemed to be worthe xiiis. iiid. in all lxiii.

Also there is a woodde in the Commone, conteynyng mm. acres, well set with alders, withyes, and okes, wherof the late abbat and convent made a yerely wood sale, and are esteemed to be worth dccxcviii. xvs. id.

Also there ys a grove, called Butlesbeare, contaynyng xl acres, wherin is moche fayre tymber, to the value of xli.

(Sum total of the woods) dccxcviii. xvs. id.

Out of the coppies and underwoodes, of the saide woodes, there may a yerely wood sale be made not hurting nor spoyling any of the tymbre or underwood, but the saide woodes allwaies to contynue as good as they are now, to the value of li.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are within the precincte of the sayde lordship, certayne tenaunts, and able men to doe the kynges servyce, to the nombre of xxiii.

Bondmen.

There be also certayne bonde menne within the same lordship, at the kynges pleasure, to the nombre of xvii.

Common.

Also there is a common apperteynyng unto the saide manor, called Allermore, wherin the coppie holders of the same lordship have fre common for their catall, and are bounde to

dryve the same, and it conteyneth in circute ii myles.

(Sum total of the Manor of Budcleigh) cli. ixs. vid. ob.

THE MANOR OF BALTESBOROUGH.

Rentes and Demaynes.

The rentes of assise, customary tenaunts, and demaynes, perteynyng to the sayde manour, are of the yerely valew of cli. viis. xd. q.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fines.

The profitts of the courts, fynes, and other casualties, as appereth in the bookes of accompts of this yere, are xxxiiii. xvs. iiid.

Woodes.

Also there are ii woodes perteynyng unto the sayde manor, called Southwood and Northwood, conteynyng dccc acres well set with okes, bothe olde and yong, whiche have allwayes ben used to be sold to the tenaunts, worth to be solde ccccli. wherin there may be a yerely wood sale be made of lxiiis. vid.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are within the sayde lordship certayne tenaunts, and able personsto doe the kyng servyce, to the nombre of xxiii.

Bondmen.

Also there be within the same certayne bonde men, beyng in servytude both of bodye and goodes, at the kings pleasure, in nombre vii.

(Sum total of the Manor of Baltesborough) ... cxxxviii. viis. viid. q.

THE MANNOR OF ESTPENNARD.

Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenaunts.

The rentes of assise and coppyholders apperteynyng unto the sayde manor, with their workes and customes, which theye are bounde unto by

custom of there holding, are of the yerely value
of xlixli. xs. ob. q.

Demaynes.

The demaynes apperteyning unto the sayde manor beyng let out for terme of yeres, are of the yerely value of xls.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The perquisites of courtes, fynes, and other casualties, are worthe, as it doth appere by the booke of accompts xxixli. xs. iid.

Able Men to serve the King.

There be also perteynyng to the sayde lordship certayne able persons, to doe the kinge service, if need be, to the nombre of xx.

Bondmen.

Also there inhabite within the sayde lordship certayne bondemen, to the nombre of xi.

(Sum total of the Manor of Estpennard)
lxxxli. xis. ob. q.

THE MANNOR OF DYCHEYAT.

The Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenauntes.

The rentes of assise and customary tenauntes there apperteyning unto the sayde lordship, with the workes and customes thereunto due, are of the yerely value of lixli. xiiid. ob.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The perquisites of the courtes, with the fynes and other casualties, were this yere answered to the king at viili. viis. iid.

Able Men to serve the Kinge.

Also there be within the precinct of the said lordship certain able persons, to doe the king service, to the nombre of xx.

(Sum total of the Manor of Dychevat)
lxvili. viiis. iiid. ob.

THE MANNOR OF MYDDELTON.

The Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenanntes.

The rentes of assise and coppieholders that apperteyne unto the saide manour, with the workes and customs due unto the same, are of the yerely value of xviiili. xxiid. q.

Demaynes.

The demaynes belonging unto the same lordship let owt by indenture for terme of yeres, are of the yerely value of viili. vis. id.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The perquisites of courtes and fynes, with other casualties, are of the yerely value of .. iiiili. ix.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are of tenanntes, and able persons to doe the kyng service, yf nede requyre, to the nombre of viii.

(Sum total of the Manor of Myddelton)
xxviiili. ix. vd. q.

THE MANNOR OF HAMME.

Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenanntes.

The rentes of assise and copleholders, that are perteyning unto the saide manor, with the workes and customes which by tenure of their landes they ar bounde to doe, are of the yerely value of xlii. xs. xd. ob.

Demaynes.

The scite of the same manor, with the demaynes belonging thereunto, letton by indenture for terme of yeres, are of the yerely value ixli. xiiis.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The profits commyng of the perquisites of the cowrtes and fynes were answered this yere in the boke of accompts, to the some of .. xli. xs.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are within the precinct of the same tenannts and able persons to the nombre of xvi.

(Sum total of the Manor of Hamme)
lxili. xiiis. xd. ob.

THE MANNOR OF MERKESBURYE AND
HAMSTED.

Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenanntes.

The rentes of assise and customarye tenanntes apperteynyng unto the saide manor, with the workes and customs whiche by tenure of their landes they are bound to doe, are of the yerely value of xvili. iiis. vd. ob. q.

Demaynes.

The demayne landes belonging unto the same manor are letton oute by indenture, for terme of yeres, for the some of viiili. xiiis. vid.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The profitts comming of the perquysites of courtes, fynes of landes, and other casualties, are this yere answered in the bokes of accompts at ..
iiiiili. iiis. vid.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there be within the same lordship able men to doe the kyng service, to the nombre of xvii.

Woodes.

Also there are apperteyning unto the saide manor certayne woodes, called Haywood, Newwoode, and the Common, set with okes and asshes of dyvers kyndes, thacres whereof can not be esteemed, for they growe in plotts, valued at this surveye to be worth cvili. xixs. viiid. wherof may be made a yerely wood sale of lxs.

Common.

Also there is a common apperteyning unto the saide lordship, wherein the tenanntes may put in their catall, at their pleasures, conteynyng i myle.

(Sum total of the Manors of Merkesburye and Hamsted) xxxiiili. iis. vd. ob. q.

Walton, Asshecote, Shapwyke, Wythes, Greynton, Otherye, Myddelsoye, Berghes, Sowthbrent, Estbrent, Lymplesham, Northlode, Bagberye, Nytonde, Clewer.

The manors of Strete in rente of assise and customarye rente, demaynes, perquysites of courtes and fynes, li. viiis. xd. ob. Walton in rentes of assise, customarye rent, demaynes, perquisites of courtes and fynes, xlviiiili. iiis. iiid. ob. Asshecote in rentes of assise, customary rentes, demaynes, perquysites of courtes and fynes, xxxiiiiili. iis. vd. Shapwyke in rentes of assise, customarye rentes, demaynes, perquysites of courtes and fynes, lxxili. xiiis. xd. q. Wythes in rentes of assise, customarye rentes, demaynes, perquysites of courtes and fynes, xixli. xviiis. iiid. Greynton in rentes of assise, customarye rentes, demaynes, perquysites of courtes and fynes, xxvili. xviiid. Otherye in rentes of assise, customarye rentes, perquysites of courtes and fynes, xcixli. vd. q. Myddelsoy in rentes of assise, customarye rentes, perquysites of courtes and fynes, cxxiiiiili. xiiis. iiid. ob. q. Berghes in rent of assise, customarye rente, perquysites of courtes and fynes, lxili. ix. iid. ob. Southbrent in rente of assise, customarye rent, perquysites of courtes and fynes, lxxvili. xiiis. xd. Eastbrent in rentes of assise, customarye rentes, perquysites of courtes and fynes, cxiiiili. vis. iid. Lymplesham in rentes of assise, customarye rente, perquysites of courtes and fynes, lxxviii. ix. vid. Northlode in rentes of assise, customarye rentes, perquysites of courtes and fynes, xxxiiiiili. xv. xd. Baggebere viili. vis. viiid. Nytonde xiiii. xiiis. iiid. Clewer xiiis. ix. are worthe by the yere, as appereth by the bokes of accompts at this audite dccclixli. xis. iiid. ob. q.

Also there are reciant and demouring, within the saide lordships, able persons to serve the kynges highness when so ever the shal be called upon, as in the particular boke of surveye at this present tyme made appereth in nombre ccclxxxix.

Also within the circuite of the same are certayne

servyle and bonde persons, at the kynges pleasure both in bodye and goodes, to the nombre of cxviii.

Seuynhamptondenyce, Westpennard, Estrete, Weastermonckton, Pedwell, Sowye, Sutton, Murelynch.

The manors of Seuynhamptondenyce xixli. iiis. id. Westpenarde cxxxli. xiiis. xd. ob. q. Eastreate xli. id. Weastmonckton lxxixli. xiiid. and Pedwell, Sowye, Sutton, and Lamporte xviiiis. with the profitts and perquysites of courtes and fynes, are of the yerely value of ccxli. xv. ob. q. di.

Also there is a common belonging unto the saide manour of Westpennard, wherein the tenantes of all the saide manours doe entercomen, and is in circuite xv myles.

Also there are inhabitantes demouring within the said manours, beyng tenautes, and other able persons beyng in redynes to serve the kinges highnes, when so ever they shal be comaunded, to the nombre of lii.

Also there are inhabiting certayne bondemen, within the same, whose bodies and goodes are allwayes at the kinges pleasure to the nombre of xii.

Hundredes.

The profitts comyng of the amerciaments, fynes of trespasses, and other casualties of the Hundredes of Whitestone xii. Whiteleigh xv. vs. viid. Glastonburye xli. xviii. vd. Brent viii. xxd. Wryngton and Bucklande viii. xiiiis. vd. were answered this yere, as it appereth in the bokes of accomptes, to the some of liii. xix. id.

THE MANNORS OF CAMLEIGH, NUNNEY, AND BRODE-WYNSOR.

Rentes of Assise and Customarye Tenaunts.

The rentes of assise apperteynyng unto the saide manour, allwayes payable at the feastes of the annunciation of oure Ladie and Sainet Mychaell the Archangell, is of the yerely value of xliis. id.

The rentes of the customarye tenaunts and coppie holders there, is of the yerely value of xlixli. xxiiid.

(Total of rentes of assise and customary tenaunts) li. iiis.

Perquysites of Courtes.

The perquysites of courtes, and other casualties, as appereth in the bokes of accompts, are this yere of the yerely value of xv. ob. q. di.

(Sum total of the Manors of Camleigh, Nunney, and Brode-Wynsour) lii.

(Sum total of Temporalities in the county of Somerset) mmdcclxiii. xs. viiid. ob. q. di.

SPIRITUALTIES.

Parsonages.

The tithes of the parsonage of Weston was allwayes kept in the abbatt's handes, to the use of the saide late monasterye, corne, haye, wooll, lambe, lenton tythes, alterages, and other small tythes, and profitts, comyng and apperteynyng to the saide parsonage, are worthe by the yere .. lxxvii.

The parsonage of Glastonbury semleablye was allwaies kept in the saide abbats handes, to the use of the saide monasterye, the tythes of corne, haye, wooll, lambe, alterages, and other profittes apperteynyng unto the said parsonage, are worth by the yere towards charges lxxiii.

Also the tithes of corne and haye apperteynyng unto the parsonage of Doultynge, beyng lett out by indenture for terme of yeres, is worthe by the yere xviii. xiii. iiid.

Also the tithes of corne and haye apperteynyng unto the parsonage of Budleigh, are letton to Elizabeth Adams, for terme of her life, paying by the yere xii.

The tithes of corne and haye apperteynyng unto the parsonage of Baltesborough, are letton to ferme to the said Elizabeth Adams for the terme of her life, paying by the yere viii. s.

Also the tithes of corne and haye apperteynyng unto the parsonage of Eastbrent, are worth by the yere xxiii.

Also the tithes of corne and haye, apperteynyng unto the parsonage of Eastepenarde, are worthe by the yere *xixli*.

Also the tithes of haye belonging unto the parsonage of Shapwyke and Murelynche *lxiii*li. and Mere *xxli*. are worthe by the yere *lxxxvii*li.

(Sum total of parsonages) ... *cccxvli*. *iiis*. *iiii*d.

Porcions of Tithes.

Also there are certayne portions of tithes belonging unto the sayde late monasterye, within the saide shere, that is to say, Nylande *xxs*. Pulton *xiiis*. *iiii*d. the tithes of Northlode *lis*. *viii*d. to the yerely value of *iiii*li. *vis*.

Pencions.

Also there are certayne pencions, comyng out of the certayne churches within the saide shere, apperteynyng unto the saide late attaynted monasterye, and yerely payde unto the same, that is to saye, Westmonckton *xxvis*. *viii*d. Murelynche *viii*li. Shapwyke *xxs*. Badcombe *xxs*. Budcleigh *xxs*. Wrington *xls*. Dycheyat *xls*. Doultynge *liiis*. *iiii*d. Mells *xxs*. Barnehowse *vis*. *viii*d. Eastbrent *xiiis*. *iiii*d. Lymplesham *xiiis*. *iiii*d. Hamme *xls*. Wynscombe *xiiis*. *iiii*d. Ilchester *vis*. *viii*d. Hownester *xiiis*. *iiii*d. Camlerton *xiiis*. *iiii*d. Myddleton *xs*. Strete *lxs*. Eastpennarde *xiiis*. *iiii*d. Soye *liiis*. *iiii*d. Kentlesworthe *xxs*. whiche are of the yerely value of *xxxiii*li. *xvis*. *viii*d.

Proxies and Synods.

Also there are certayne proxyes and synodes per- teyning unto the saide late attaynted monasterye, whiche were allwayes payde unto tharchedeacon out of the churches of Mere, Budcleigh, Strete, Shapwyke, Murelynche, and Soye, to the yerely value of *liiis*. *q*.

(Sum total of spiritualities in Somersetshire) .. *cccliii*li. *xviii*s. *q*.

(Sum total of temporalities and spiritualities in Somersetshire) *mmcxix*li. *viii*s. *ix*d. *q*.

The Countie of Glocestershere.

TEMPORALTIES.

BRISTOLL.

Certayne lands and tenementes lying within the sayde town of Bristoll, in the countie of Glocester, whiche were onely to the abbat's use, that is to saye, *iiii* small tenementes, one square close and a litle gardeyne, the rente whereof is by the yere *cs*.

Also there are *iii* severall small tenements in the saide towne of Brystoll, whiche were to the use of the convent, and doe rent by the yere *xxs*. *viii*d.

(Temporalities in Glocestershire) *viii*li. *viii*d.

SPIRITUALTIES.

Pencions.

Also there is a yerely pencion comyng out of the churche of St. Michael, withyn the towne of Bristoll, whiche allwayes was payde unto the late attaynted monasterye by yere *xxvis*. *viii*d.

Also there is a yerely pension comyng out of the churche of Puckelchurche, which was allwayes payde unto the saide late monasterye by the yere *ls*.

(Spiritualities in Glocestershire) *lxxvis*. *viii*d.

(Sum total of temporalities and spiritualities in Glocestershire) *ix*li. *xviii*s. *iiii*d.

The Countie of Devonshere.

TEMPORALTIES.

THE MANNOR OF UPLYME.

Rentes.

The rentes of customary tenauntes and coppie holders apperteyning unto the saide manor, with the works, customs, which by tenure of there landes they are bounde unto, are of the yerely value of *xxiii*li. *iiis*. *id*.

Demaynes.

The scite of the saide manor, with the demayne landes apperteynyng unto the same, beyng lett out to ferme by the abbat and convent of the saide late attaynted monasterye for lvis. viiid.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

Also the perquysites of the courtes, fynes, and other casualties, with vis. vid. of wood sales, were answered, as it appereth in the boke of accompts of this yere, to the some of ... viili. vid.

Common.

Also there is a common apperteynyng unto the saide manour, called Woolcombes Downe and Rolcombeshed, wherein all the tenanntes have their common for their shepe, and it conteyneth deccc acres.

Able Menne to serve the King.

Also there are demouring within the circuite of saide manour certayne able persons redy to do the king servyce when they called upon, to the nombre of x bondemen.

(Sum total of the manor of Uplyme)
xxxiiili. iiid.

The Countie of Dorsetshere.**TEMPORALTIES.****THE MANNOR OF NEWTON.***The Scite of the House.*

The scite of the saide howse standeth on a highe hill, just by a great ronning ryver in the valey; it is of thancyen buylding, portly and strong, able and mete for a knight to lye in. The demaynes belonging unto the same are of the yerely value of xiiili. vis. viiid.

Rentes, Perquisites, and Fynes.

The rentes of assise and customarye tenanntes perteynyng unto the saide manor, with xviii. xs.

iiid. comyng of the perquisites of courtes and fynes, are of the yerely value of xciiili. vid.

Woodes.

Also there are perteynyng unto the saide manor, divers woodes, well set with greate okes for tymbre, greate asshes, underwood well growne, the parcells whereof in the particular boke of survey thereof, at this tyme made, plainly don appere and be worth to be solde, owt of whiche woodes there may a yerely wood sale be made of xli.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are demouring within the saide manor, certayne able men, to doe the kyng servyce, if nede require, to the nombre of xliii.

Common.

Also there is a common perteynyng unto the same manor, called Sturmyster Common, wherein the tenanntes have common for their catall all tymes of the yere, and it contayneth mm acres.

(Sum total of the Manor of Newton)
cxviii. viis. iid.

THE MANNOR OF BUCKLONDE.*Rentes and Demaynes.*

The rentes of assise and customarye tenauntes apperteynyng unto the sayde manor, with xvli. comyng of the demaynes, are of the yerely value of lxxiiili. iiis. iiid. ob.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The profects comyng of the perquisites of the courtes, fynes, and other casualties, are of the yerely value of iiili. xixs. vd.

Woodes.

Also there are apperteynyng unto the saide manor certayne woodes growing upon the commons there, the parcells wherof, in the foresaide particular boke of survey, plainly doe appere, and

be worth at this present tyme to be solde lxxxii*li*. owt of whiche wood there may a yerely wood sale be made of ii*li*.

Commons.

Also there are vii severall commons belonging unto the saide manor, called Monke wood hill, Doyle wood, Cosmore, Popling, Wykemarshe, Myllemarshe, and Castell wood, whiche doe contayne in all cccxviii acres.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there are belonging unto the sayde manor certayne able persons, allwayes redie to doe the king service, in nombre xxv.

(Sum total of the Manor of Bucklonde) lxxxiii*li*. iiis. ix*d*. ob.

THE MANOR OF WARNEHALL.

Demaynes, Rentes, and Perquisites of Courtes.

The demaynes viii*li*. viiis. ii*li*d. rentes of assise xs. customarye rentes xlvi*li*. xviiis. vd. a perquisites of courtes with fynes of landes xlixs. ii*li*d. apperteynyng unto the saide manor, are of the yerely value of lix*li*. vs. id.

Woodes.

Also there are apperteynyng unto the saide manor dyverse small parcells of woode, the parcells wherof in the foresaide particular boke of survey, at thistymefullye doe appere, are worthe now to be solde clxxiii*li*. viiis. oute of whiche woodes there may a yerely wood sale be made of viii*li*. xiiis.

Common.

Also there is a common apperteynyng unto the saide manor, called Shortwood, conteynyng by estimation lxxx acres.

A Quarrey of Stone.

Also there is a faire and large quarrey of stone, and of a greate depthe. The stone thereof is free stone, and the tenautes have their stone there

allwayes for their reparacions, and therefore in value ii*li*.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there are inhabiting in the saide manor certayne able men to doe the kyng service, to the nombre of xxv.

Bondmen.

Also there are in the precinct of the saide manor certayne bondemenne, to the nombre of ix.

(Sum total of the Manor of Warnehall) lxvi*li*. xviiis. id.

BYNDON.

The saide ferme of Byndon, otherwise called Wyndforde, within the sayde shyre of Dorcet, is letton oute by indenture, for terme of yeres, for the some of xxv*li*. xiiis. ii*li*d.

(Sum total of the temporalities in Dorsetshire) cccxi*li*. iiis. ii*li*d. ob.

SPIRITUALTIES.

Parsonage and Pencions.

Also within the saide countie of Dorsetsheere there is one parsonage appropriat unto the saide late monasterye, called Sturminster Newton, x*li*. xs. and one pencion comming owt of the church of Marnehall, xxs. and are of the yerely value of xi*li*. xs.

(Sum total of temporalities and spiritualities in Dorsetshire) cccv*li*. xiiis. ii*li*d. ob.

The Countie of Barkeshere.

TEMPORALTIES.

THE MANNOR OF ASSHBURY.

Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenantes.

The rentes of assise and customarye tenautes there apperteynyng unto the saide manor, with

the workes and customes whiche they are bounde unto by the tenure of their landes, ys of the yerely value of xxxli. viiis. viid. ob.

Demaynes.

The scite of the said manor, with the demayne landes apperteyning unto the same, are letton oute by indenture for the some of ... xlii. vis. viiid.

Woodes.

Also there is a wood apperteyning unto the saide manor, conteyning by estimacion cc acres, beyng well sett with fayre okes and ashes, and is supposed to be worth now to be solde clxiiil. ix. s. iid. The underwoodes whereof, being well enclosed, when it is felled, will be yerely worthe vii.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there be demouring in the saide manor able persons to doe the kyng service, when so ever they shall be called upon, to the nombre of xi.

(Sum total of the manor of Ashbury)
xlviil. xvs. iid. ob.

(Sum total of the county of Berks)
xlviil. xvs. iid. ob.

The Countie of Wilteshere.

THE MANNOR OF NETLETONNE.

Rentes of Assise and Customarye Tenanntes.

The rentes of assise and customarye tenanntes apperteyning unto the said mannor, with the workes and customes wher unto they are bound by tenure of their landes, are in valew by the yere xxli. ix. s. xid.

Demaynes.

The scite of the saide manor, with the demayne landes apperteyning unto the same, ys worthe by the yere xli. vid.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fynes.

The perquisites of the courtes, with the fynes

of landes, were answered this yere, as appereth in the bokes of accompts, to the some of
iiii. xs. ix.

Woodes.

Also there is apperteyning unto the saide manor one wood, conteyning by estimation xxiii acres, with the shrubbed oke in them, which is supposed now worthe to be solde xxli. out of whiche wood there may a yerely wood sale be made of xxs.

Able Men to serve the King.

Also there be within the saide manor able persons to serve the kinges highnes, when nede shall requyre, to the nombre of xxv.

(Sum total of the Manor of Netletonne)
xxxviii. viiid.

THE MANNOR OF GRETLETONNE.

The scite of the saide manor, with the demaynes, cxviii. Rent of assise and coppie holders xvi. xviii. vd. ob. q.

Perquisites of courtes and fynes, with other casuaties, vii. xiii. iid. are of the yerely value of ...
xxviii. xs. viid. ob. q.

Also there are reciant and demouring of tenanntes, and other able persons, within the saide mannor, beyng in a redines when so ever they shal be premonyshed, to serve the kynges highnes, which are in nombre xxv.

Also there are within the precinct of the same manor certayne bondemen, whos bodies and goodes are alwais at the kinges highnes pleasure, in nombre vi.

THE MANNOR OF KYNGTONNE.

Demaynes, Rentes, and Perquisites of Courtes.

The scite of the saide manor, with the demaynes, lxviii. viiid. Rentes of assise and customary tenanntes, xxiii. viii. id. q. with the perquisites of courtes and fynes viii. xd. worthe by the yere xxxiii. xv. viid. q.

Wooddes.

Also there is a wood apperteynyng unto the sayde manor, whiche conteyneth by estimacion ccc acres, the most part wherof standeth by scrubbed and lopped okes, which are esteemed to be worthe now to be solde cxlii.

Also the tymbre in the saide wood, that is to saye, the greate okes, upon the vew taken therof is esteemed to be worthe xxli.

(Total of wood and timber) cxlii.

Oute of the whiche woodes there may a yerely wood sale be made, not hurting nor spoyling any of the tymbre or underwoods, but the saide woodes allwais to be as they are now, to the value of cs.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

There be also demouring within the saide manor certayn able persons allwayes in a readiness to doe the king service, when so ever they shal be called upon, to the nombre of xxv.

Bondemen.

Also there be within the circuite of the saide manor certain bondemen, bothe bodies and goodes, at the king's pleasure, in nombre ii.

(Sum total of the Manor of Kyngtonne) ..

xxxixli. xviii. viii. q.

*THE MANNOR OF CHRISTMALFORD.**Rentes, and Perquisites of Courtes.*

The rentes of assise and customarye tenanntes, xlviii. xixs. vd. ob. q. di. with fynes and perquisites of courtes xviii. viii. xd. are worthe by the yere lxviii. viii. iiiid. ob. q. di.

Woo des.

Also the woodes apperteynyng unto the saide manor do conteyn by estimacion ccc acres, wherein the tenanntes have theire common, when they be not copyd, the most part therof beyng okes, and greate tymbre, the underwood wherof, with

the loppes of the said grete okes, are supposed now to be worthe cli.

Also the tymber whiche ys in the saide wood, upon the vewe thereof taken, is esteemed and valued now worthe to be solde cli.

(Total of wood and timber) ccli.

Oute of whiche woodes there may be a yerely wood sale be made, not hurting nor spoyling any of the tymbre or underwoods, but the saide woodes to be in as good case as they are in nowe, to the value of viii.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there be inhabiting and demouring within the saide manor certaine able persons, beyng allwayes in a redines to doe the kyng service, to the nombre of

Also there are apperteyning unto the saide manor certayne bondemen at the kynges highnes pleasure, to the nombre of ii.

(Sum total of the manor of Christmalford) ...

lxxxiii. viii. iiiid. ob. q. d.

*THE MANOR OF DEVERELL LANGEBRIDGE.**Demaynes, Rentes, Fines, and Perquisites of Courtes.*

The scite of the saide manor, with the demaynes, ixli. vs. iiiid. Rentes of assise and customarye tenanntes lviii. viii. ix. di. q. with the fynes and perquisites of courtes lxxix. iiiid. ar worthe by the yere lxxli. xiii. iiiid. di. q.

Wooddes.

Also the woodes growing in certayne places about the saide manor, the parcell wherof in the particular boke of survey don appere are worth to be solde at this tyme lxxxli.

Also the tymbre in the saide wood, upon the vewe therof taken, is esteemed and valued now worth to be sold xxviii. iiis. iiiid.

(Total of woods and timber) ... cviii. iiis. iiiid.

Oute of whiche woodes there may a yerely wood sale be made, without hurt or spoyle of any

tymbre or underwoods there, but to be in as good case as they are in nowe, to the value of xls.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there are demouring within the saide manor certayne persons, bothe of tenanntes and other able, to doe the kyng servyce when so ever they shal be called upon, to the nombre of xv.

Bondmen.

Also there are within the same certayne bondmen, whose bodies and goodes are at the kynges highnes pleasure, to the nombre of ii.

(Sum total of the Manor of Deverell Langebridge) lxxiii*li*. xiii*s*. iii*d*. q.

THE MANNOR OF EASTEMONCKTON.

Rentes.

The rentes of customarye tenanntes and coppieholders perteynyng unto the saide manor, with the workes and customes, whiche they are bounde unto by tenure of their landes, ys of the yerely value of xvi*li*. ii*s*. vi*d*. ob. q.

Demayns.

The scite of the saide manor, with the demaynes apperteyning unto the same, are of the yerely value of xix*li*. vi*s*. viii*d*.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there are inhabiting within the saide manor bothe tenaunts and other able persons, allways redie when so ever they shal be called upon, to the nombre of xxi.

Bondmen.

There be also within the same certayne bondmen, beyng at the kinges pleasure, both bodie and goodes, to the nombre of i.

(Sum total of the Manor of Eastemonckton) .. xxvi*li*. ix*s*. ii*d*. ob. q.

THE MANNOR OF WYNTERBORNE.

Rentes and Demaynes.

The rentes of assise xx*s*. iii*d*. Customarye rentes xiii*li*. iii*s*. ix*d*. Demaynes xii*li*. x*d*. with the workes and customes whiche they are bounde to doe by tenure of their landes, are of the yerely value of xxviii*li*. vi*s*. x*d*.

Perquisits of Courtes and Fines.

The profitts comyng upon the perquysites of the courtes, with fynes and other casualties, are answered now to the kynges highnes this yere, as appereth in the bokes of accompts, to the some of xxi*s*. i*d*.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there are reciannt and demouring within the saide manor, bothe of tenanntes and other able persons, to doe the kyng servyce, when so ever they shal be called upon, to the nombre of xxiii.

Bondmen.

Also there are apperteyning unto the saide manor, certayne bondemen at the kynges pleasure, both bodyes and goodes to the nombre of i.

(Sum total of the Manor of Wynterborne) ... xxviii*li*. viii*s*. x*d*..

THE MANNOR OF BADBURY.

Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenanntes.

The rentes of assise of the freholders apperteynyng unto the saide manor are of the yerely value of xiii*s*.

The rentes of the customarie tenanntes and coppieholders, apperteyning unto the saide manour, with the workes and customes which they are bounde unto by tenure of their landes, are of the yerely value of xv*li*. x*s*. x*d*. ob.

(Total of rents of assize and customary tenants)
xvili. iiis. xd. ob.

Demaynes.

The scyte of the saide manor of Badburye, with the demaynes apperteyning unto the same, are of the yerely value of xlii. iiis. iiid.

Perquisites of Courtes and Fines.

The perquisites of the courtes, with the fynes and other casualties, belonging unto the saide manor, were answered this yere in the boke of accomptes to the some of viii. ix. iiid.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there be of the inhabitantes within the saide manor, bothe of tenanntes and other persons, able to do the kyng servyce when they shal be called upon, to the nombre of xii.

Bondmen.

There be also belonging unto the saide manor certayne bonde men to the nombre of i.

(Sum total of the Manor of Badbury)
xxxvli. xviiis. vd. ob.

THE MANNOR OF DOMMERHAMME.

Rents of Assise and Customary Tenanntes.

The rentes of assise apperteynyng unto the said mannor, alwayes paiable at the feasts of thannunciation of our Ladye and saint Michael tharchangell, are of the yerely value of lvs. viid.

The rentes of the customarye tenanntes and coppieholders apperteyning unto the saide mannor, with the workes and customs, whiche by tenure of there landes they are bounde to doe, are of the yerely valewe of xli. xixs. vd. ob.

(Total of rents of assise, &c.) xciii. l. xv. vd. ob.

Demaynes, Perquisites of Courtes, and Fynes.

The scite of the saide mannor, with the demayne landes apperteynyng unto the same, lett out for terme of yeres for the some of xlii. xiiis. viiid.

The profitts commying of the perquisites of

courts, fynes, amerciamentes, and other casualties rysing of the same, were answered this yere unto the kynges highnes, as it appereth in the booke of accomptes this yere at xli. ix. iiid.

(Total of demaynes, &c.) lii. iiis.

Wodes and Tymber.

Also there are dyvers wodes perteyning unto the saide mannor, very well sett with okes, asshes, and maples, the parcells with the acres wherof in the particular boke of survey at this present tyme made fully doe appere, whiche are esteemed now worth to be solde, over and besides the tymbre, dxiii. xiiis. vd.

Also the tymbre growing and beyng within the saide wodes, wherof the nombre of the trees with the several prices in the foresaide particular boke of survey playnly doe appere, is esteemed to the value of dlvi. xv. viid.

(Total of wood and timber) mlxxli. xs.

Out of the whiche wodes, the tymbre and olde woods nor mynyshed, spoyled, nor hurt, but still to contynue as they are nowe, there maye a yerely wood sale be made therof to the some and value of xxvli. xd.

Games of Fesanntes.

Also within the saide wodes there were founde at this present survey ii eyes of fesanntes, whiche allwayes heretofore have ben used to brede there, ii eyes.

Able Men to serve the Kyng.

Also there are reciannt and demouring within the saide lordship, of the tenanntes appertayning unto the same, allwayes beyng in a redines when so ever they shal be called upon to serve the kyng, to the nombre of xlvi.

(Sum total of the Manor of Dommerhamme) ...
clxviii. vis. iiid. ob.

THE MANNOR OF IDMISTONNE.

Rentes of Assise and Customary Tenanntes.

The rentes of assise of the freholders apperteyn-

ying unto the saide mannor of Idemyston are of the yerely value of xxviii. ix. d.

The rentes of the coppieholders and customary tenantes appending unto the saide manor, with the workes and customes which they are bounde to doe by tenure of theire landes, are of the yerely value of xviii. xs. iiid. ob.

(Total of rents) xviii. xixs. ob.

Demaynes, Perquisites of Courtes, and Fines.

The scite of the saide mannor, with the demaynes apperteyning unto the saide mannor, are of the yerely value of viii. xiiis. iiid.

The profitts commying of the perquysites of courts, fynes, and other casualties, were answered this yere unto the kynges highnes to the some of viii. viis.

(Total of demaynes and perquisites) xviii. iiid.

Able Menne to serve the Kyng.

Also there are recyannt and inhabiting within the saide manor, of tenantes and other able persons, beyng in a redines to serve the kynges highnes when so ever they shal be called upon, to the nombre of xx.

Bondemen.

Also there are within the precincte of the same mannor certayn bondmen, whose bodies and goodes are at the kynges highnes pleasure, to the nombre of xviii.

(Sum total of the manor of Idmiston) xxxv. xixs. iiid. ob.

(Sum total of the temporalities in the county of Wilts) dlvi. ix. s. xd. q.

SPIRITUALTIES

The Parsonages of Dommerhamme, Marton, Deverellangbrydge.

The tithes of corne and haye apperteyning unto the rectorye or parsonage of Dommerham, within the saide countie of Wiltshyre aforesaide,

with other tithes to the same belonging, are of the yerely value of xviii.

The tithes of corne and haye apperteyning unto the chapell of Martonne, with other tithes to the same belonging and pertayning, are of the yerely value of xli. xiiis. iiid.

The tithes of corne, haye, and all other maner of tithes apperteyning unto the parsonage of Deverell Langbridge, within the saide countie of Wiltshire, with certayne glebe landes unto the same belonging, are worthe by the yere lxiii. vis. vid. whereof in glebe landes, lxiii. tithes and offeringes, lxi. viis. vid.

Pencion.

Also there is apperteyning unto the saide late attained monasterye a pencion commying out of the churche of Deverell Langbridge, within the said countie of Wiltshire, whiche the vicare of the saide churche is bounde to paye, and ys of the yerely value of xxvi. viid.

(Sum total of spiritualities in Wiltshire) xciii. xis. vid.

(Sum total of temporalities and spiritualities in Wiltshire) dclii. xv. d. q.

London.

TEMPORALTIES.

Also within the citie of London there are certayne landes and tenementes now apperteyning unto the kynges highe majestie by thattaincture of the saide late monasterye, whiche are lett oute to dyvers persons there for terme of yeres to the yerely value xxxi. xiiis. viid.

Also within the saide citie of London there are certayne other tenementes and gardynes apperteyning unto the kynges highnes, by reason of the saide attaincture of the same late monasterye attained, which were allwaies kepte in the abbatts owne handes to the yerely value of lxvis. viid.

(Sum total of temporalities in London) xxxiv. xixs. iiid.

Wales.

TEMPORALTIES.

THE MANNOR OF BARSLAKE.

Rentes of Assise.

The rents of assise of the freholders apperteynyng unto the saide mannor of Barslake, allwayes payable at the feastes of thannunciacion of oure ladye and saint Michaell tharchangell, as it dothe appere in olde terror therof made, are of the yerely value of vis. viiid.

The Scite of the House and Demaynes.

The scite of the saide mannor, with the demayne landes apperteynyng therunto, are letten oute by indenture for diverse yeres yet to come, and were answered this yere unto the kynges most high majestie, as it dothe appere in the bookes of accomptes, to the some of xxiiiii.

(Sum total of the temporalities in Wales) ...
xxiiiii. vis. viiid.

Somme totall of all the foresaid landes and possessions, as well spirituall as temporall, over and besides olde wodes and tymbre perteyning to the saide late monasterie in the counties of

Somersetshere.

TEMPORALTIES.

Rentes and fermes of copieholders, customary tenannts, indenture holders and demaynes, mmccxxiiii iii x. ob.
Perquisites of courtes, fynes, and other casualties, cccclxxiiii. iii. iiiii. q. di.
Woodde sales over and besydes olde woodes, communibus annis, ... lxvii. iii. vi.

Able men beyng allwaies in a redines to serve the kyngs highe majestie, dccccxxvii.

Bondemen of blood whos bodies and goodes are allwayes at the kyng's pleasure, ccxxvii.

(Sum total of temporalities in Somersetshire) mmdccclxxiiii. x. viii. ob. q. di.

SPIRITUALTIES.

Personages cccxv. iii. iiiii.
Pencions xxxii. xvi. viii.
Porcions of tythes ... iiiii. v.
Proxies and synodes ... liii. q.
(Sum total of spiritualities in Somersetshire) cccliiii. xviii. q.
(Sum total of temporalities and spiritualities in Somersetshire) mmmcxix. viii. ix. q.

Wiltshere.

TEMPORALTIES.

Rentes and fermes of copie holders, indenture holders and demaynes ccccliiii. ii. q.
Perquisites of courtes, fines, and other casualties lxix. xii.
Yerely wood sales, over and besydes tymbre and old wood xxxiiii. vi. x.
Able men beyng in a redines to serve the kyng, ccxxxii.
Bondmen of blood, xxxiiii.
(Sum total of temporalities in Wiltshire) ... dlvii. ix. x. q.

SPIRITUALTIES.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Personages xciii <i>li.</i> iiis. <i>xd.</i>	ccxciii.	xi.	vi.
Pencions xxvis. viiid.			
(Sum total of temporalities and spiritualities in Wilt- shire	dcii.	xvi.	

Dorset sheere.

TEMPORALTIES.

Rentes and fermes of cus- tomary tenantes, inden- ture holders & demaynes	ccxl.	x.	iiis.
Perquisites of courtes, fines, and other casualties ...	xxv.	xix.	q.
Wood sales over and be- sides olde woodes, com- munibus annis	xxii.	xiii.	
Able men, xciii.			
Bondemen, ii.			
(Sum total of temporalities in Dorsetshire)	ccxciii.	ii.	iiis. ob.

SPIRITUALTIES.

Personages <i>xli.</i> <i>xs.</i>	xi.	x.
Pencions <i>xxs.</i>		
(Sum total of temporalities and spiritualities in Dor- setshire)	ccxciii.	ii. iiis. ob.

Glocester sheere.

TEMPORALTIES AND SPIRITUALTIES

Rentes and fermes by yere <i>vii.</i> <i>viiid.</i>	cccv.	xi.	iiis. ob.
Annual pensions by yere ... <i>lxxvis.</i> <i>viiid.</i>			

Barkshire.

TEMPORALTIES.

Rentes and fermes by the yere, xxxviii <i>li.</i> xixs. iid. ob.	} xlviii.	xv.	ii. ob.
Perquisites of courtes, lxxvis.			
Wood sales, com- munibus annis] <i>vii.</i>			
Able men to serve the kyng, <i>xi.</i>			

Devonshire.

TEMPORALTIES.

Rentes and fermes by yere, xxv <i>li.</i> xixs. ix <i>d.</i>	} xxxiii.	iii.
Perquisites of courtes, ... <i>vii.</i> <i>xiii.</i>		
Wood sales, com- munibus annis, <i>vis.</i> <i>vid.</i>		
Able men to serve the kyng, <i>x.</i>		

London.

TEMPORALTIES.

Rentes of certayne tenements there,	xxxiv <i>li.</i> xixs. iiid.
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Wales.

TEMPORALTIES.

A manner called Barslake, by yere,	xxiii <i>li.</i> vis. viiid.
SUM TOTAL of all the fore- said lands,	mmmmccxxviii <i>li.</i> xiiid. q. di.

SOMME total of all the able men beyng allwayes in a redines to serve the kyng when they shal be called upon mclxxiiii: Bondemen of blood apperteyning unto the sayde late attainted monasterye, cclxxi: Whiche have in a redines at all tymes when they shal be called upon to serve the kyngs highe majesty d. payre of harness.

The totall somme of all the foresaide landes, rentes, and possessions, which was certified unto the kynges most highe majesty, for the tenth of the same late monasterye, mmmviii. xiiis. iiid. ob. q.

And so this survey, without any improvement or any tenante paying any peny or somme of money more then of olde tyme he hathe don, exceedeth the saide certificat, as it doith appere by the booke of the tenth, dccxviii. viis. ix. ob.

Fees and wages of, The baylyves and reves, for the collection and gatheryng of the money and rentes of the tenants and fermours, lxxii. viis. iid.: Certayne officers graunted by the late abbat of high treason attaynted, and the convent under their seale, for terme of their lyves, xxxviii. viis. viiid.

Decayes of rentes of landes graunted out by the sayde traytor and convent, for lesse rent then heretofore hath ben paide, and decayes of tenementes, xxxiii. viiid.

(Total of fees and wages, and of decayes) cxlii. xiiiiis. vid.

The cleve remaynder of	This survey, as in the particular boke thereof taken it dothe appere	li. s. d. mmmlxxxv. vi. viii. q.	And so this survey exceedeth the boke of the tenth dclxxiii. xixs. iiid. ob.
The boke of the tenth certifyde by the commyssioners to the kyngs highnes	The boke of the tenth certifyde by the commyssioners to the kyngs highnes	mmmcexi. vii. iiiii. ob. q. d.	

SOME total of all the woodes and tymbre apperteyning unto the saide attainted monasterye of Glastonburye, videlicet:

In the Countie of Somerset shere.

Glastonburye, woodes	cxxxiii.		
xs. vid. tymbre	cccxi.	xs.	
(total)		dxliii.	vi.
Mere, woodes	lxixs.	tymbre	viii.
Wrighton, woodes	xcixli.	viis.	
viid. tymbre	lxxxli.		clxxix. vii. vii.
Pylton, woodes	xlvi.	tymbre	cli.
Godenhaye, woodes	ciili.	ixs.	
iiid. tymbre	lxli.		clxii. ix. iiiii.
Budcleygh, woodes	dcccxli.	xvs.	
id. tymbre	lxxxli.		dccxc. xv. i.
Baltesborough, woodes	cxli.	tymbre	cclxi.
		cccc.	
Merkesburye, woodes	lxvii.	xixs.	
viid. tymbre	xlvi.		cvi. xix. viii.
(Sum total of the woods and tymbre in Somersetshire)	mmcccxxxviii.	xiiid.	

The Countie of Dorset shere.

Newtonne, woodes	ccli.	tymbre	clxviii.
	xiiis. iiid.	(total)	... cclxvii. xiii. iiiii.
Bucklonde, woodes	lxxli.	tymbre	xlvi.
		lxxxii.	
Marnehall, woodes	cxlvii.	xiiis.	
viid. tymbre	xxvii.	xiiis. iiid.	clxxiii. viii.
(Sum total of the woods and timber in Dorsetshire)		dccxxxiii.	xviid.

The Countie of Barke shere.

Asshebery, woodes within the saide manor,	ciil.	ixs. iid.	tymbre within the same mannore
lxli.		clxli.	ixs. iid.

The Countie of Wiltes shere.Netletonne, woodes xvi*li*. tymbreiiii*li*. (total) xx.Kyngtonne, woodes cxli*li*. tymbre

xxli. clx.

Christmalforde, woodes cli. viii*li*.

xvs. tymbre cli. ccli. viii. xv.

Deverellangbridge, woodes lxxxli.

tymbre xxviii*li*. iiis. iiid. cvii. iii. iiii.Dommerham, woodes dxiii*li*. xiiis.

vd. tymbre dlvi. xvis. viid. ... mlxx. x.

(Sum total of the woods and

timber in Wiltshire) mdlxvi*li*. viiis. iiid.

SUM totall of all the woodes and

tymbre mmmmdcccli.

N^o. XXI.*SELECTIONS and EXTRACTS from the Ancient ACCOUNTS of the CHURCHWARDENS of the Parish of St. John the Baptist, Glastonbury.*

A LEASE: in words at length. A. D. 1301.

Anno Domini MCCC*i*. ad festum beati Michaelis de consensu parochianorum Glastoniae Willelmus Herding Adam Herdyng et Radulphus Vyrly nunc custodes ecclesie beati Johannis Glastonie tradiderunt et concesserunt Johanni de Gothurste carpentario et Aubree uxori sue unam seldam in villa Glastonie que sita est in magno vico in Australi parte cemiterii Sancti Johannis inter seldam quam tenet Rogerus le Shethere et tenementum sacriste Glastonie Habendam et tenendam dictam seldam dominis Johanni et Aubree quoad advixerint de custodibus dicte ecclesie qui pro tempore fuerint bene et in pace Reddendo inde annuatim custodibus qui pro tempore fuerint ad sustentacionem fabrice dicte ecclesie quinque solidos sterlingorum ad quatuor anni terminos principales equis porcionibus pro omni servicio exactione et demandatione Dicti vero Johannes et Aubrea dictam seldam ad proprios sumptus suos quotiens necesse fuerit emendabunt et sustentabunt nec licebit eisdem dictam seldam alicui tradere sine licentia custodum qui pro tempore fuerint Et custodes qui pro tempore fuerint dictam seldam dictis Johanni et Aubree quoad advixerint vel uni eorum qui supervixerit contra omnes mortales Garantizabunt acquietecabunt et defendent Et post decessum eorundem dicta selda cum omnibus appertinenciis ibidem ad custodes qui pro tempore fuerint ad usus predictos libere revertetur. Et si prefati Johannes aut Aubrea noluerint vel non potuerint predictam seldam sustinere vel predictum redditum solvere tunc licebit custodibus qui pro tempore fuerint ipsam seldam in manibus(illegible)..... prout melius ipsis viderit expedire facere et ordinare. In cujus rei testimonio presenti scripto in modo cyrographi diviso tam dicti Willelmus Adam et Rodolphus tunc custodes quam dicti Johannes et Aubrea sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt Hiis testibus Johanne Pasturel, Philippo More, Magistro Nicholao le Engynton, Nicholao de Batecumbe, Ricardo Pistore, et aliis.

An ELEEMOSYNARY DEED of GIFT to the use of the Church of St. John the Baptist, about the date of the preceding Lease, as the Names evince: in Words at length. Its seal remains.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rodolphus Vyrly de Glastonia dedi concessi & hoc presenti

scripto confirmavi demisi & omnino quietum clamavi de me & heredibus meis in perpetuum Deo & beate Marie, & ecclesie beati Johannis Glastonie unam placiam terre in villa Glastonie que jacet in vico qui vocatur Grope****Lane illam scilicet quam habui ex dono Richardi de Bycceme Habendam & tenendam dictam placiam terre cum suis pertinenciis de capitalibus dominis feudi illius per servicia inde debita & consueta ad usus fabrice dicte ecclesie sine ullo recevimento mei vel heredum meorum in liberam puram & perpetuam eleemosinam In cujus rei testimonio presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui Hiis testibus Willelmo Pasturel, Roberto Coco, Johanne More, Willelmo Herdyng, Adam Herdyng, Adam Page, Nicholao de Battecumbe, et aliis.

An ELEEMOSYNARY GRANT of certain PREMISES in GLASTONBURY to the use of the Church of St. John the Baptist. It has no date, as was a common case with the Anglo-Norman Charters, but appears, from the character, to be of the Thirteenth Century. In words at length.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum visuris vel auditoris Hamo Malerbe salutem in Domino Vestra noverit universitas me dedisse et concessisse pro salute anime mee et Isabelle uxoris mee et pro animabus Roberti patris mei et Sabine matris mee in propriam et perpetuam eleemosynam Domino et Beate Marie et capellanis in ecclesia beati Johannis Glastonie missam beate Marie celebrantibus in subsidium Redditus duodecim denariorum unius messuagii in Nordelod Quod quidem messuagium scitum est inter tenementum Thome Wetweder ex una parte et tenementum Ade Blundi quod de me tenet ex altera Percipiendi videlicet ad la Hokday tres denarii ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptisti tres denarii ad festum Sancti Michaelis tres denarii et ad Natale Domini tres denarii Quod si a celebratione memorate Virginis Marie in prenominata ecclesia cessaverint quod absit dispono et volo quod dictus redditus ad lumen Sancte Marie in prefata ecclesia permaneat Ego vero dictus Hamo et heredes mei predictum redditum duodecim denariorum predictis capellanis missam beate Marie celebrantibus vel ad sustentacionem luminis Sancte Marie ut dictum est contra omnes mortales warrantizabimus in perpetuum Et ne ego Hamo vel heredes mei contra hanc meam donacionem venire possimus presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione roboravimus Hiis testibus Willielmo Aurifabro, Roberto de Lavendria, Thoma de Grecia, Johanne Pasturel, Philippo Drugemano, Willelmo Rupho, Stephano Drake, et aliis.

Indorsed thus, in a handwriting of the fourteenth century:—Nunc Walterus Commisshe laborer tenet Rodelane.

A DEED of GIFT of certain PREMISES to the Church and Parish of Saint John the Baptist : with the Contractions of the Original. No date : early in the fourteenth Century.

Sciant p̄sentes & futuri q'd ego Laurentius filius Petri Gamelin & Alicie uxoris ejusd̄m dedi concessi & hac p̄senti carta mea confirmavi Misse b̄e Marie in ecclesia beati Joh̄is Baptiste de Glaston. & ejusdem loci toti pōchie in puram eleemosynam totū jus & clamiū qōd hūi vel hēre potui de uno messuagio cū suis p̄tinent. in villa Glaston. in vico de Northilode sito int. teneṃtu. Eli le Luminur. et teneṃtu. qōd q̄dam tenuit Elias Brun H̄ndum et tenendum d't'm messuagiu. cu. omnibus et singul. suis p̄tinēt. d'te misse b̄e Marie p̄d'te eccl̄ie & ejusd̄m loci toti pōchie libere quiete b̄n.

& in pace imp̄petuum sine aliquo receivim̄to mei v'l hēdu. meor. Reddēdo inde & faciendo Dñis feudi servicia debita & consueta pro om̄ib's serviciis sēc'laribus exacōnibus & demandis michi vel hēdibus meis p̄tinentibus Et ego d't's Laurent. & hed. mei p̄d't'e misse bē Marie d't'e ecclīe & toti ejusdem loci pūchie p̄nominatu. messuagiu. cu. om̄ibus p̄tinent. suis ut p̄dtm̄ est contr. om̄es mortales warantizabim. acquietabim. & imp̄petuu. defendem. Et ut hec mea donatō concessio & carta mee confirmatō robur firmitatis obtineat p̄senti carte mee sigillu. meu. apposui Hiis testibus Johē Pasturel, Roberto de Lavendria, Hugone Pruet, Thoma de Ivethorne, Roberto Coco, Philippo More, Ricard. Mēatore, Willō Hardyng, Johē Durand, et multis aliis.

Indorsed:—De ten. Johīs de Rokesmille.

A CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, from the Year 1377 to 1378: with the Contractions.

Glastonia. Compotus Riči Murymouth & Johīs Aldentun custodū bonōr ecclīe Scī Johīs ibm̄ a fō Nat' Dñi anno ejusdm̄ dñi millio ccclxxvijmo. usq' idm̄ fm̄ px'm sequens viz. p. aṃ integñ.

Arrerag. Idm̄ f̄t de iiijl. xiijs. vid. ob. q. de aṛr comp annoṛ pcedentem. Sma iiijl. xiijs. vid. ob. q.

Redd' assis. Idem f̄ de cxvs. iijd. de redd' assis p̄ annū. Sma cxvs. iijd.

Legat' Idem f̄ de ijs. de legat' Willī Murrye ad fabricam ecclīe p̄dicte.

Vendit' Instauri. Idem f̄ de ijs. de lactag'. unīs vacē p̄ annū. Et de ijs. vd. de pepla sīca (a silk veil) de legat' Johñe Tavñers vendita. Sma iiijjs. vd.

Res. necess'ria. Idem f̄. de xs. id. ob. q. de collectōne totīs Pochie ae Trendel candel cont. fm̄ Pasche hoc anno. Sma xs. id. ob. q.

Sē. Sma tot reē cū aṛr. xjl. vjs. iijd. ob. q.

Expeñ.

Resolut. Redd. In redd. resolut. p̄po Dñi Abbīs p̄. teñ quondm̄ Robñ Skynner ijs.s. p̄ annū. Sma. ijs.

Def'tus. Reddit. In deftm̄ redd' unius cottag cū cuntillag. qñdam Johīs Kempe p̄ aṃ viijd. q'. vaē. In deftū c̄ unius plac̄ qñdam Johīs Luccomb p̄ aṃ vjs. q. vaē In deftū c̄ unius cotag. qñdam Johīs Leigh de red' tñi Nāt. Dñi ix d. q' vaē In deftū f̄ ejusdem cotag. de redd' t'moṛ Pasche Scī Johīs & Scī Michīs xvij d. viz. p̄ qōlt termio vjd. q. idm̄ cotag. p̄dict' fuit Johī Aldenham p̄ aṃ redditu duodecim denaṛ p̄ aṃ incpñdo reddere ad fm̄ Pasche hoc anno tmo In deftū f̄ unius cottag' qñdam Jolyfs p̄ aṃ ijs. q'. vaē In deftū f̄ unius cottag' qñdam Riči le Messag' p̄ aṃ xiij q' vaē In deftū f̄ Willī Hardyng p̄ aṃ xij d. q' nescit' a quo debent levare In deftū redd' unius cottag' cū curilag' qñdam Johī Firon p̄ aṃ xij d. q' in mañ prōris & non potest inveniri destrict' In deftū f̄ Johē Peyntos' p̄ an. xij d. q' vaē In deftū f̄ Thome Bak' teneñt uñ curtill' in Cartlane p̄ aṃ iiij d. q' vaē In deftū f̄ aṇtim cūrr' de quo custod' nō hēnt evidēnt nē sciūt ubi illū levare ijs. viij d. In deftū ejusdem f̄ p̄ ij aṇ elaps' nō tūc comput' vs. iiij d. viz. p̄ qōlt anno ijs. viij d. Sma xxijjs. iij d.

Expn' necc'rie In solucōne fact' Well' p̄ mān Nichī Capellī pōchial' p̄ uno psaltīo ecclē s̄ci Johis Glaston ibm̄ posit' ad vadm̄ [a Psalter put out to pawn] xvd. Solut' p̄ ij. obit' annuatim in ecclīa p̄dicta tenend' ijd. Solut' Willō Redeman p̄ consilī id. Smā xviijd.

Stipen' Familor' In allocutōne fact' duob' custodit' bonor' ecclē p̄ añ dī m̄rc in stipeñ clīci fač cōmp una cū p̄gamenō ad idm̄ cōmp xijd. Smā vijs. viijjd.

Libm. - Libm̄ Willō Kyng & Johī Sherp̄ custod' succedent' lxxvs. p̄ i. tāll' Smā lxxvs. sic smā tot' expn̄ & libačē cs. vjd. Et sic debent custod' vjli. vs. xd. ob.

Inde s' { Henr̄ Tame & Johā Vaysher nup̄ custodes xxiijs. iijjd.
Willm̄ Murie & Rob' Lavendrie custod' p. ipōs xxiijs. ijd.
Johā Sealonn & Thom̄ Boxwell custod' p̄ ipōs lxxvijs. ob. q.
Johā Osteler & Ricm̄ Murymouth nuč custodes xijs. iiijjd. ob. q.

Indorsement.

Instaur. vivū. Idem f̄ de j vacca de rem̄.....Et rem̄ j vacca mortm̄ instaur. Idem f̄ de j olla cū j firmačlo argent' vj anulis argent' deaurat' vj peplis. j tuall' & j locuto de rub' velvet de rem̄. Et de j tuall' de legat' Alic Cottone. Et de j pepla sīca de legat' Joh' Tav'ner. This is lined through in the original, and written over, q' vend' infra. The peplum (or silk veil) had been sold.

A CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT for the Year 1403: in words at length.

Glastonia. Compotus Laurentii Davi & Willelmi Conniber custodum bonorum ecclesie Sancti Johannis Baptiste ibidem a die Sabbati proximi post festum Sancte Lucie virginis anno Domini millesimo cccciij usque die Sancti Johannis Evangeliste anno domini millesimo cccciij^{to}.

Redditus Assise. Idem respondent de cxixs. x. de redditu assise prioris Natalis Domini, Pasche, Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste & Sancti Michaelis ut patet per antiquos redditus, cum ijs. de incremento redditus Johannis Dorsete pro uno cotagio cum curtillagio in Northlode quondam Johannis Moorene, hoc anno quarto cxixs. xd.

Exitus officii. Idem respondent de xjs. iijjd. de collectione ad Pascham pro cereo parochiali. Et de xijd. de medietate locagii unius vacci Sancti Johannis et capellani ecclesie parochialis ejusdem et de ijs. de ij torchiis locatis executoribus defunctorum sepeliendorum hoc anno et de ijs. iiijjd. de legatione Margarete Wason. Et de vjd. de uno anulo de legatione Isabelle que fuit uxor Johannis Pennynt vendito xixs. iiijjd. —vil. xixs. ijd.

Excessus. In excessu ultimi compoti anni precedentis ijs. vd. ob. Summa ijs. vd. ob.

Resolucio redditus. In redditu resolutō proposito Domini Abbatis pro tenemento quondam Skynnere ijs. ad iiij terminos. Summa ijs.

Expense necessarie. In ferramentum unius fenestre fracte de iiij barris ponderis xli. faciendis una cum ferro ad idem empto xijd. In una screna cum clave ad eandem emptā vjd. In xxxli. cere emptis ad diversa lumina inde faciendā xiijs. ixjd. In stipendiis unius tegulatoris per j diem tegule super alam beate Marie per loca defectiva vjd. Item in iij baudreys (bell-ropes) emptos ad campanas pulsandas ixjd. In c petris tegularibus emptis ad predictam alam beate Marie per loca emendenda xvjd. In uno tegulatore per xxxiiij dies dicte tegule super alam per longitudinem ecclesie ex parte boriali ad

chorum ixs. x ob. qui cepit per diem vd. In uno carpentario conducto (hired) per xvij dies ad deserviendum dicto tegulatori xvijd. capiendo per diem jd. In iij quateris j bushello calcis emptis ijs. jd. pretio bushelli jd.....In arundinibus emptis apud Mere viz. cccxxx garbinis (bundles) ijs. vid. prout c. ixd. In dictis arundinibus carriadnis a Mere usque Glaston vjd. In uno tegulatore conducto pro simente (a week) ad illam tegendam (ecclesiam) ad chorum ijs. ijd. In vestimentis ecclesie lavandis per annum vd. In una classe (bench) defracta reparanda per Willelmum Smyth xxd.—xlvijs. viijd. ob. q.

In vadiis & stipendiis domini Thome Hooper capellani beate Marie Virginis per annum iiijli. In stipendiis duorum custodum bonorum ecclesie per annum vjs. viijd. In stipendiis clerici pro compoto faciendo cum pergameno empto ad idem xxd.—iiijli. viijs. iiijd. Totalis vijli. xvijd. ob.

A CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT for the Year 1406. In words at length.

Compotus custodum infra scriptorum de anno domini Millesimo ccccvi^{to}.

Arreragia Summa xs. id. ob. q.

Redditus assise Summa cxixs. xd.

Exitus officii. Idem respondent de xijs. de collectione ad Pascham pro cereo Paschali.

Defectus redditus. Summa xxs. iiijd.

Expense necessarie. In ramis arborum crescentium circa cimiterium beati Johannis seperandis & fasciculis focalibus ex illis ramis faciendis predictis ut in duobus hominibus conductis ad idem per vj dies iiijjs. quorum vadiorum cepit (each took) per diem iiijd. In virgis salicibus emptis ad dicta fascicula liganda ijd. (The remainder of this part of the account is for hemp, and wax for torches; xd. for washing vestments for the year; and xvjd. for repairing a broken bench.)—xxiijs. vjd. ob.

Vadia et Stipendia. In vadiis & stipendiis Thome Hooper capellani beate Marie Virginis per annum iiijli. In stipendiis Laurentii Davi & Willelmi Coniber custodum bonorum ecclesie per annum vj. viij. (clerk's fee xxd.) Summa iiijli. viijs. iiijd.

Summa totium expensarum vijli. xiijs. vid. ob. et sic debent custodes xxxixs. vjd. q.

ABSTRACT of a CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT for the Year 1407: in words at length.

Compotus custodum prenominatorum anno Domini millesimo cccc septimo.

Arreragia xxxixs. vjd.

Redditus assise cxixs. xd.

Exitus officii. Idem respondent de uno velane vendito Johanne Combe. Et de xvjd. de uno velane vendito Edith Felde. Et de xiiijd. de restis meremii remanentis de meremio ale beati Nicholai nuper combuste (a beam lately burned in St. Nicholas's chapel) vendito. Et de xiiid. de medietate locagii unius vacce. Et de vjs. viiid. de leccione Roberti Drake sepulti. Summa xxiijs. jd.—Summa totalis cum arraragiis lxli. ijs. xd. q.

Defectus Redditus. In defectu redditus magistri Thome Burton tenentis tenementum quondam

Jervasii Gripe nuper incendio vastatum per annum viijs. ad iiij terminos quod concedit eisdem Thome & Johanni Boclund ad remenationem vite utriusque eorum.—Summa *xxs. iiijd.*

The COMPOTUS for 1418, Thomas Dunster and Matthew Stokwode, Churchwardens, contains, under the head of Necessaria, the following items :

In cera & lichno emptis una cum factura cereorum per annum vijs. *xjd.* In locione vestimentorum & aliorum ornamentorum cum paruris *xvd.* In bawdreis dicte campane defracte emendatione *ijd.* In uno novo candelabro facto de ferro de Stauro cum eodem assedendo coram ymagine beate Marie *ijd.* In ij novis torchiis faciendis *xijd.* In iij altaribus in ecclesia.....viz. Beate Marie Sancti Georgii.....*xxs.* In feodo dato familie sue *xxd.* In vino & franchincense emptis ad idem *ijd.* In pane cervisia & carnibus emptis pro eadem familia sua & pro sacerdotibus & aliis de parochia auxiliariis ad dictum officium *xvd.* Preter unum porcellum de dono sacriste—porcellum de dono Archidiaconi Glaston j ansam j porcellum de dono J. Sealom capellani—In pane equino empto (corn) pluribus equis suffragani *viijd.*.....dicto suffraganeo querendo apud Wellensem....conducto pro *ijd.*—In j frontale *xxjd.* de blodio bokereham (of blue buckram.)

Et supra Thomam Dunster & Mattheum Stockwood nunc custodes *lxvjs. ob.*

Here follows an inventory of the goods of the church, but so defaced by damp as to be illegible.

The COMPOTUS for 1421. John Morthfield and John Smert, Churchwardens. Under the head of Necessaria are the following items :

In ij novis torchiis ponderantibus *xxvijli. ixs. iiijd.* In una nova cruce de dono Mathei Stoke-wood defuncti *ijs. jd.* In uno novo suppellicio empto pro clerico parochiali *iijs. ix d.* In une veteris ciste in ecclesia defracte emendacione *jd.* In lotionem vestimentorum per annum *xiiijd.* In quodam muro luteo ex parte occidentali cimeterii facto in loco ubi scalora prius fuit facto *iiijd.* In una nova clave pro ostio ecclesie empti *iiijd.* In quadam patella ferri pro carbonibus defracta emendanda *ob.* In clausura & fossata circa curtillagium nuper Richardi Bole apud Edgarleigh *viijd.*

Under the head of *Stipendia* is this entry : In vadiis & stipendiis unius capellani beate Marie nichil, quia nullus fuit hoc anno.

Then follows an inventory of the goods of the church, enumerating, among various other articles :

V silver cups, three of them gilt with v wicker cases ; ij silver crewetts (for oil), with ij wicker cases ; ij pixes of silver, one gilt for the altar to hold the body of Christ ; j ivory pix, ij pixes of latin (a mixed metal), vj crewetts of pewter, j eelfaat (*Q.*), j bucket of pewter with a handle for holy water, j lamp, j blue gown with a cope, j white gown with a cope, j blue gown without a cope, j white gown with a cope, j blue ditto without a cope, j cope selaw (*Q.*), vj chesipels (priestly garments,) iiij awbes (albs *d°*), besides ix of a superior kind, vj comices (priestly garments), j frontel (cloth hanging in front of the altar) steyned for the high altar, x panna (cloths) for the high altar and the altar of the Blessed Mary, iiij missals, iiij graduals, j psalter, iiij antiphonals, j legend, ij collections, j processional, j old gradual, iiij new lychebells (bells rung at funerals), iv bells, j chest for archives, vj other chests, j iron candelabrum, j *d°* of latin ; v banners, iiij of silk, and ij steyned (dyed) ; j black

banner, ij white d°, j d° of St. George steyned, j pennon d°, j coffer covered with red velvet, j seal of St. John, of latin.

The COMPOTUS for 1428: Walter Poole and Walter Wilcokes, Churchwardens.

Under the *exitus officii* we have this notice: Et de viijs. receptis de Willelmo Deor et sociis suis ludentibus in festo natalis Domini (for the performance of a mystery.) And under the title of *necessaria* occurs this item, In diversis expensis factis circa reparacionem nove ecclesie cum porchia ut in petris fretris (freestone) utendis et frangendis apud Doultynge &c. Solutum Johanni Gryme latomo (quarrier) pro porchia ecclesie de novo facta &c.

The Compotus of 1439 (Thomas Bruton and Walter Poole, churchwardens) mentions, in the *exitus officii*, iijs. iiijd. for part of the materials for the new rood loft, and xvs. for the repair of the organs. A rent is also paid to the Wardens of the chapel of St. Benignus (St. Benet's church) of xijd. for John Moighen's cottage in Madilode.

Under *necessaria*: for a new surplice for the parish clergyman, and making, iijs. iiijd.

The COMPOTUS of 1489: Richard Cote and John Cottrell, Churchwardens.

All of this account, except the *redditus assise*, has perished. Among these entries is the following: xxd. de redditu unius tenementi cum pertinentiis in Glaston vocati Georgysynne (the George Inn) Quondam—Newe et postea Johannis Stowell.

The COMPOTUS of 1493, William Tyke and John Flemmyng, Churchwardens, anno Domini Johannis Selwode Abbatis xxviij°.

Nothing remains of this account except a statement of the preceding year's balance, and a part of the *redditus assise*. There is a similar entry to the preceding, relative to the George Inn.

The COMPOTUS of 1498: John Costrell and William Basse, Churchwardens.

There is the same entry with respect to the George Inn, and mention made of the *High Cross* in Glastonbury. In the *exitus officii* an entry, De vjd. receptis de Domini Johanne Ayles pro torchiis locatis die sepulture magistri Johannis Muddysley monachi Glaston.

The Compotus for 1562, John Doyle and Robert Wake, wardens, contains nothing of particular interest.

In the Compotus for 1583, (John Brooke and Will. More, wardens:)

Profetts of the office: receaved for the use of comunyon bread and wyne this yeare, xxijjs. iiijd.

Necessary expences: Itm payde for the pshe drynken the account day at Brownynges, iijs. ix d.

To the ryngers the coronation day, xs.

Wages and fees: Itm the wardyns for there fees, vjs. viijd.

To the steward for his fee, iij. s. iiijd.

To the clarke, xxs.

To the bedman (bellman) for his fee, xij. s. iiijd.

Annexed to this account is a bond to the following effect:

5th July, 25th Elizabeth. Bond from Edward Mitchell, of Cooliton, (Collyton,) in the county of Devon, smith, to the wardens of the church of St. John the Baptist, in the penalty of £4: Conditioned, that he should during his life, on payment of a pension of 3s. a year, upon eight weeks warning to be given to him in this behalf, kepe in good order and tuneable the three greater bells of the sayde church of St. John in Glaston, in those places onlie of the said bells where he the said Edward Mitchell hath sowdered and amended them before thensealinge of these presents.

Sigm. Edw^d. Mitchell, (the mark is in the form of a bell.)

In the Computus for 1584 (John Savydge and Rich. Foxe, churchwardens) we have the following entry:

Necessary expenc. Itm. for new trymmynge the organe, cleusynge the pypes, xlvjs.

In the Compotus for 1587 are these items, under the head of

Charges: Candells to reade morninge prayer, ijs.

To Stephen Bushe, for mending the caige (blind-house), ix. s.

Payde at the Lorde of Canterburyes visitacion for the charges of courte, with the postmens dinners, (the dinners afterwards,) vijs. ij. d.

In the Compotus for 1588, Rawlings Robins and Richarde Harris, churchwardens, are these entries:

Also we receved of the old Wardings, wch they collected towards a clocke, xxs.

We did collecte and geather towards the clocke xiiij. s. jd.

Sundry sums received for seats in the church from divers persons: the highest was xij. d. the lowest viij. d.

Among other receipts is one for vjd. for the permission to William Stibs to sell ale in the church-house. Lawrence Wills also gave the Wardings for ther goode will to remain in the seate wher John Andrewes did sit viij. d.

In the Compotus for 1589, William Bull and Richard Rogers, churchwardens, occurs as follows:

It is agreed by the pishioners that the Churchwardens shall yearly keepe all the comodetie of the pīshe upon payne of xxs. a yere.

Cundyt Wardens thys yeare: Robert Dunham, George Daye, George Wrinkemore, with the assistance of Will^m Ellis plom. (plumber.)

It'm, That the sayde condyt wardens do kepe in alle (sic) for the comodetie of the condyts in the sayd towne, to be kept about the tyme of Shroftyde.

Parish Receipts, temp. Elizabet.

Somerset. Vicesimo nono die Octobris anno regni dñe nūc Elizabethe Reg. vicesimo nono.

Receaved of the Churchwardens of the pīshe of St. Johnes in Glaston, by the handes of Thomas

Pester, for their rents dewe to the Queenes Mātie, for one whole yere ended at the feast of St. Michaell tharchangell last past, the sune of twentie two shillings two pence. *xxijs. ijd.* Robtm. Paddon.

Rec. of the towne of Glastonburye, for the first payment of the subsede due to our Sov'gne Lē Quenes Matī in y xxxj yeare of hir Matīs raigne, the tenth of Februarie, the sum of eleven pounds twelve shillings eight pence. I say rec. by me, Samuel Mylward, for John Barnarde, colector, *xjl. xijs. viijd.*

A Parish Receipt, temp. Jac. I.

Decimo octavo die Octobris anno dñi 1610, annoque Regni dñi nři nunc regis Jacobi octavo.

Receaved the day and yeare above writen, of Edward Pester, one of the churchwardens of the pīshe of St. Johns in Glastonburye, in the county of Somerset, for one whole yeares rent of dyvers concealed teneūts belonging to the saide pīshe of St. John's in Glaston aforesayd, the sōme of twenty two shillings and two pence of lawfull money of England, due and payeable at the feast of S^t. Michaell tharchangell last past. I saye receaved *xxijs. ijd.* P. me Ric. Willoughbye Ball. terr. concelat. in com. Somset p̄d.

Vestments and other Ornamēts remaynyng in the kepeyng of Robert Mathewe.

In p̄mis, a redde velwate (velvet) coope. It' a whyte damaske coope, and tynnakell (tunic or under-vest) of the same, *iiij* borders of redde velwatt enbrayderyd, & a crosse of the same. It' our Ladyes gowne of whit clothe of tissewe embroideryd. It' *ij* tynnikells of blacke velwat with obys (awbs) with redde crosses. It' *ij* tynnakells of blacke damaske with obys. It' a hangeyng of white damaske sylke and grene. It' *iiij* auter (altar) clothe of saten of brygges (Bruges) whit and grene. It' *iiij* couviens (coverings for the altar) of grene sylke. It' *ij* corpores (cloths in which the Host was wrapped), cases, & vannell of redde tissewe. It' *iiij* auter clothes, *ij* of d̄yap (diaper), *j* playne. It' a myter (mitre) & a buckell, & pendent of cop̄. (copper) & gylte. It' a cope of blewe damaske. It' a cope of blewe taffa (taffety). It' a chessabull (a chesible, a priest's garment) of saye. It' a chessabull of blewe damaske with a whit p̄ fac. It' a chessabull of grene with a redde crosse. It' a coope of sylke with popin jays (birds embroidered on it). It' a shirte & a lawne for the sacramt. It' a redde mantell of risyd (raised) redde velwatt. It' a lent aut̄r (altar) clothe. Delyv̄yd unto Will̄m Clowtyng upon Good Fryday, A. D. mcccciiij. in the p̄sens of d̄yers of the p̄yshe.

Ther remaynyth in John Raynysbury's handes Saynt Georges coope.

It' delyv'yd unto the fr̄sayde Will̄m Clowtyng, a canopye of lawen wtih *iiij* sylv' stonys gylte. It' a per (pair) of bedys (beads) of jeat with v sylv. stonys (five stones set in silver). It' a litle bell of metal. Indorsed It' *j* cope of reed wllvet (velvet). It' *j* border of reed wllvet for a cope. It' *j* whyght damaske cope.

A. D. 1625.

It' paid for two books, the one for the minister thother for the clerke, to be used every Wednesday, *ijs.*

It' paid for killinge of eighteen dozen of sparrows, *xviijd.*

It' paid to Mr. Coward, one of the constables, the 28th June, for the hospitalls, *xs.*

It'm paide for one quarte of sack & for one quarte of clarett wyne, the xxj of August, to give Mr. Deane, of Wells, *xxd.*

It'm, paid the ringers, the nyneteenth of September, when my Lord Buisshop came to the visitacōn, *iijs. ivd.*

It'm, paid the xixth day of September, for our dyett att the same visitacōn, *xjs. xd.*

It'm, paid John Tanner, for making cleane of the church, & for dressing the same at the said visitacon, xvij*d*.

It'm, for one pinte of *clarrett wyne & sugar* given to Mr. Wood, the second of October, v*d*.

It'm, gave to Mr. Russell *for that he preached here*, i*s*.

It'm, for j quarte of wyne given to Mr. Kinge and Mr. Wood, the iiij of December, x*d*.

It'm, given to three poore souldiers, ii*d*.

It'm, spent att a visitacon held att Glaston, *for the presenting of Popish recusants*, and deliveringe our bill, i*s*. v*d*.

It'm, paide Thomas Smyth, for striking out of wordes in the north side of the church, sett up by Thomas Jenkins, v*d*.

It'm, paide for brede and wyne for the communicants for the whole yeare, ij*li*. xvii*s*. viii*d*.

It'm, wee desire to be allowed our fee as our p*re*decessors have had, v*s*. viii*d*.

It'm, paid to John Raynsbury, for playing on the organs, iii*s*. iiij*d*.

It'm, paid to Thomas Belman, for his wages for ringinge curfewe, x*s*.

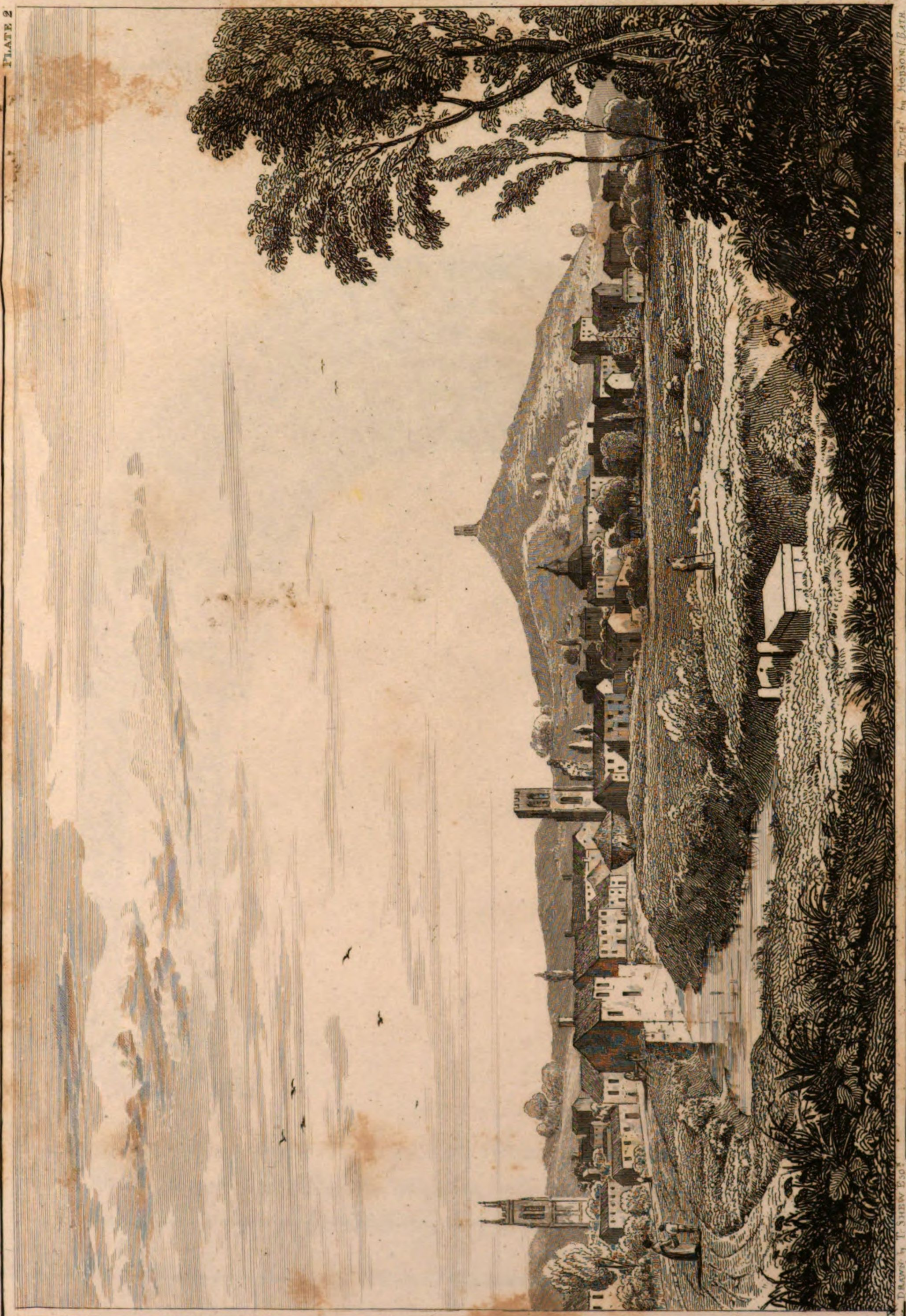
S*ma totis* disbursec. xx*li*. xvi*s*. iiij*d*.

Churchwardens elected for the yeare to come: John Roode at the Pound, and Thomas Greene.

FINIS.



MAP of GLASTON XII HIDES



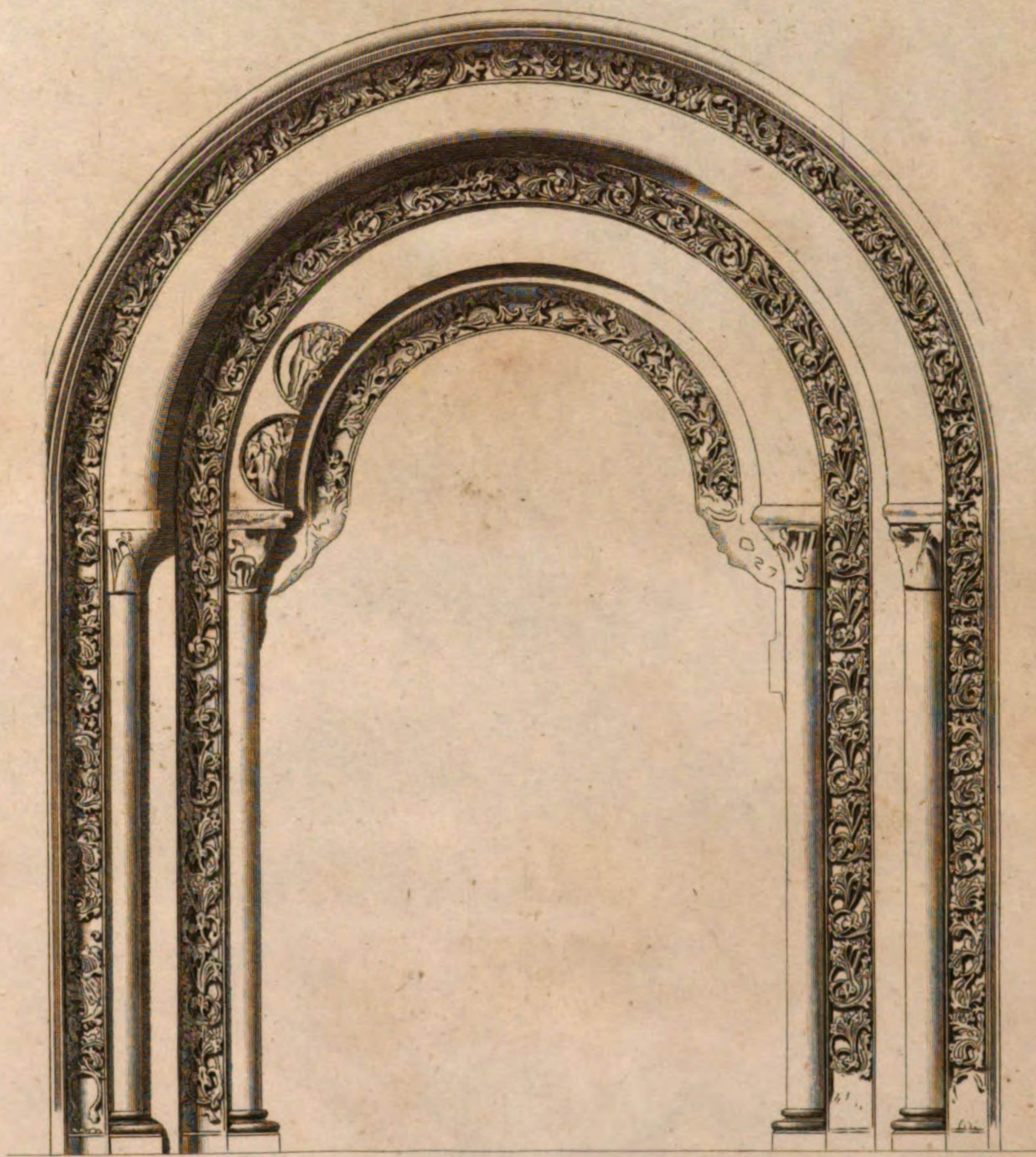
ETCHED BY ROBERT DALL

WEST VIEW OF GLASTONBURY

DRAWN BY T. SHEW ESQ.



North Door-way of St. Joseph of Arimathea's Chapel, at Glastonbury.
 To Sir Richard Colt Hoare Bart. this plate / obligeingly contributed to the work by
 him / is most respectfully inscribed by his obedient humble Servant,
 Richard Warner.



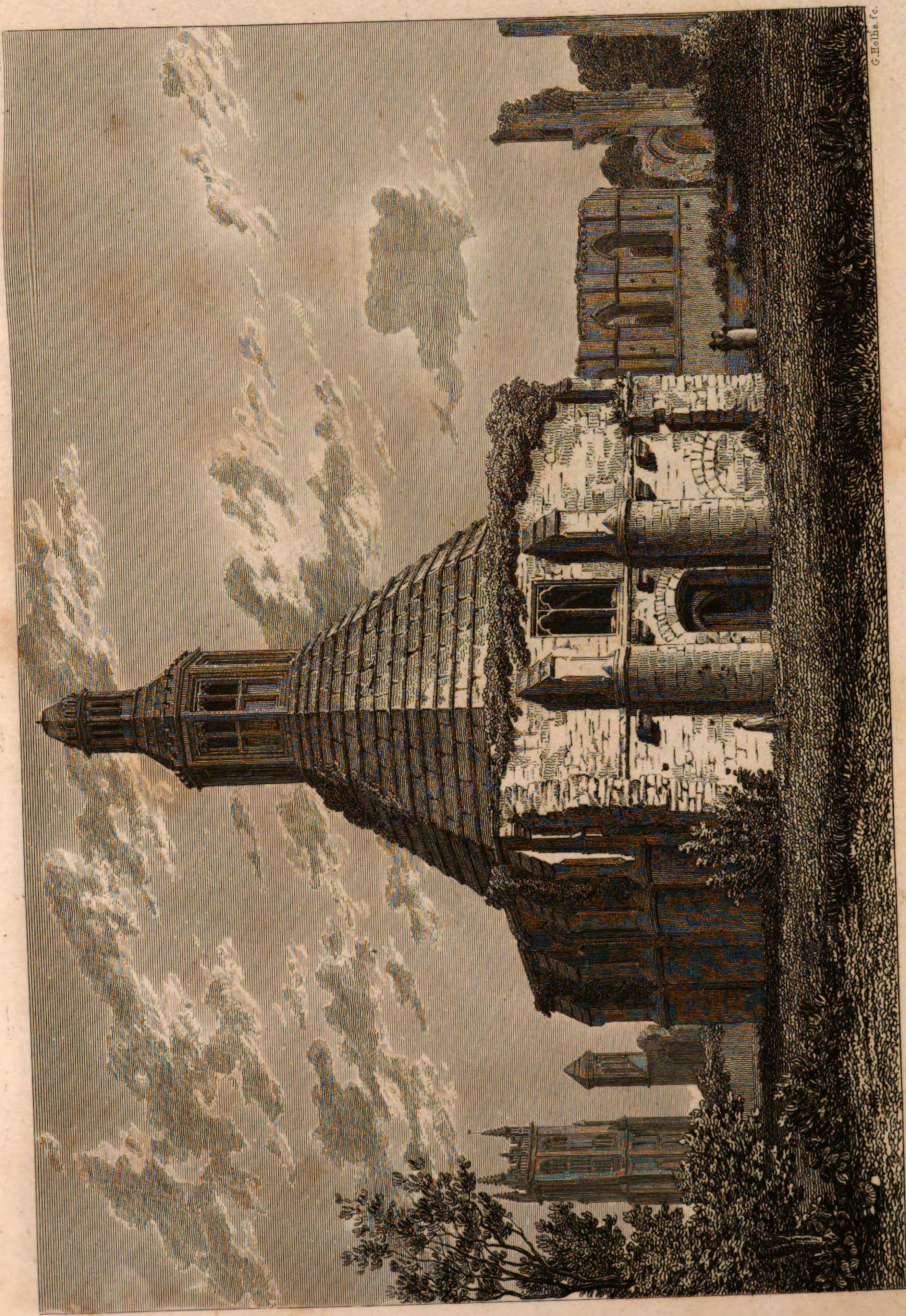
*South Doorway of St. Joseph of Arimathea's Chapel, at Glastonbury.
To Sir Richard Colt Hoare Bart. this plate (obligingly contributed to the work by
him) is most respectfully inscribed by his obedient humble Servant,
Richard Warner.*



SOUTH EAST VIEW OF ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.



VIEW OF RUINS, (FROM THE EAST.)



J. Buehler F.S.A. del.

THE ABBEY KITCHEN.

G. Holbein sc.



THE ABBEY BARN.



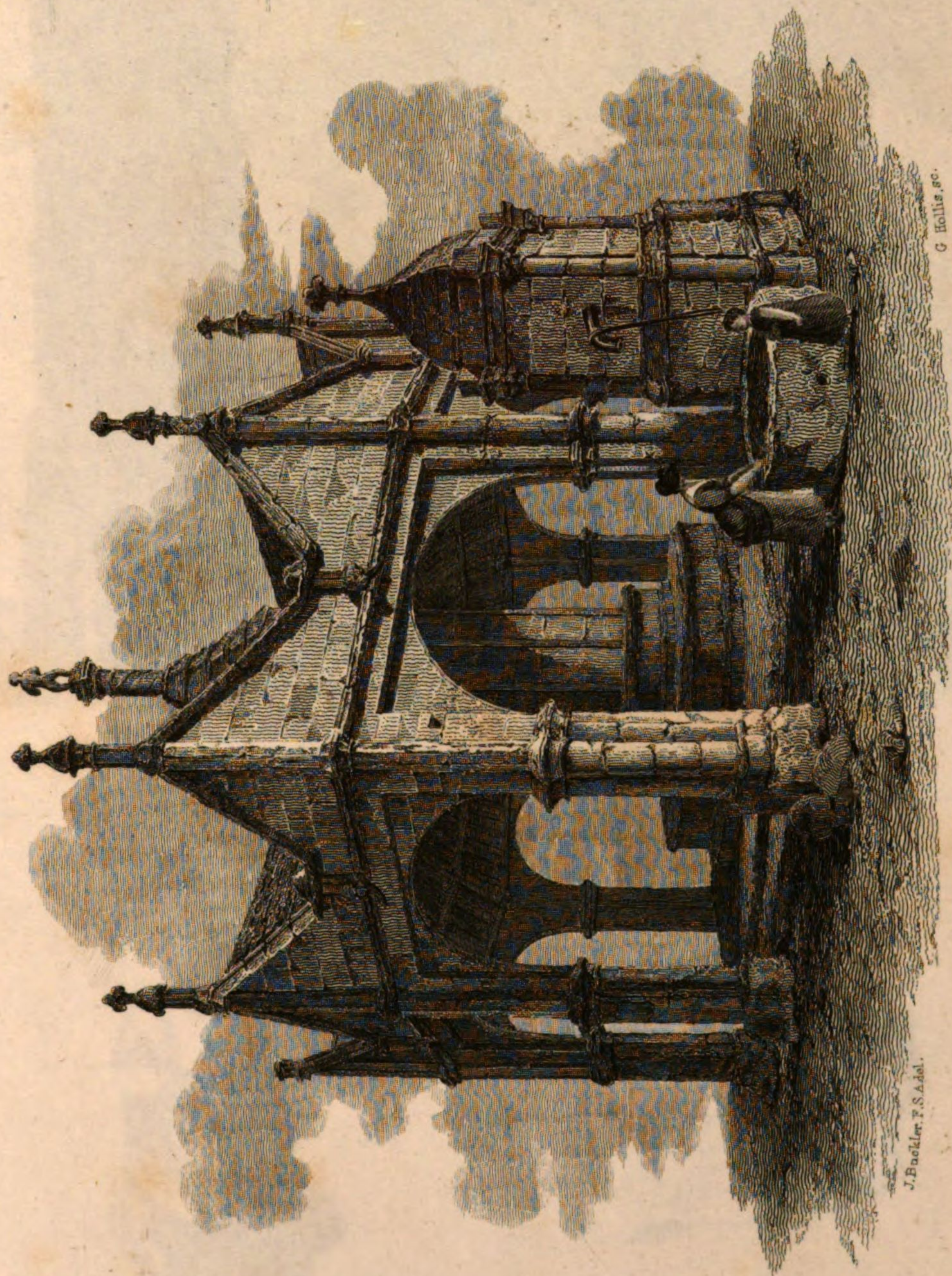
The Glaston Abbey Clock.

now in the North Transept of Wells Cathedral.

*To Sir Richard Colt Hoare Bart. this plate / obligingly contributed to the work by
him / is most respectfully inscribed by his obedient humble Servant,*

Richard Warner.



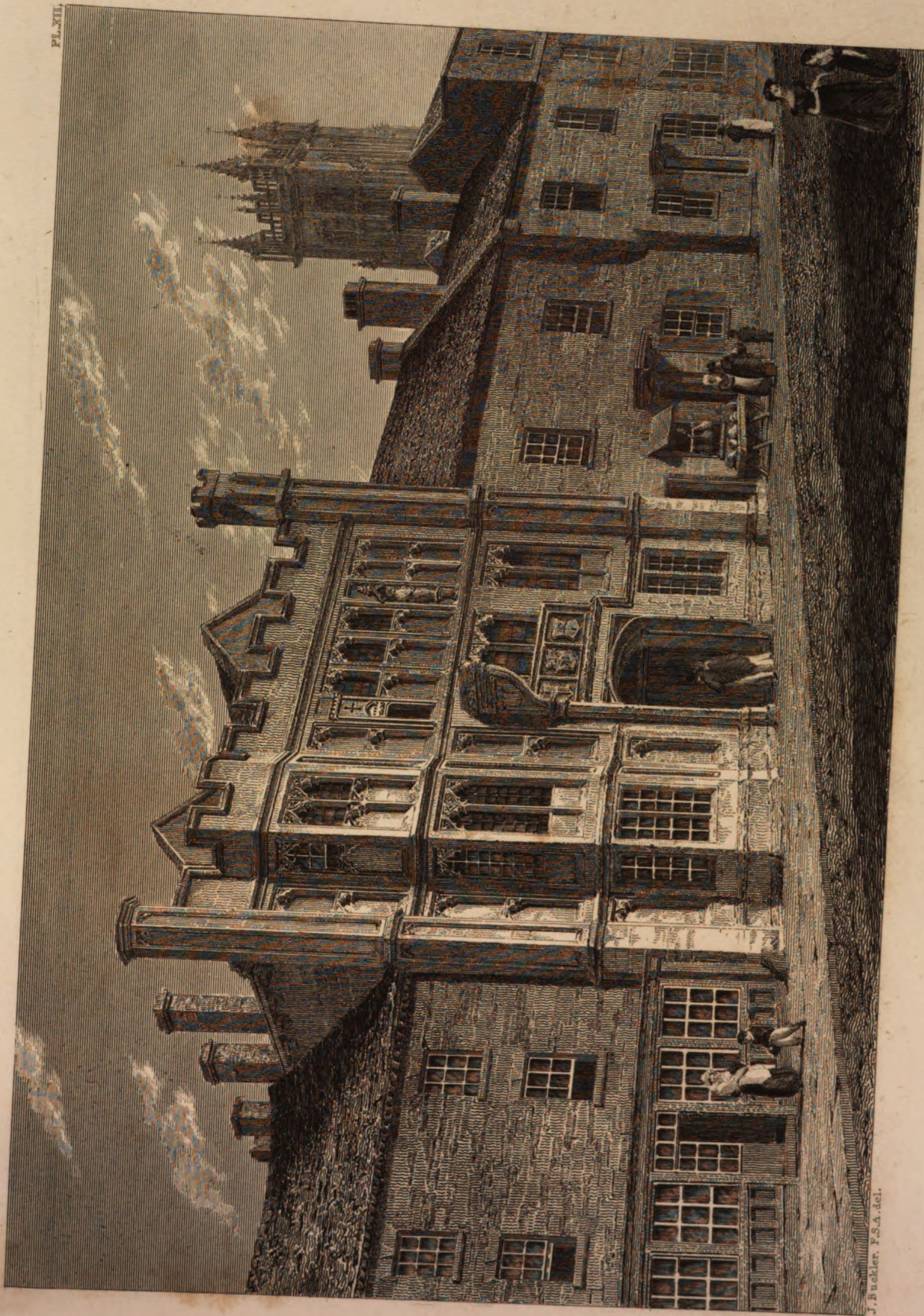


THE OLD MARKET CROSS.



S.E. VIEW of the CHURCH of STJOHN BAPTIST, at GLASTON.

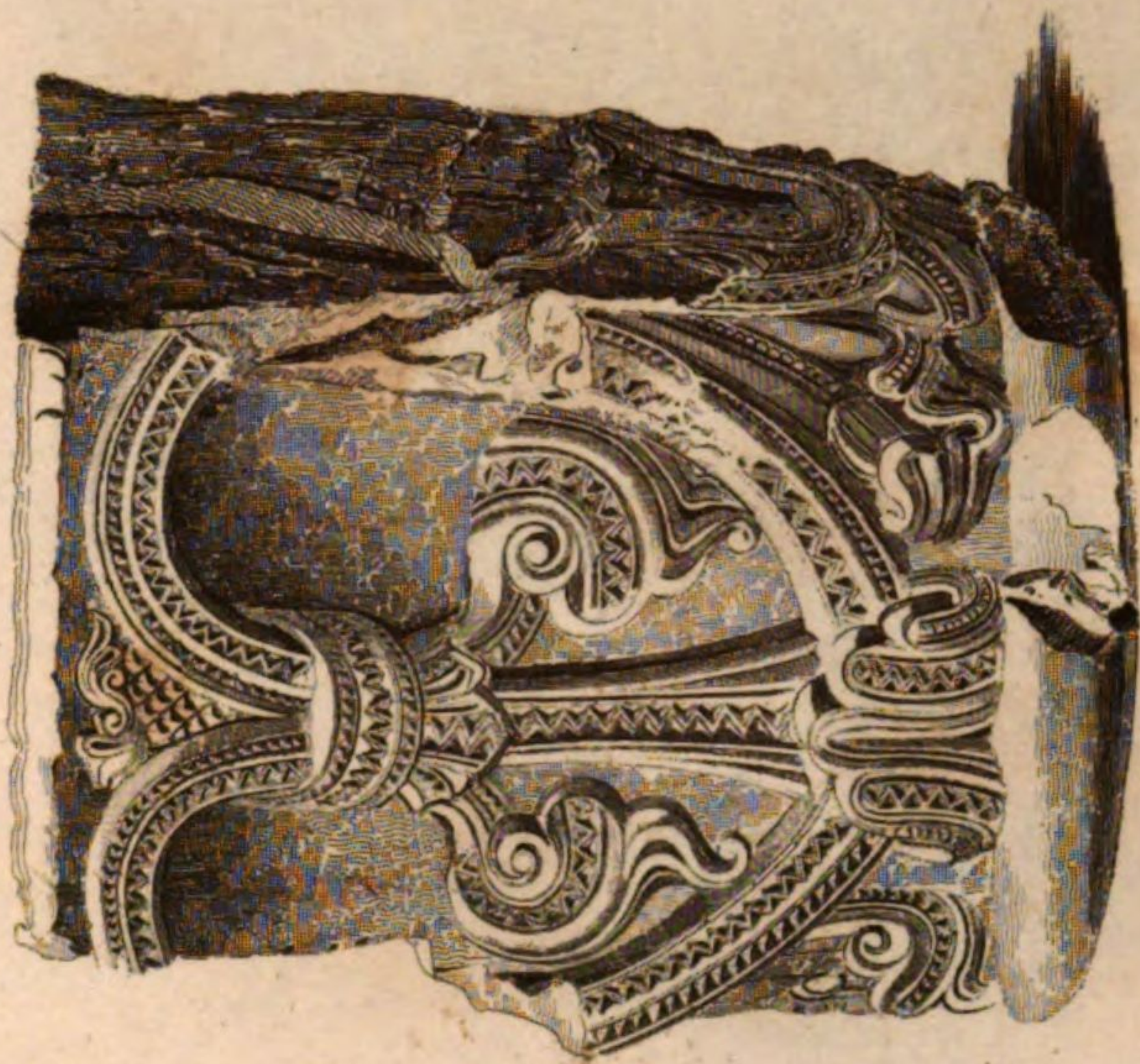




THE GEORGE OR PILGRIMS INN.

J. Buckler, F.S.A. del.

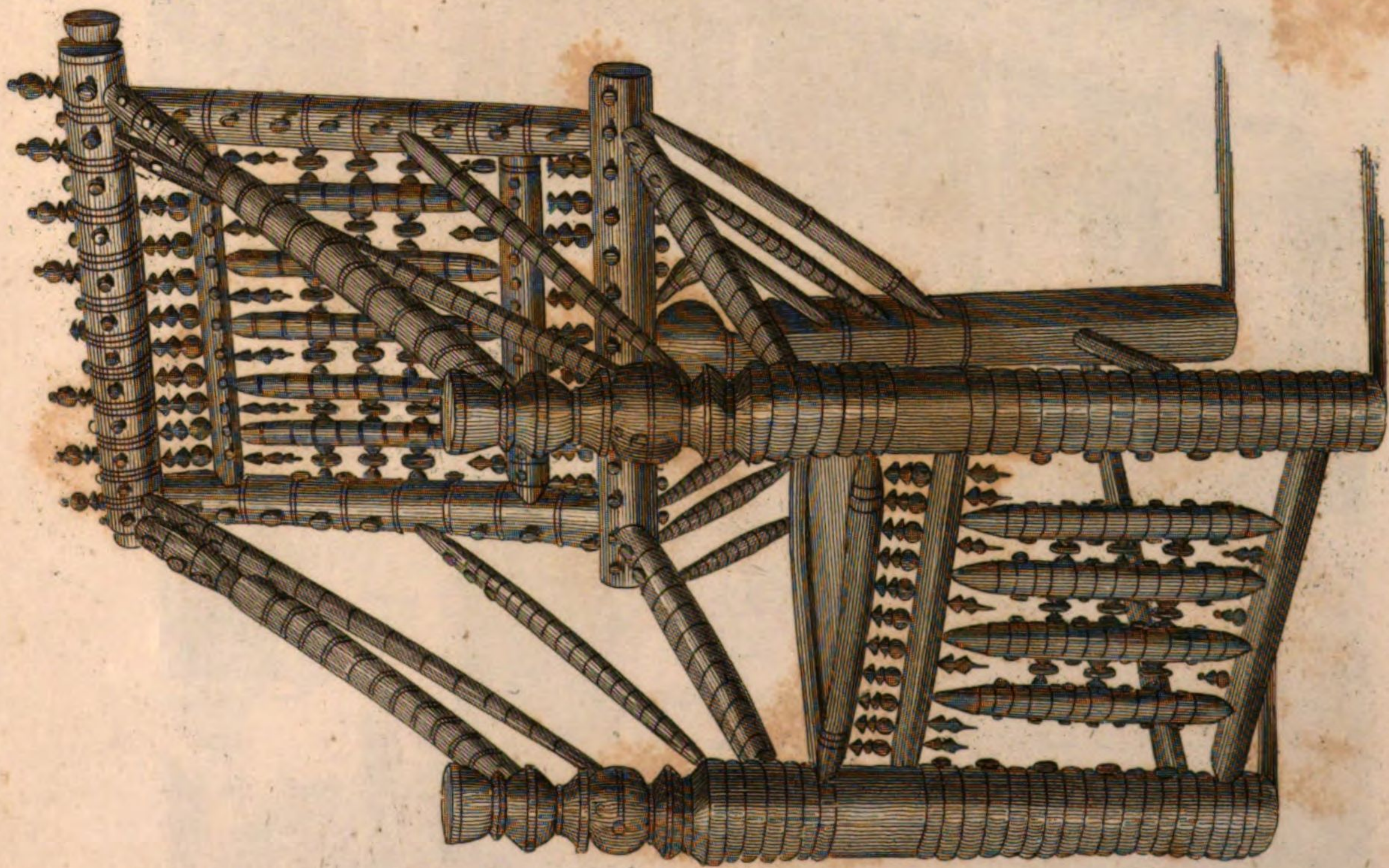
G. Hollis, sc.



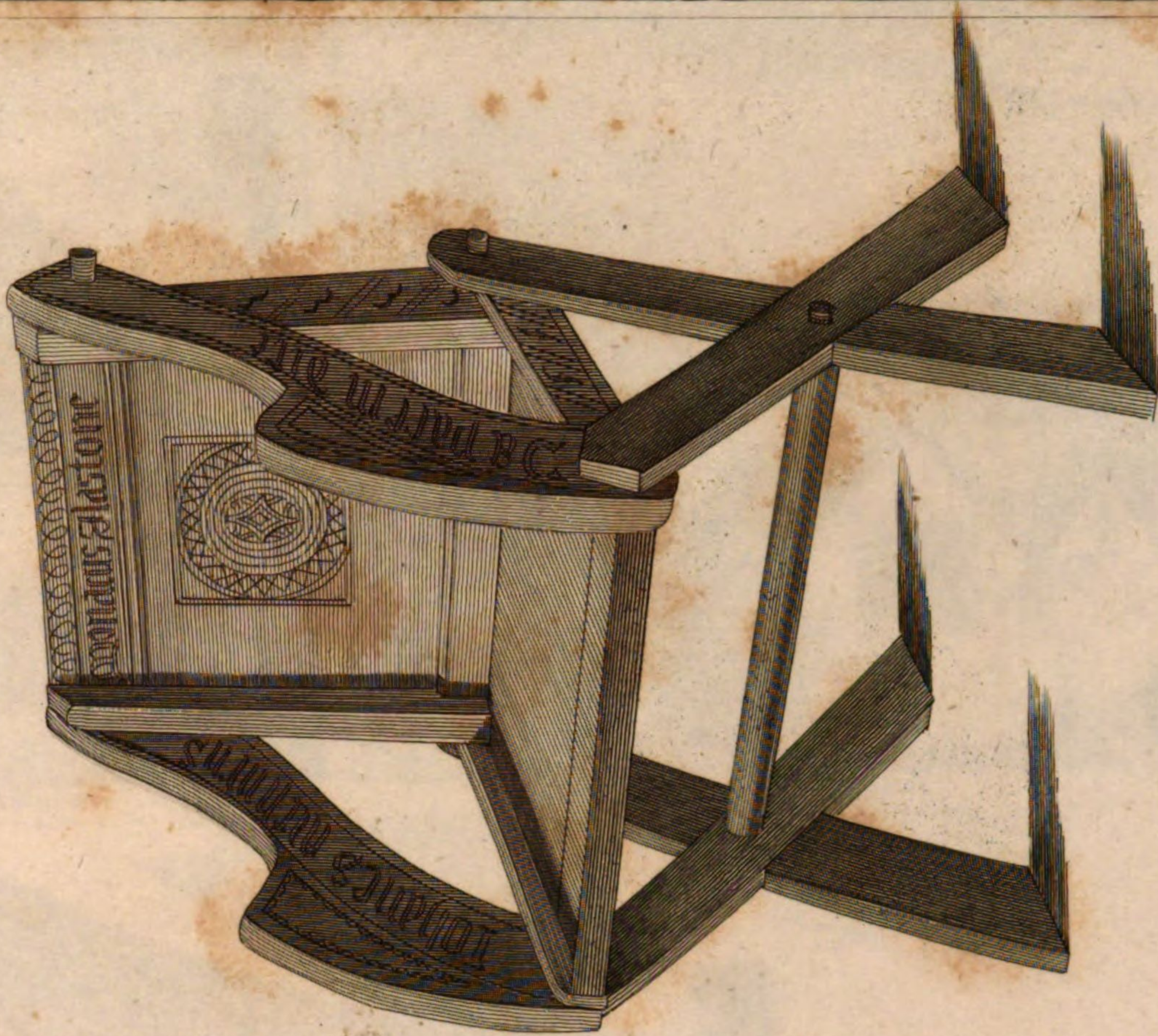
Drawn by J.C. Buckler

Etched by Hobson. / Barre

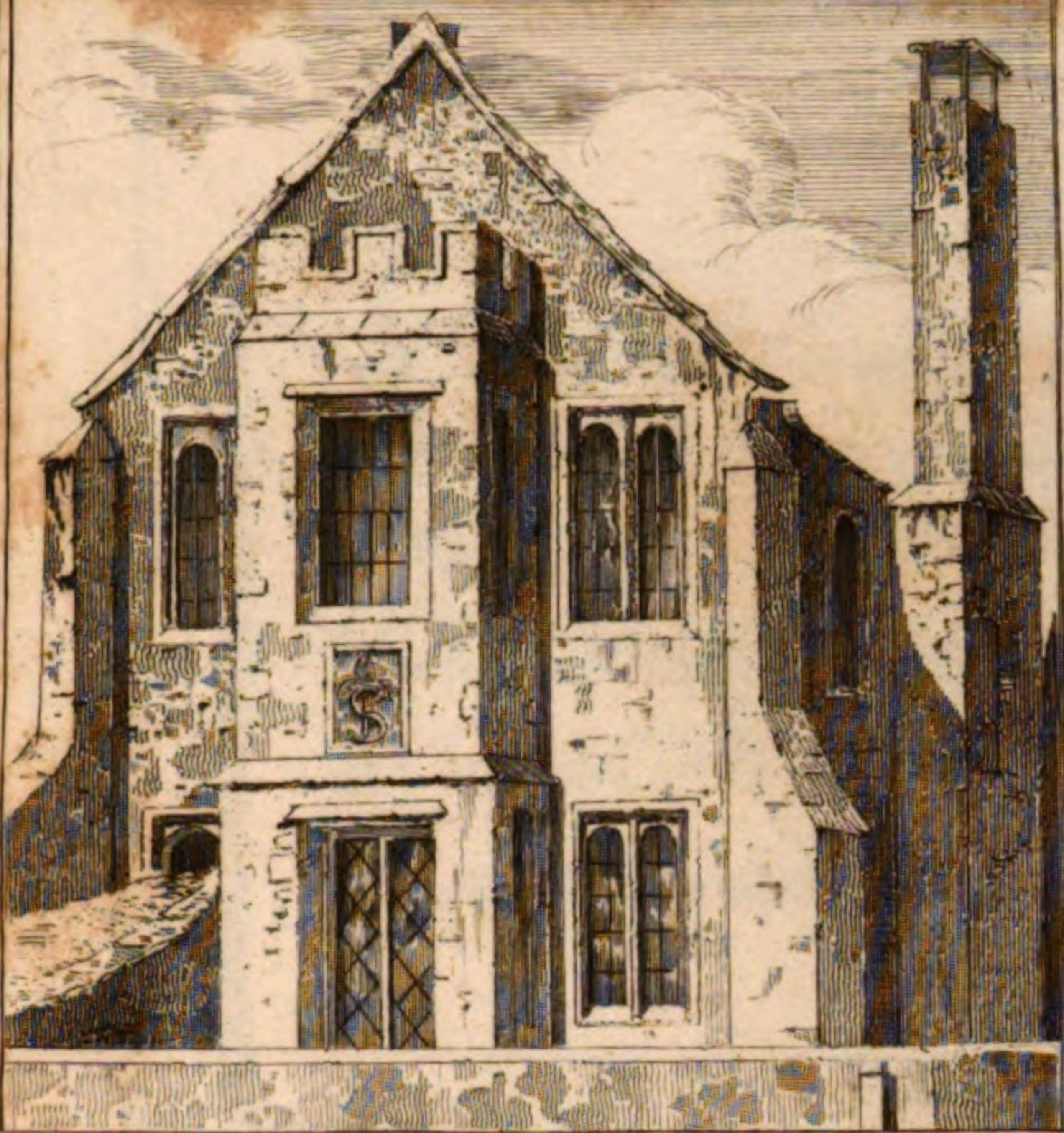
FRAGMENTS of SCULPTURE found in the great Church of GLASTON ABBEY



ABBOT'S CHAIR.



MONK'S CHAIR.



NORWOOD HOUSE.



SHARPAM HOUSE

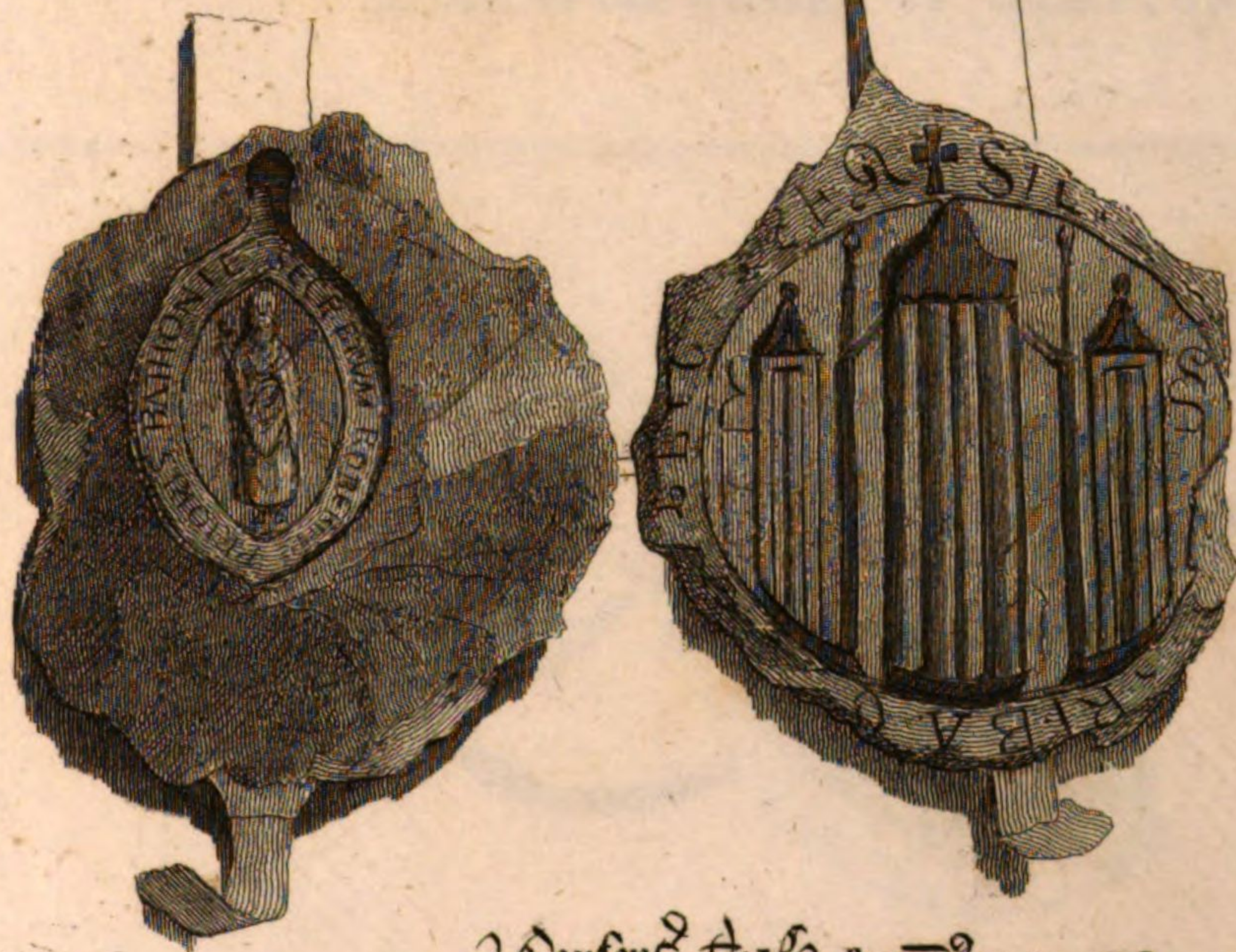


DR^d by T. Shew. Esq.

The TRIBUNAL

ETCH^d by HOBSON. BATH

Omnes sancte matris ecclesie filii ad quos premissa pervenerunt. Quibus per hoc convenit Bathoni Salutem in domino. Ad
 unificationem vestre voluntatis devenire nonnulla. nos ratam et gratam habere donationem quam pie recordationis venerabi-
 lis pater noster Savaricus punda deliberatione fecit sacristane de Glaston super ecclesia sancti Johannis Baptiste de
 Northwinne cum capella de Pennard et omnibus earundem pertinentiis dicit sacristane de Glaston in usus
 proprios in perpetuum concessa. salva honesta sustentatione ministrorum eam deservientium. In huiusmodi ratam
 habitationis vestre testimonium. presentis scriptum sigilli nostri munimine legitime confirmandum.

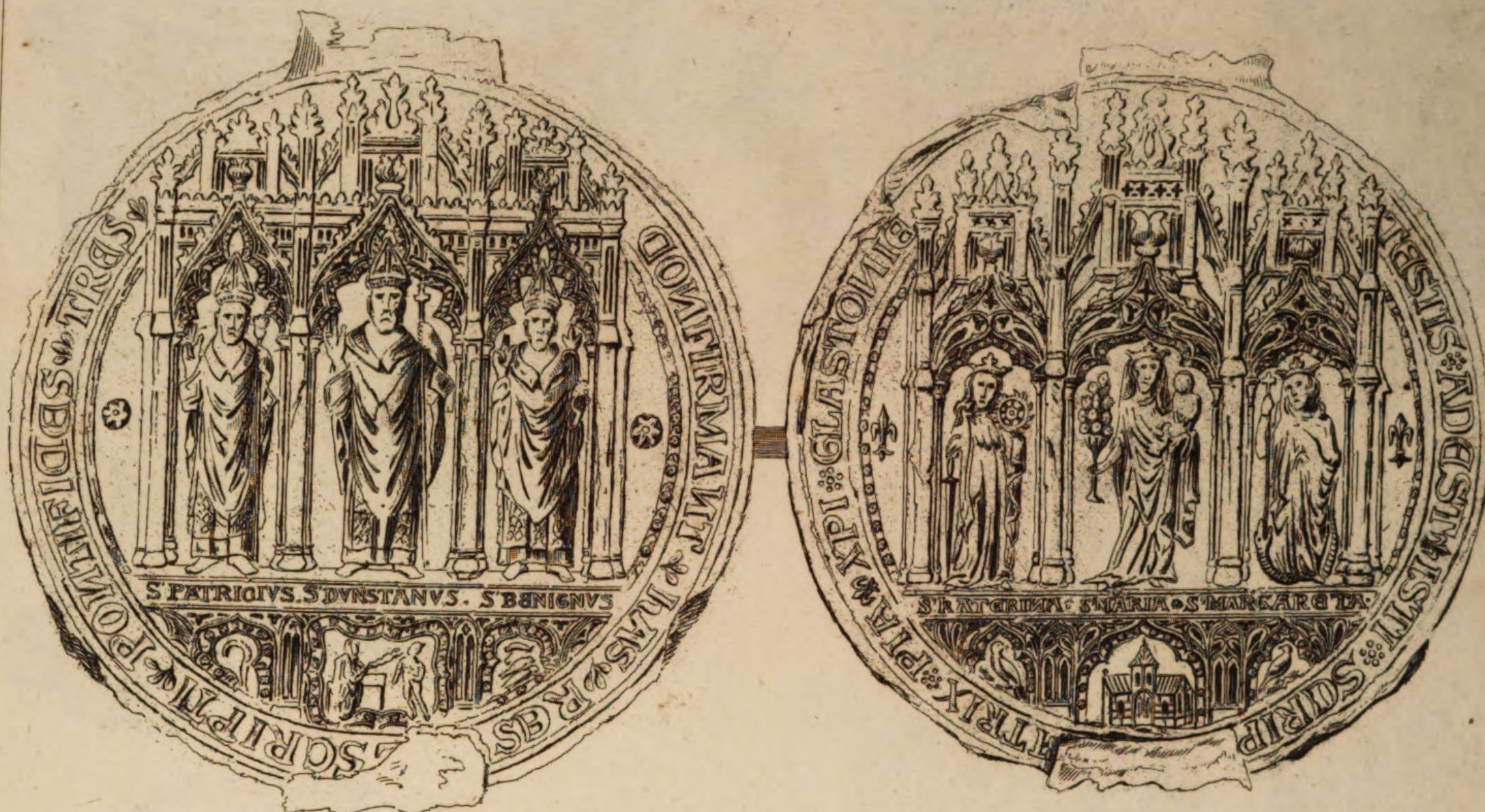


2 Consensu foris et conventus Bathoni de ecclesia sancti Johannis Baptiste.

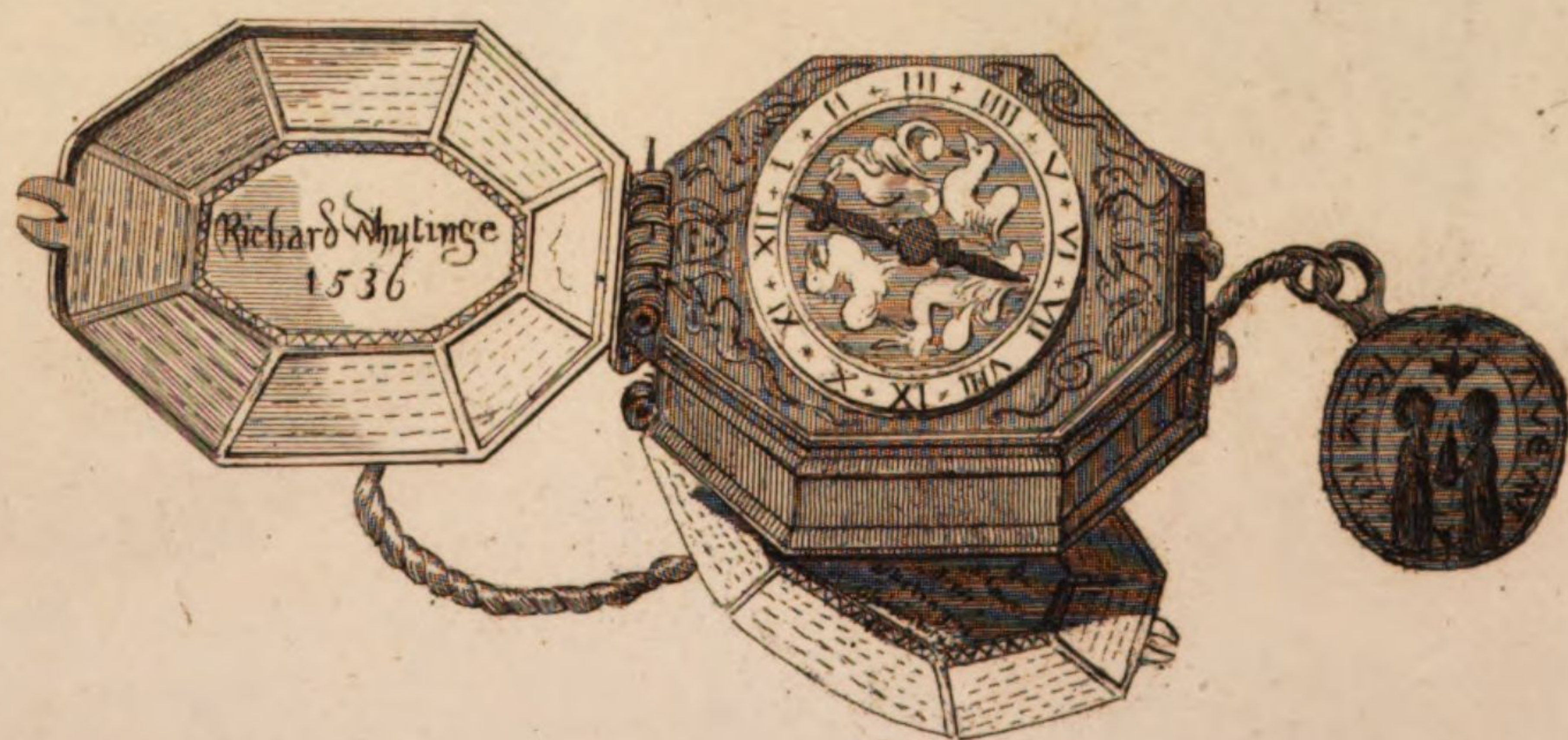
Handwritten text in a rectangular box, likely a title or introductory paragraph, rendered in a cursive script that is mostly illegible due to fading and bleed-through.



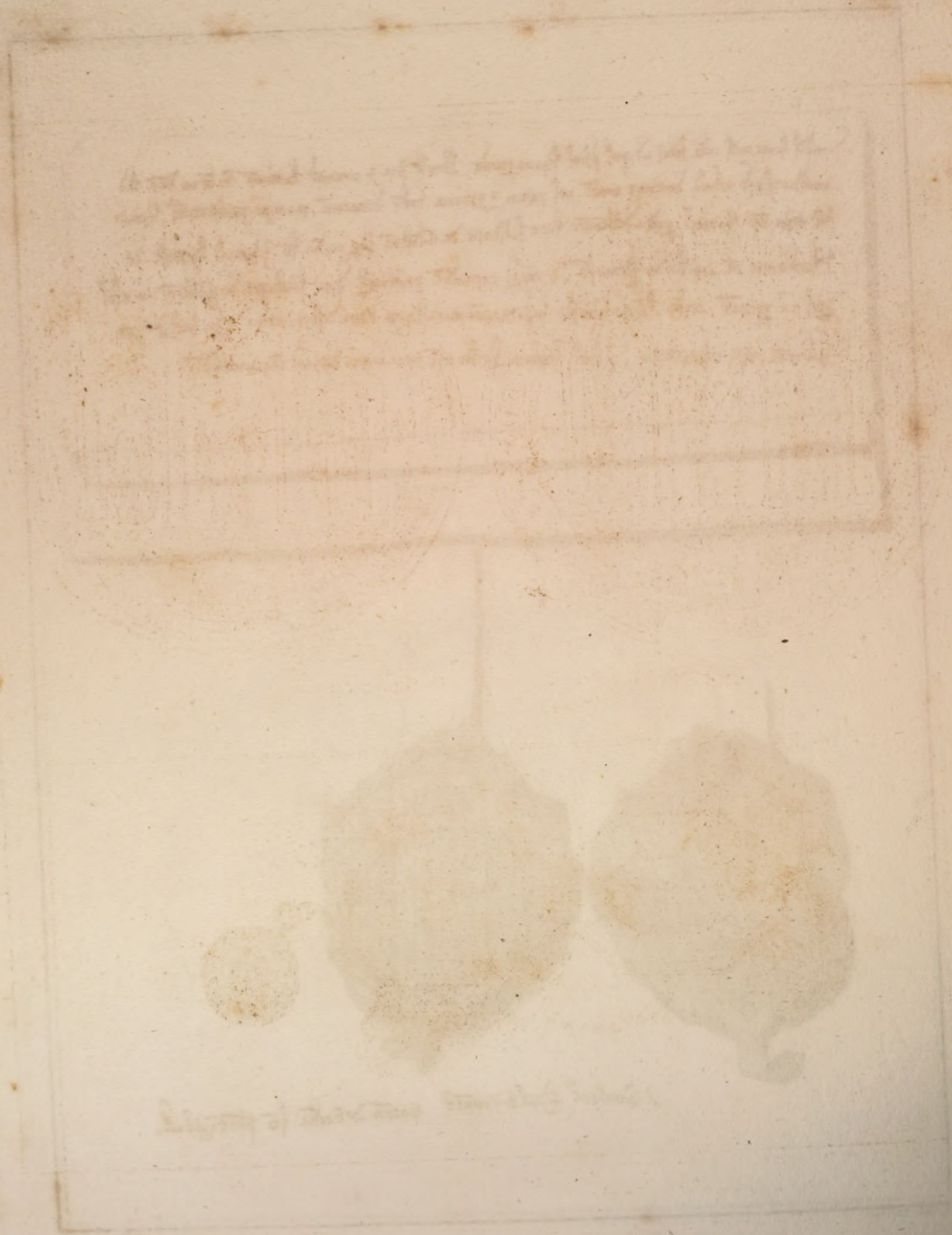
Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or a concluding note, also rendered in a cursive script.

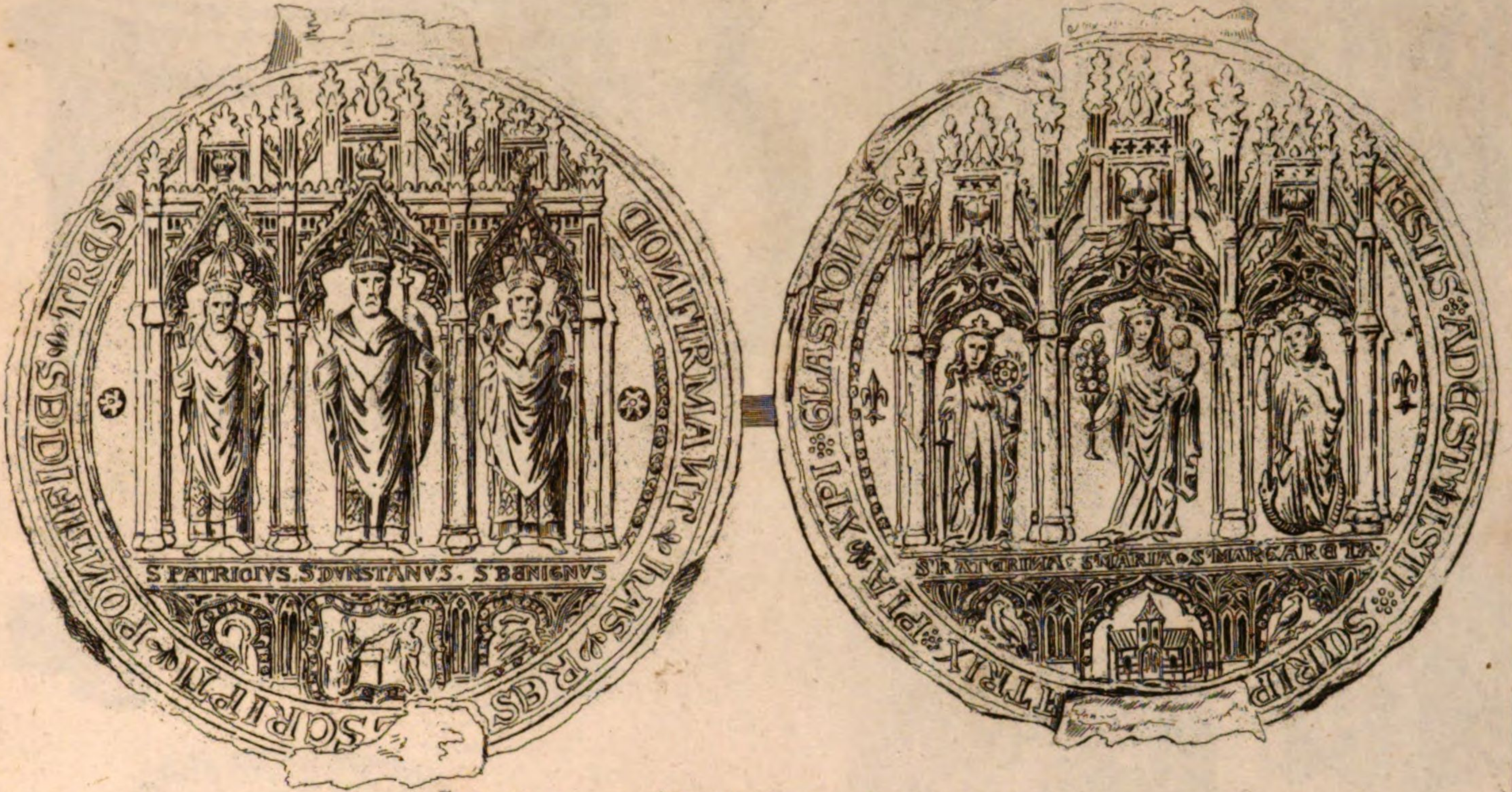


SEAL OF THE ABBEY OF GLASTON

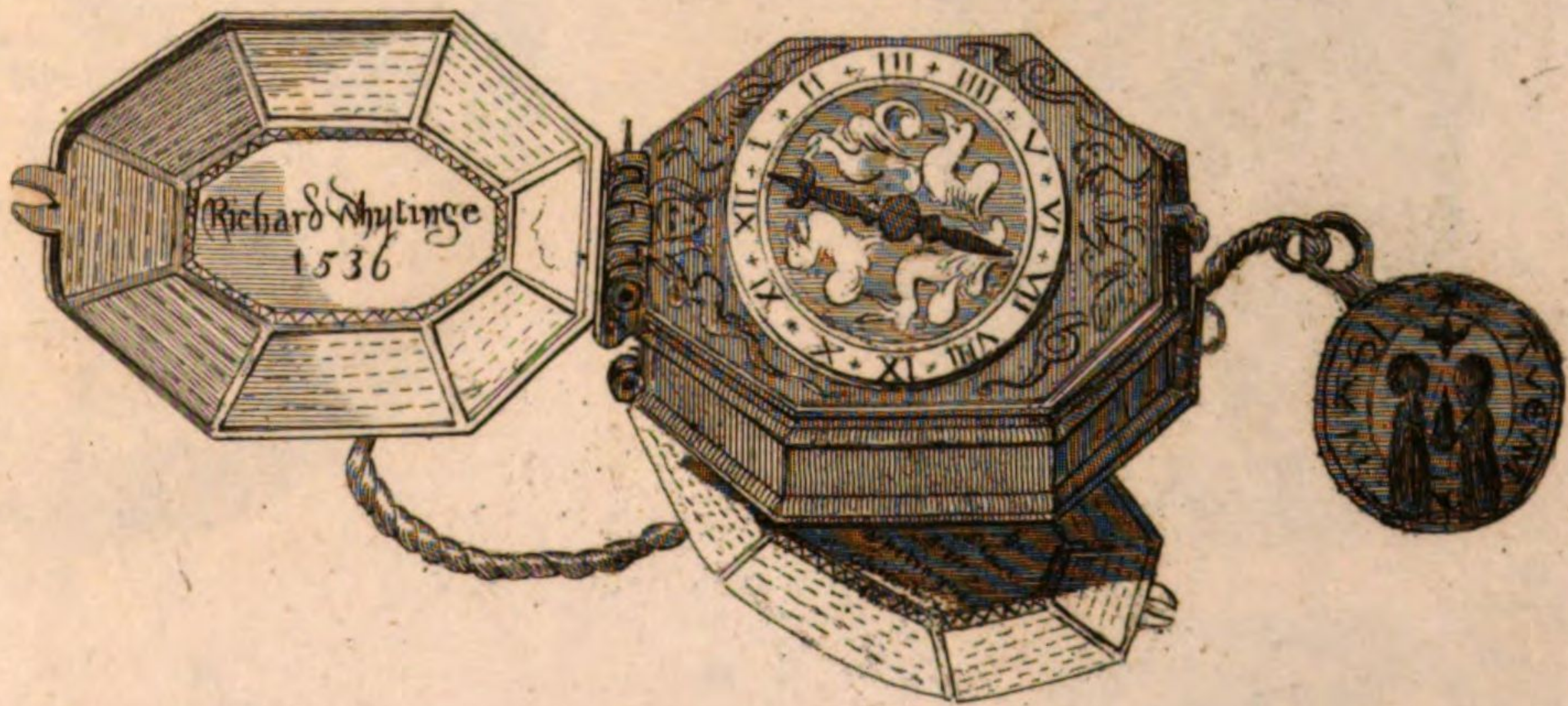


ABBOT WHITING'S WATCH AND SEAL

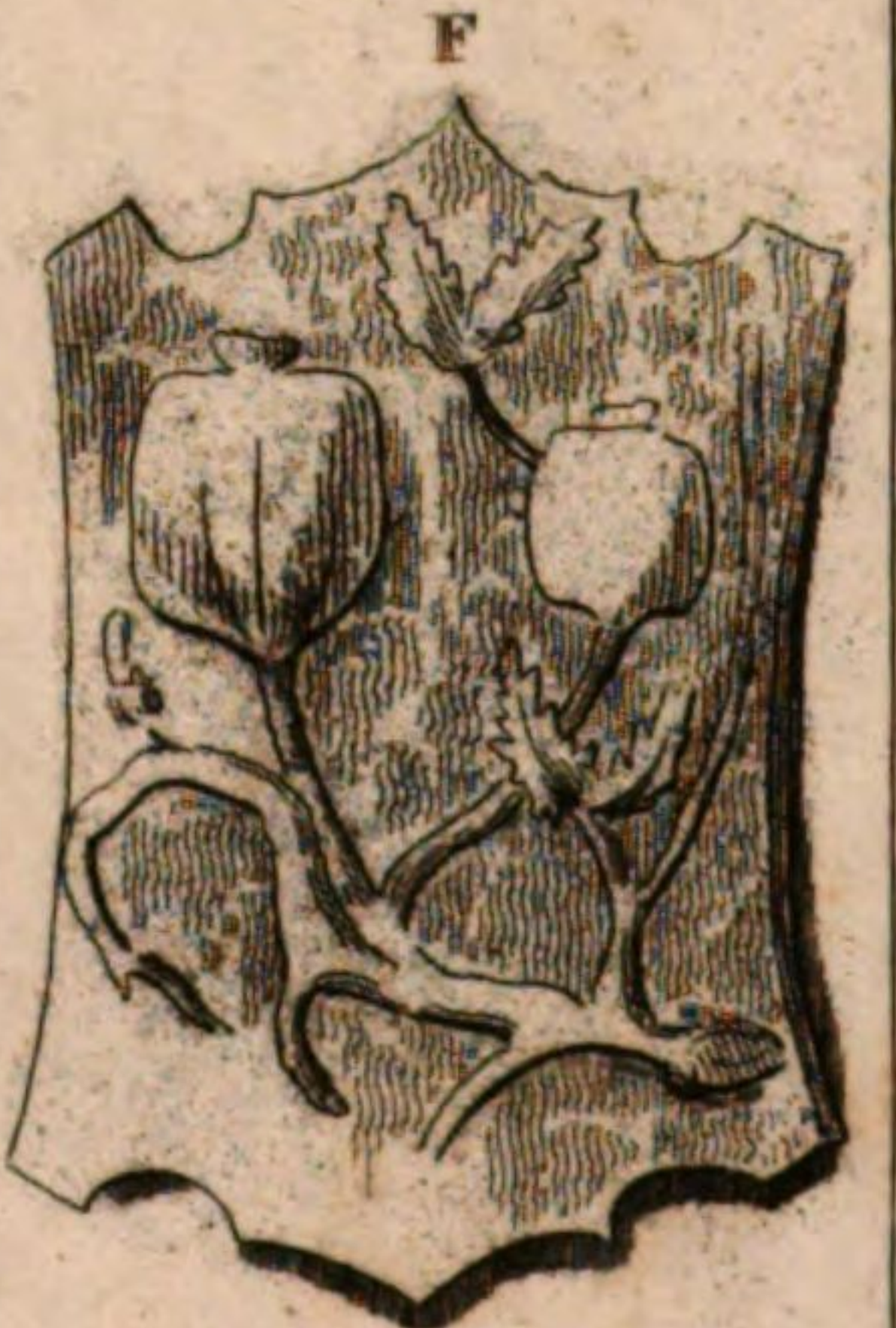
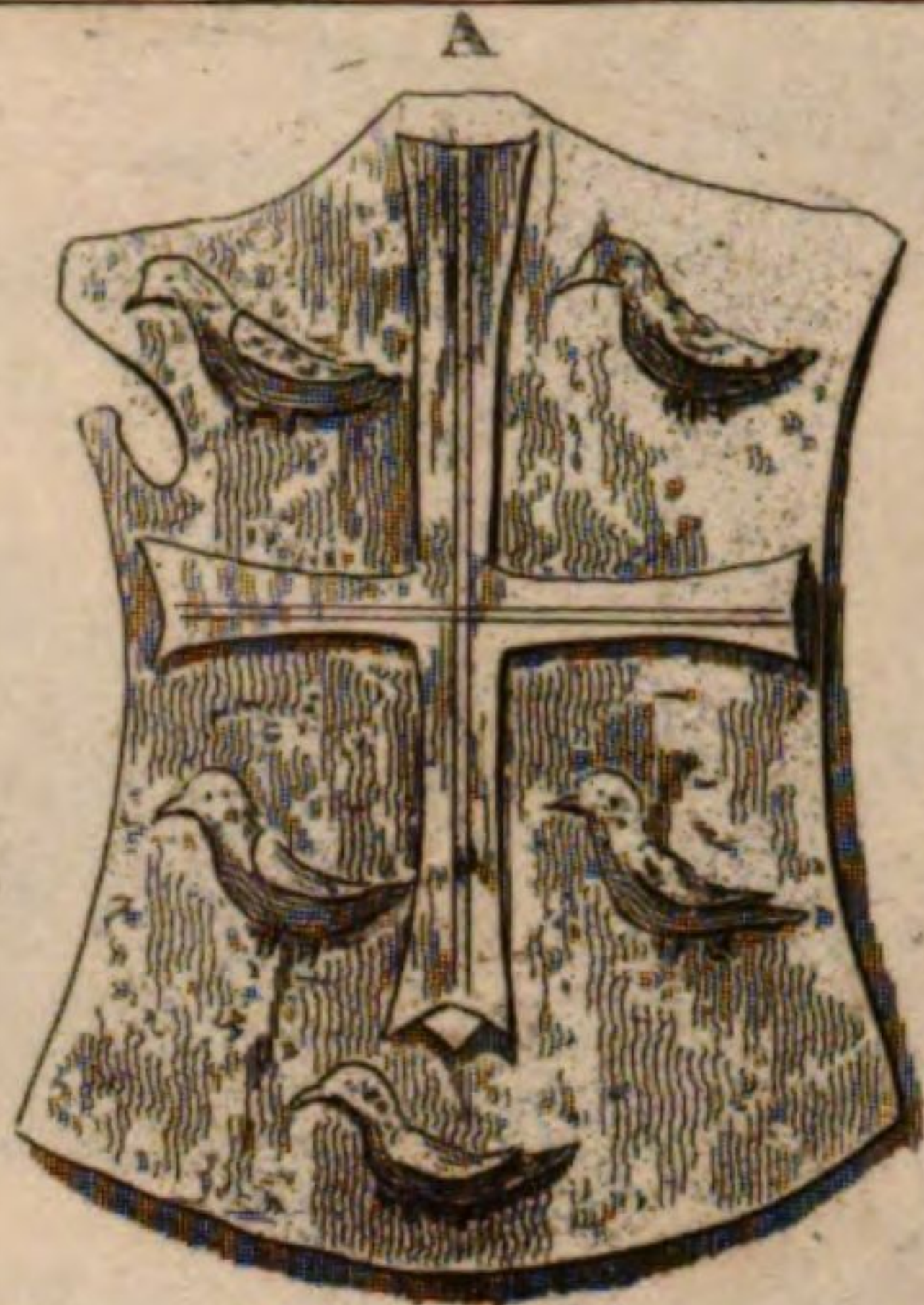




SEAL OF THE ABBEY OF GLASTON



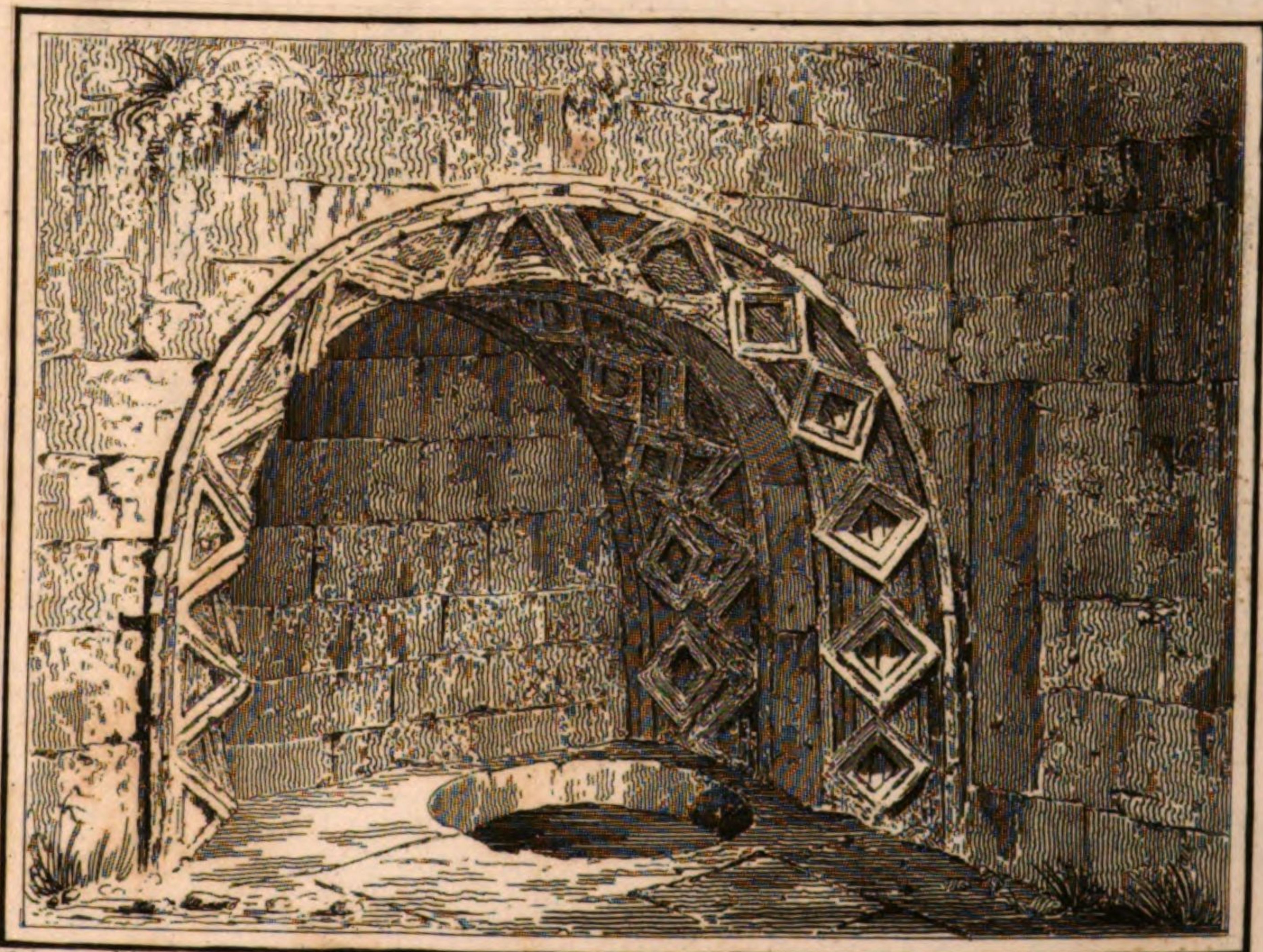
ABBOT WHITING'S WATCH AND SEAL







CRYPT at GLASTON Y



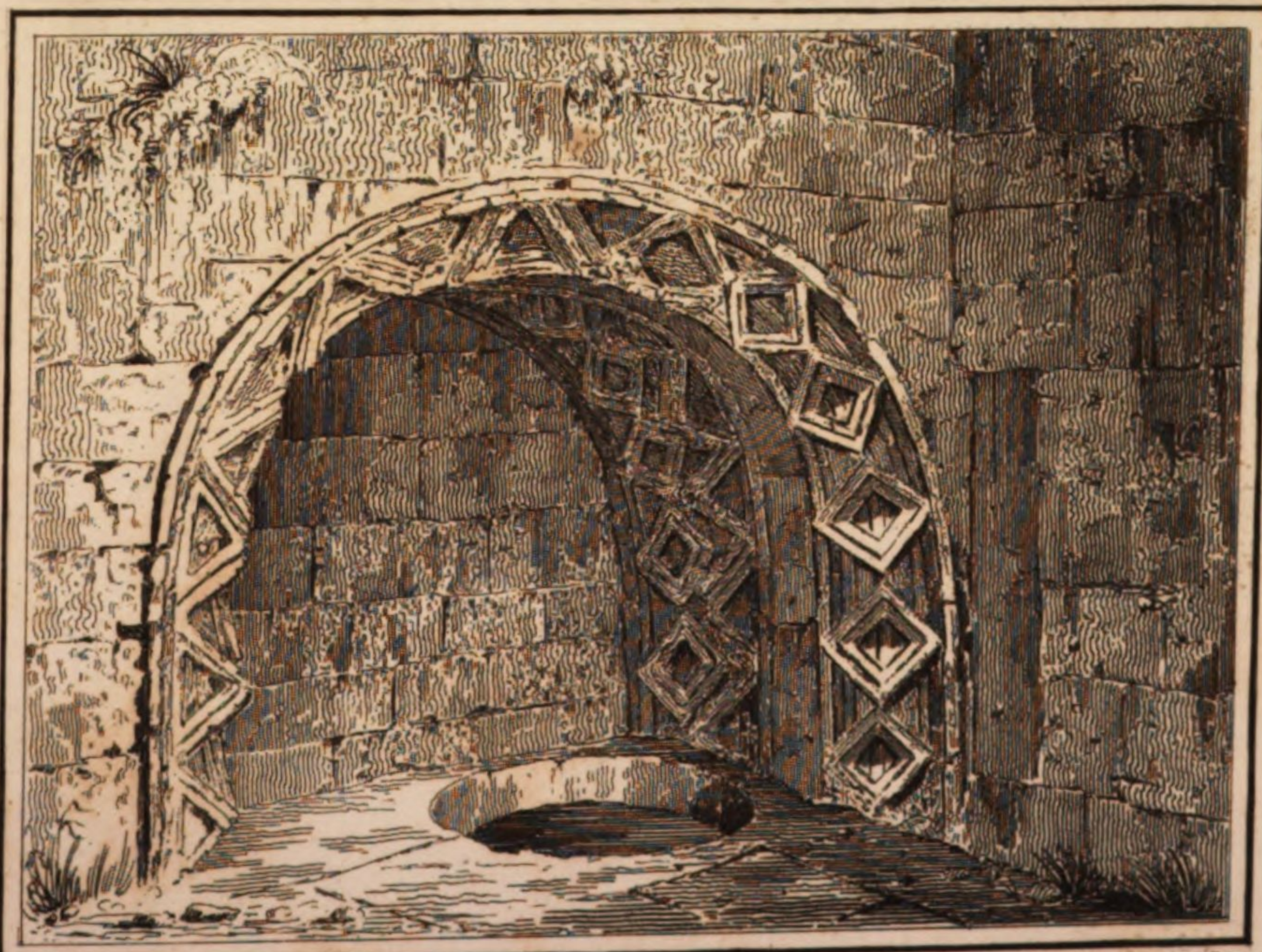
CROCKER. del.

ETCHD by HOBSON. Bath

HOLY-WELL at GLASTON Y



CRYPT at GLASTON^y



CROCKER del.

ETCHD by HOBSON / BATH

HOLY-WELL at GLASTON^y

